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THE
Parliamentary Register;
OR,
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSES of LORDS and COMMONS.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The most interesting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate
Copies of all the PROTESTS, and of the most remarkable
LETTERS and PAPERS; together with the most material
EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c. laid before and offered to either
House,

DURING THE

SECOND SESSION of the EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DEBRETT, opposite BURLINGTON HOUSE,
PICCADILLY.

1798.



I N D E X

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DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS.

VOLUME IV.

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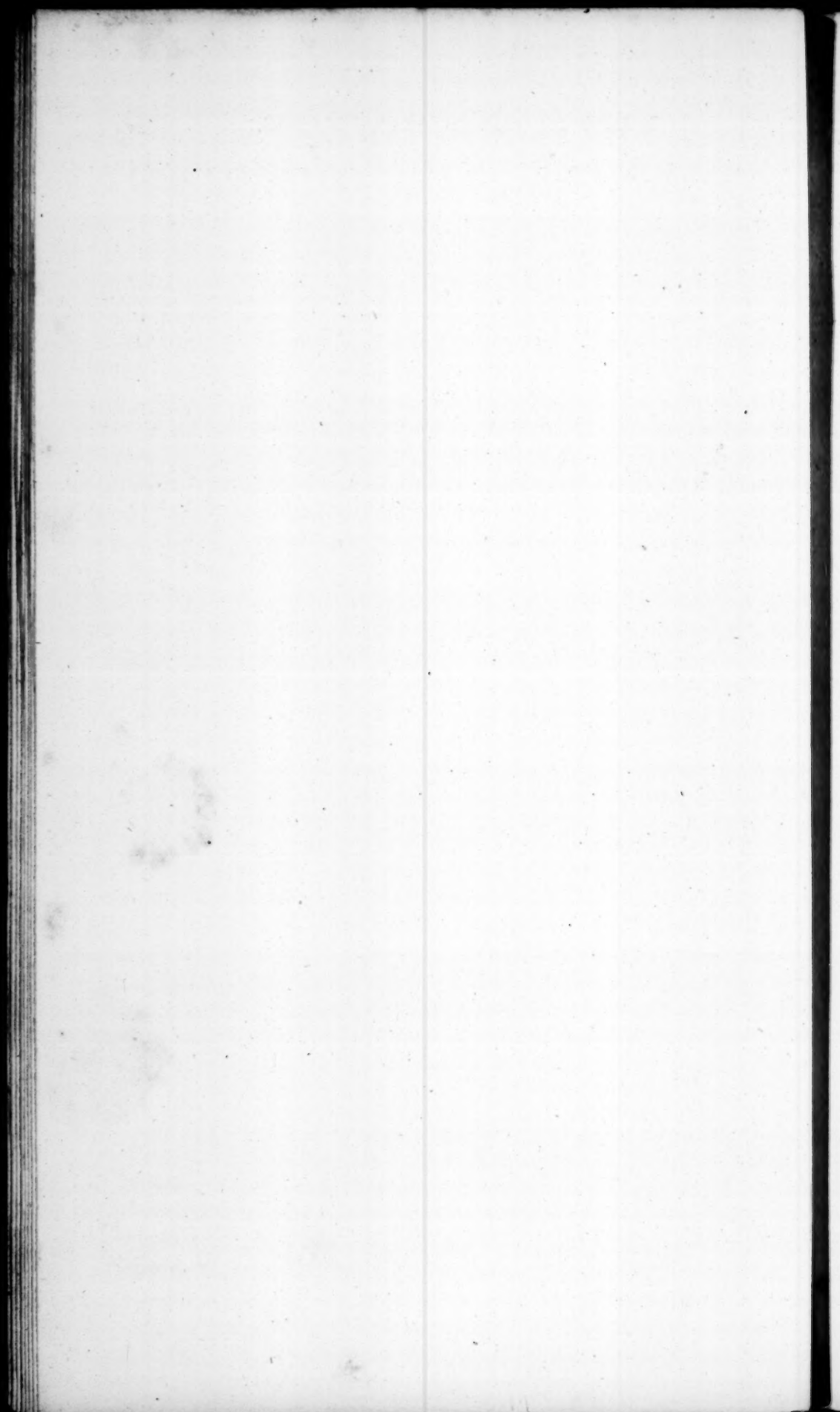
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSES OF LORDS AND COMMONS,
In the SECOND SESSION of the
Eighteenth Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN,
Appointed to be holden at WESTMINSTER,
On TUESDAY the 27th of SEPTEMBER, 1796.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, November 2, 1797.

A Message from His Majesty was delivered by Sir Francis Molyneux, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

Mr. SPEAKER,

The King commands this honourable House to attend His Majesty immediately in the House of Peers.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to attend His Majesty ; and being returned,

A bill for the more effectual preventing clandestine outlawries was read the first time.

Resolved, That this bill be read a second time.

Mr. Speaker reported that the House had attended His Majesty in the House of Peers, where His Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious speech from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament ; of which, Mr. Speaker said, he had, to prevent mistakes, obtained a copy, which he read to the House, and is as follows, viz.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

It is matter of great concern to me, that the earnest endeavours which I have continued to employ, since I last met you in Parliament, to restore to my subjects the blessings of peace, on secure and honourable terms, have unhappily been rendered ineffectual.

The declaration which I have caused to be published, and the other papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, abundantly prove to you, and to the world, that every step has been taken on my part, which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of those with whom we have to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms.

I have the fullest reliance, under the blessing of Providence, on the vigour and wisdom of your counsels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, of a great and free people, sensible that they are contending for their dearest interests, and determined to shew themselves worthy of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve.

Compelled as we are, by the most evident necessity, to persevere in the defence of all that is dear to us, till a more just and pacifick spirit shall prevail on the part of the enemy, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we possess means and resources proportioned to the objects which are at stake.

During the period of hostilities, and under the unavoidable pressure of accumulated burdens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has surpassed its former limits.

The public spirit of my people has been eminently displayed; my troops, of every description, have acquired fresh claims to the esteem and admiration of their country; and the repeated successes of my navy over all our different enemies, have been recently crowned by the signal and decisive victory with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan.

No event could be attended with more important and beneficial consequences, or form a more brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course of the present war, have raised to a pitch hitherto unequalled the naval glory of the country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. The state of the war, joined to the happy consequences of our recent success, will, I trust, admit of some diminution of expence, consistently with the vigorous efforts which our situation indispensably re-

quires. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying the heavy expence which will still be unavoidable, you will, I am persuaded, bear in mind that the present crisis presents every motive to animate you to the most effectual and spirited exertions; the true value of any temporary sacrifices, which you may find necessary for this purpose, can only be estimated by comparing them with the importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and convincing the enemy that, while we retain an ardent desire for the conclusion of peace on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to support with vigour this arduous contest, as long as it may be necessary for maintaining the safety, honour, and independance of these kingdoms.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

After the experience I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your anxious regard for the interests of my subjects, I have only to recommend to you a perseverance in the same principles and conduct.

The events of every day must more and more impress you with a just sense of the blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments, and which have so long distinguished us among all the nations of Europe. These blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy Constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, on which the security and happiness of every class of my subjects essentially depend.

Mr. WILBRAHAM BOOTLE said, he rose for the purpose of moving an address of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious speech; and he did it with the greater satisfaction, because he could not but flatter himself, that though gentlemen might entertain some difference of opinion about the conduct of Administration respecting the original cause and subsequent management of the war, yet there could be but one opinion as to the necessity of prosecuting it, at a time when, unfortunately, our enemies had left us no alternative.

The restoration of tranquillity, and of uninterrupted commerce, were objects of as much importance to the Sovereign as to the subjects of a commercial country; and we could not therefore doubt the pleasure with which His Majesty would have come to Parliament, and have said—That he delayed meeting them from time to time under the well-founded hope of being able to lay before them a permanent and honourable treaty of peace, as the fruits of a negotiation, into which he had, for a second time, en-

tered with the most serious and earnest hope of bringing about that desirable object—that he had met with an enemy equally disposed to listen to just and honourable terms, equally desirous to attain the same object, to act up to the loud professions of peace which they had made—and to make those mutual sacrifices and compensations which the law and custom of negotiation required ; or, at least, to enter upon that negotiation in such a manner, and with such a disposition, as to make the discussion of terms a possible thing.

But, Sir, very differently stands the case at present. His Majesty might, indeed, have told us with truth, that, animated with the desire of conducing towards the quiet of Europe, he had again stepped forward in a manner which would have satisfied a reasonable enemy—that he had even run the risk of committing the dignity of these kingdoms by the renewal of his advances ; that he had sought the opportunity to make sacrifices which the relative situations of the powers at war did not warrant ; but that all his offers had been received with contempt—his terms not listened to, nor answered ; and after a long and fruitless attempt to bring the enemy to negotiation, his Ambassador had been dismissed with insult. To all this he had submitted, with a view of proving to his Subjects and Parliament the sincerity of his wishes for peace.

But even in stating this, he was not doing justice to the case which Government had to state ; nor describing, with half the indignation it deserved, the perverse conduct of the enemy. It did not appear to have been any question of terms, any resistance of aggrandisement on our part, or a wish of it on theirs, but an inveterate and unqualified resolution to preclude all negotiation whatever.

That an enemy should have called for such sacrifices on our part, as at no time one country had ever yielded to another as the price of peace, would in most times have been a sufficient reason for a King to have come forward and thrown himself upon the support and affection of his people. There might possibly be occasions on which weightier considerations, such as the immediate necessity of peace, would have made sacrifices of this sort excusable, and would justify the surrendering much more than the relative situation of the two countries could make fair or reasonable ; provided by such sacrifices and such surrenders, peace were, indeed, to be purchased : but that which it would be most difficult for the Sovereign of a free people to have avowed to his subjects, that which would have argued him insensible to the duty which he owed them—to have abandoned at once their interests and his own dignity, would be the telling them, that in yielding to every exorbitant demand, in sacrificing

all that had been acquired by their valour, in giving up their commercial and political interests, he had made all those sacrifices in vain, and exhausted the means of negotiation without attaining the ends of peace. He trusted that a British King, in appealing to a British Parliament, had not to apologize for having avoided unprofitable concessions and fruitless disgrace.

That whatever concessions he had made would have been unprofitable; that whatever disgrace he had submitted to would have failed to produce the result which was most desired; that in sacrificing the nation's honour, he would equally have failed in securing its tranquillity, no man of the most common understanding could doubt, who looked, not at the King's speech, nor at the declaration of his motives, in which he had so solemnly appealed to his subjects and the world, but who had looked at the conduct of the French Government, and who had observed the tone which they had taken. If we bestowed a little attention on their supposed and declared views, we should see that, since the Revolution of last September, the Executive Directory had taken no pains of concealing their intention of continuing hostilities—that the arbitrary removal and expulsion of those who had opposed their measures, had enabled them to take off the mask, and to avow publicly that war with England was their system. In order to remove the possibility of doubt upon this subject, the Revolution had no sooner taken place, than they took the negotiation out of the hands to which it had been entrusted, and sent creatures of their own to Lisle, charged with pacific professions, but with express orders to break off the negotiation, or, at least, to advance propositions which had been before rejected and abandoned, and which they well knew could never be accepted.

It was evident, from this conduct, that their intention was not to treat more advantageously for themselves—that would have been excuseable; but to render all treaty impossible, to retract whatever the former situation of affairs in France had made them concede, to obliterate whatever hopes of reconciliation might have been before entertained, and to shew that it was not this or that mode of peace, but peace itself, that they detested and disclaimed.

Satisfied as we must be that no line of conduct on our part, however moderate and conciliating, (he might almost add, humiliating,) could bring about the object which we so earnestly desired, let us not shew an inability or want of inclination to carry on the war, but declare to His Majesty our intention of supporting him in the measures which he might think necessary towards the good of this kingdom, or the preservation of its constitution. Let us, by a

manly and resolute declaration of our sentiments, shew our enemies, that whatever divisions might have existed before, they had now united all Englishmen in one general feeling—they had now taken from their partizans the possibility of throwing upon this country the odium of wishing to continue the war, and the possibility of imposing upon the meanest understanding the pretence that the French Government had ever the slightest idea of carrying their pacific professions into effect. We had now to thank them for having removed all shadow of doubt as to their true intentions in regard to this country. We had to thank them for having united its inhabitants in one common cause.

Let us, then, not give them any reason to hope that they might destroy this their Carthage, against which they had so repeatedly denounced vengeance. If we wanted any additional incitement to stand on our defence, we might add to the certainty of their hatred to us, the consideration of the mode in which that hatred would operate towards us. We might be convinced, that it would not be to wrest from us our foreign possessions, to cripple our commerce, or reduce our power—that this alone would not fill up the measure of their envy and detestation; but that their object would be to carry into execution their iniquitous and absurd plan of revolutionizing this country, and of forcing upon us the example of the defenceless States of Germany and Italy.

The choice was now before us;—we might disband our armies and our victorious navy, and oppose no resistance to the progress of an invading and insolent foe. We might give up to the absolute disposal of France our lives and properties, and be contented to rank ourselves in the number of her dependants. We might own our submission to her ambitious projects—projects which were incompatible with our existence, as a free and independent state. We might expect to see the Throne, and the established laws of the realm, overturned and trampled under foot; and we might prepare the contributions which would be levied upon us to defray the expences of our own ruin. All this we must be prepared to submit to, or we must resolve to continue the war.

As it must be evident that the restoration of peace could not be attained by any relaxation of efforts on our part, and as the continuance of the calamities of war, seemed for a time to be unavoidable, we should consider the situation in which we stood at present, with respect to the means of carrying it on.

Every thing rested upon our own exertions. We were engaged in no continental war, nor depended upon the faith of other powers; but we fought upon our own element, on a field of battle, where we

had been long used to conquer and to consider ourselves (with reason) as sole and exclusive masters. Nor were our claims ill-founded. We had only to consult the annals of all the maritime wars in which we had been engaged; we should there find that a long and uniform habit of victory had naturally given us ideas of our own superiority, which we had had no defeat to teach us to forego; we should find that British sailors fought with a spirit arising from a consciousness of this superiority, unknown to, and unfelt by, other nations. We were to look only to the events of the last three years, and we should find ample materials for triumph and exultation. We had swelled the list of our prizes to a degree unheard of in former wars. We had ruined the commerce, and crippled the navy of our enemies. We had kept possession of the sea against three formidable and allied powers. We had blocked up their ports, while superior fleets lay mouldering in inaction within them: and when, at last, the menaces and reproaches of their indignant countrymen had forced them reluctantly to battle, the result had invariably been what we had expected, and what they had dreaded.

The glorious victories gained over the French and the Spaniards had long been the subject of public rejoicing and public gratitude. We had now added to these triumphs, another most signal and glorious victory—one of, perhaps, more real importance and incalculable advantage than any by which our arms had been hitherto signalised. We had humbled the pride, and baffled the hostile designs of our enemies; and if they were mad enough to entertain a serious thought of invasion, we had taught them the folly and impracticability of such projects.

Among the innumerable good effects arising from this victory, it had tended to restore the confidence of the nation, to a quarter from which it had been of late withheld. It had shewn the world, that though the spirit of British seamen might have been for a time directed to improper objects, and misled by the artifices of designing men, yet when necessity required, and their duty called upon them for their exertions, that it would fall with tenfold vengeance on the enemies of their country.

He trusted they should be unanimous in their vote of that day. It was of material consequence in the eyes of the nation, and of foreign powers, that they should be so. Under that hope he moved,

“ That an humble address, be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious speech from the Throne, and for the communication of the

declaration and the other papers respecting the negotiation with France, which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct to be laid before us.

“ To assure His Majesty, that we shall not fail to apply ourselves with the utmost diligence and attention to the consideration of the measures which the present crisis requires ; but we cannot refrain from expressing, at the earliest moment, our firm determination to afford His Majesty the most effectual support, in resisting every unwarrantable pretension, and checking every attempt dictated by inordinate ambition on the part of those with whom he has to contend.

“ That we entertain a firm persuasion, that all His Majesty’s faithful subjects feel, as they ought, the value of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve, and will not fail, in every situation, to support His Majesty, in defence of their essential interests, with the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, worthy of a great and free people.

“ That we must, at the present moment, observe, with peculiar satisfaction, the proofs afforded of our means and internal resources, in the flourishing state of the revenue, industry, and commerce of the country.

“ That we acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, the sense which His Majesty expresses of the public spirit which has been so eminently displayed by his people, and of the conduct of his troops of every description, which has justly entitled them to the additional esteem and admiration of their country ; and we heartily congratulate His Majesty on the signal and decisive victory with which providence has rewarded the exertions of his fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan ; an event which has crowned the repeated maritime successes obtained over all our enemies, and has indeed afforded a brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course of the present war, have raised to the highest pitch the naval glory of the country.

“ It will afford us great satisfaction to find that any branches of our expence will admit of reduction, consistently with the continuance of those vigorous efforts which must be necessary for our safety, and which, at all events, cannot fail to be attended with heavy expence. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying it, we shall undoubtedly bear in mind the nature of the present crisis ; and, in estimating the value of any temporary sacrifices, we shall not lose sight of the infinite importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and of convincing the enemy, that, while we join in His Majesty’s anxious desire for the conclusion of peace on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well

as the determination, to support with vigour this arduous contest, as long as it may be rendered necessary for maintaining the safety, honour, and independance, of these kingdoms.

“ To beseech His Majesty to believe that our loyalty and attachment to His Majesty, and our anxious regard for the interests of his subjects, will ensure our perseverance in that line of conduct which may best preserve the advantages resulting to his People from his auspicious Government.

“ That the blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments have long been deeply imprinted on our minds, but we cannot but feel more and more, from the events of every day, how much they distinguish us among all the nations of Europe; and we shall never be unmindful that they can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing, with promptitude, every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy Constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, on which the security and happiness of every class of His Majesty’s subjects essentially depend.”

Mr. WILLIAM DRUMMOND was inclined to hope that there had been no period since the commencement of the present war, when an address to the Throne was more likely to meet with general concurrence, than that which had now been moved by his honourable friend. Upon the one hand, the ardent desire which His Majesty had manifested, of restoring tranquillity to Europe, merited the sincerest and the warmest thanks which the House could offer; and, upon the other hand, the firmness with which the King had replied to the unjust and extravagant demands of France, claimed the support of Parliament; bound, as it was, to maintain the dignity, and to assert the independance, of the British empire.

Very different, he admitted, was the language which we once hoped to have heard upon this occasion; and none could lament more sincerely than he did, that he had not now to congratulate the House on the entire cessation of a storm, which had convulsed all Europe by its violence. Some consolation, however, it was to Englishmen, that if the evils of war must still continue, if greater treasures must be yet expended, and if more blood must yet flow, the blame was not imputable to them, but solely to the insatiable ambition of their enemies—enemies, who had so often, and so ostentatiously professed the love of peace, but who had nevertheless, so uniformly, so invariably, and so systematically persevered in the practice of war—enemies who had still so arrogantly spurned

the demands of justice, and who had so haughtily rejected the terms of moderation.

It was not necessary for him to recall to the recollection of gentlemen the various measures which had been adopted by His Majesty in order to secure honourable terms for this country. Ever since our enemies had possessed even the semblance of a regular form of Government, our efforts had been unremitting, to obtain for them and for ourselves the blessings of peace. But what had been the conduct of France? Bleeding at a thousand wounds, had she not still refused the means of healing them? Until the negotiation at Paris, did she not shew by her haughty and contumelious language towards this country, her unwillingness to treat upon any terms? And when her rulers (for he accused not the people at large) did at length condescend to receive an English Minister at Paris, did they not manifest, not only their contempt for the antient usages of nations, but the insincerity of their professions with respect to peace? We should see if those same rulers had given better proofs of their faith at Lisle. We should turn our attention to the negotiation carried on there. We should there behold the justice, the moderation, and the forbearance of Republican France; and we should there contemplate the respect which she entertains for the laws of nations—and we should there admire the modesty with which she would now dictate to the antient rival of her power.

It appeared, from the King's Declaration, that the English Minister, immediately upon his arrival at Lisle, delivered in a *projet*; the most moderate and conciliatory, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every subject connected with the restoration of public tranquillity. How that *projet* was received, we are informed by the same State Paper. Although we had been victorious in all naval combats with our enemies—although we had made conquests, and they had made no reprisals, yet did they maintain that we should renounce the possessions which we had acquired—yet did they contend that we should act as if our arms had known only disgrace and defeat. Although we might not treat for our allies, yet they would treat for theirs. Although we might not mention Austria or Portugal, yet they would negotiate for Holland and for Spain. The very statement of such pretensions is sufficient to expose their extravagance, their injustice, and their absurdity. The principle of all reconciliation, whether between nations or between individuals, is mutual compensation for mutual wrongs. If it was true that the rights of individuals ought to be equal in the eye of the law, it is surely not less true that the rights of nations ought to be equal in the eye of justice.

It farther appears from the King's Declaration, that these extravagant and absurd demands were abandoned and disclaimed upon the part of our enemies, when it was found that they were rejected by the British Cabinet with the firmness, though with moderation, which circumstances required. But unfortunately, when affairs seemed to be taking a more favourable turn, a revolution happened at Paris. Men were beginning there to speak their sentiments too freely concerning the conduct of the Government. Some citizens had the temerity to hint, that unless the war was brought to a speedy conclusion, the ruin of the finances was inevitable; and others, with equal audacity, maintained that France, by encouraging commerce and the arts, might draw supplies, both from more certain and more honourable sources, than from the pillage and plunder of neighbouring nations. Whether, or not, this restoration of public opinion alarmed the rulers of France, he did not pretend to determine. Certain, however, it was, that those virtuous citizens trembled for their safety, and thought it necessary to have recourse to strong measures. But, good God! what were those measures? In a country, which calls itself free—in a soil, where the tree of liberty has been so often planted, the most sacred principles of freedom and of justice were outraged. Not only was the liberty of the press destroyed, not only were the rights of persons invaded, not only were private citizens arrested and imprisoned, but the Majesty of the Constitution itself was violated: and, without the form of trial, without the proof of guilt, without the means of defence, without the judgment of a Court, or the verdict of a Jury, Directors and Legislators were condemned to linger out their lives in perpetual exile. Oh! said Mr. Drummond, let these things never be forgotten by those who have praised, and who have loved, the Revolution of France, and who have hailed it as the æra which was to bring peace, and happiness, and liberty, to mankind. Alas! why are we then still the witnesses of the agitation of Europe, and of the misery of France? Must the present race see no end to calamities? and must it remain for posterity to decide, whether any advantages can flow from a Revolution, which was begun in the name of Liberty?

These violent proceedings are not, however, to be lamented less by the friends of peace, than by the friends of freedom. No sooner was the ruling party secure in its triumph, than two new Commissioners were sent to Lisle, who quickly shewed upon what principles they had obtained their diploma. Upon the violent, atrocious, unexampled measures which followed, he should make no com-

ments. He would only ask, if it was necessary to add insult to insincerity, and outrage to injustice?

What were the inferences to be drawn from the whole conduct of our enemies? What, unless, that, not satisfied, we should cease to hold the balance of power in Europe—not satisfied with having extended their own dominions from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and from the Alps to the Ocean—not satisfied with having fraternized with Holland and Flanders—not satisfied with having organized and re-organized the States of Genoa and Geneva—not satisfied with having laid waste the plains of Germany, and with having pillaged the treasures of Italy—not satisfied with having added two new Satellites to their system, the Cis-Alpine and the Cis-Rhinane Republics,—they desire that England herself should learn the language of submission, should forget her victories, renounce her conquests, and lay her laurels, together with her independance, at the feet of France.

And yet, continued Mr. Drummond, forgetting the rank we have hitherto held among the nations of the globe, for which of the countries with which we are at war shall we make such sacrifices? Empires, like individuals, are only great, and strong, and powerful, by comparison. For which, then, of the nations, with which we are at war, shall we make such sacrifices? Shall it be for that people, who once, like ourselves, were free, but whose independance is fled with their spirit, their industry, and their commerce? Shall it then be for that yet more unhappy country, where the victims of fanaticism still languish in the dungeons of the Inquisition, while Jacobinism is secretly sapping the vast, but hollow, edifice of the Monarchy? Lastly, shall it be for the antient foe of England, that foe, too, become implacable from jealousy, and desperate from crimes? Shall France insult our Ambassadors? Shall she menace our Government, and dictate terms of peace to us in more than in the lofty language of Roman authority? and that, when her commerce is nearly annihilated, her finances almost exhausted, and her vanquished navy unable to dispute with ours for the empire of the Ocean? No; if we were so inclined, the victories of a Howe, a St. Vincent, and a Duncan, forbid us to speak the language of disgrace, or of despair. Since England became a maritime power, never did she know a more glorious period of triumph than the present; and never did the victories of her fleets follow each other in more rapid, or more brilliant succession.

But while he indulged himself in these reflections, so agreeable to every man who loves his country, let him not be supposed to wish

to misrepresent our real situation. He thought this the most serious and most interesting contest in which we ever were engaged. It was the most serious, because our enemies seem unwilling to recognize those principles formerly admitted among civilized nations, both in peace and war. It was the most interesting, because we were not fighting for aggrandizement, but for independence. We must owe our preservation to our firmness, to our fortitude, and above all, to our union: for it was only when the public mind was not harrassed by doubt, and divided by opposite and contending opinions, that a State could put forth all its strength, exert all its energy, and display all its resources.

If, then, Mr. Drummond said, continuing their exorbitant demands, if, denying to us the respect which we have always claimed, and always received from other nations, our enemies refuse to grant us peace on fair terms, let us not be wanting to ourselves; and let our union be the signal to our foes, that we will resist their aggressions on our national independence, with all the zeal, all the energy, and with all the perseverance, which the love of justice, the love of liberty, and the love of our country, can inspire.

Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS then rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—

Mr. Speaker, however presumptuous it may appear in me, a Member undistinguished, and little known, I cannot refrain from rising to deliver my sentiments on this very important and momentous occasion. I hope that you and the House will accept it as a sufficient apology for my forwardness, that I am urged to deliver my opinion by motives which it would be criminal for me to resist, and which if I would resist, I could not. But if any farther apology be necessary for encroaching on the patience of the House, let me plead this, that the sentiments I offer are those of an honest unbiassed mind, uninfluenced by prejudice or partiality, independent of party, and regarding men only as their measures deserve regard—for, Sir, I am not connected with any party;—neither with Ministry nor Minority;—on the one hand, owing nothing to Administration, and on the other, being averse to unequalled opposition. With those claims to your attention, I venture to rise, and even to hope that my sentiments, how feebly soever they may be expressed, will yet be borne through by the support of truth and sincerity.

Sir, no man more cordially assents than I do to that part of the address which relates to the late glorious victory, obtained by our fleet under the command of the gallant Admiral Lord Duncan over that of Holland. It was indeed a proud day for England, not only as it added one to the many distinguished proofs which this war has

afforded of the superiority of our navy, and of the skill and valour of our officers and seamen, but as disappointing the guilty intentions of those traitors who endeavoured to promote mutiny in that bulwark of our defence. It has evinced that our wooden walls are yet sound, and that the great bulk of our British seamen remain untainted, and are still, and will long, I hope, remain capable of carrying the British flag triumphant over the face of the globe.

But, Sir, though I entirely coincide in those sentiments of the honourable mover, and consequently am willing to agree to that part of the address, I must, in strict regard to truth, declare it to be my opinion that, notwithstanding that brilliant victory, Parliament never assembled at a more critical, awful, and perilous period, than that at which I have now the honour to address you. Sir, the period must be perilous, when, on looking round, we see so much to menace, and so little to console; engaged in a war, expensive and bloody beyond all example, with an enemy who seems determined to wage war more for our ruin than her own advantage; the people galling under the weight of excessive burdens, unanimous only in their disapprobation and distrust of Parliament; our strongest support, Ireland, in rebellion, or only kept down by military force. With no better prospect in our view, turn our eyes which way we will, how dreary and infliction is the scene! How feeble the consolation that a single victory can supply!! In such a situation the victory of Lord Duncan, though so far as the operation of victory can be felt, brilliant and decisive, is, after all, but the triumph of an hour—a triumph dearly bought—a triumph, which, perhaps, may have disconcerted a hostile expedition but has certainly thinned the ranks of our gallant defenders. Amidst the rejoicing for such a display of our naval superiority, what sort of heart must that be which reflects without sorrow upon the havoc of that day; which meditates upon its advantages without feeling severely for the men that fell; which, without regret and horror, reads the bloody detail in the Gazette—that register of a slaughter-house—that muster-roll of death.

Sir, I have said that this war has been attended with a waste of wealth, and a prodigality of blood, not to be paralleled in history. This, Sir, is no vague or idle assertion; it is borne up by facts. Two hundred millions of money have been the waste of four years, and two hundred thousand the number of lives lost. And now, Sir, at the end of this frightful, irreparable loss, what does the King's speech hold out to us?—Does it hold out the effectual relief of our burdens? No! Does it hold out the prospect of reconciliation and harmony in Ireland? No!—Does it hold out the pro-

mise of indemnity for the past, and security for the future? No! Does it hold out peace? No, no such thing, but the reverse; it promises us the renewal of the waste and devastation we all lament, or at least have cause to lament; it menaces us with more carnage and slaughter, with new scenes of blood, with more tears, more sighs, more, and perhaps deeper, groans of widows and orphans. But some gentlemen will say, "Why this mournful recital? What useful end can it answer to draw this gloomy, melancholy picture? Have not efforts been made to obtain a peace?"

To this, Sir, I shall only answer, that I am sure efforts suitable to the occasion have not been made; I say efforts, founded in sincerity, and breathing the true spirit of peace, these have not been made. If we recur to Lord Malmesbury's first mission to Paris, we shall, without the possibility of controversy, be able to pronounce that the Minister was not sincere. I remember, Sir, that the first day I had the honour of sitting in this House the Minister declared it to be his intentions to take every practicable means to procure for us the blessings of peace. I did then, indeed, believe he was sincere, for I was then but a new Member; soon, however, I had cause to retract my opinion, and to condemn my own credulity; soon I was convinced that the Minister was not sincere. The terms which the French would then have granted, and which he refused, were such as he would now gladly accept, and they now decline to give. The French would have granted peace on condition of holding what they then had, but the Minister would be contented with nothing short of the restitution of Belgium, and the safety of England was sacrificed to the interest of the Emperor. But, Sir, I will, for sake of the argument, suppose that the failure of that attempt was owing not to the unreasonable demands of our Minister, but to the extravagant expectations and arrogance of the French, and that Lord Malmesbury was, as has been asserted, dismissed from Paris, with insult and disgrace. I will then ask any man of candour in the House, whether there can be found in history any thing to equal that of sending back, in the same character, that very man who was so disgracefully treated, and whether so sending him back was not accumulating and aggravating the disgrace and contumely it brought on this country? On his Lordship's going the second time, it was mere matter of course, and naturally ensued as a consequence of his going, covered with the former disgrace, that they should treat him with contempt. This cannot now be recalled, but it surely ought to weigh with the House against the professions of the Minister, and to be taken as some qualification of the inference he would wish us to draw from the return of Lord Malmesbury. I, for my part,

am persuaded that it would have been a happy circumstance if that noble Lord had been empowered at the outset to make the offer of restitution desired by France. And here, Sir, I hope I may be allowed to speak with more confidence than before; my inquiries, my private information, and my local knowledge affording me means of judging, denied to many other gentlemen of superior ability. From this knowledge I am competent to aver, that all the conquests we have made are not only not worth the loss and horrors of one campaign, but in fact not worth the holding. An honourable Baronet (Sir Francis Baring), whose intimate acquaintance with the British interests in the East cannot be called in question, did once state to you that the Cape of Good Hope, instead of being an advantage would be a burden, grievous in itself and unproductive of any good in return: he also did state to you, and I am sure he stated no more than the fact, that Trincomale, in Ceylon, cannot be kept in our possession unless we become masters of the whole of that island; an acquisition utterly hopeless: and that the fortifying of that port would cost more, after all, than the whole would be worth—so much for the East. Now, Sir, as to the West Indies, I do venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that if it was to-morrow in your power to capture the whole of the French islands, so far from being productive or advantageous, they would either be untenable or ruinous in the holding. There is not a gentleman in the House who cannot readily comprehend this; if he only looks back to the conduct of the French in that quarter, he will see that no hope can be entertained from them as good subjects. Some of those islands were ceded to us by treaty in 1763, and were upwards of thirty years in our possession and under our protection, yet at the end of that time the French inhabitants seized the first opportunity to revolt, and what is worse, instigated the Negroes to rise and murder their masters. Urged by the incitements of that monster, Victor Hugues, they committed the most barbarous massacres, and by them the Governor of Grenada was, together with several Planters, led out to a cruel death. In such circumstances we might possibly have a barren depopulated territory, but we could have no more; and I think it is a subject of most serious consideration for the House, and of awful caution to Ministers, to beware how they incur the dreadful responsibility of lavishing human blood upon such unprofitable conquests. Sir, it is fighting and sacrificing the lives of men for air—for words. Besides all those, there is another, and a worse enemy, we have to combat, whose stroke no human means can resist or evade, the hand of Omnipotence itself, armed with plague and pestilence to scourge our cupidity and ambition. And

is this, Sir, is St. Domingo a place to which we may without guilt send our gallant fellow subjects; send them, knowing, as we must, that it is as impossible to make a conquest of it as it would be to scale the moon—to make conquest of an island, Sir, 400 miles in length and 175 in breadth, filled with hosts of enemies, and guarded against us by pestilence. There was indeed a man, who, if human courage and human wisdom could have accomplished it, would have reduced that island—I mean Montalambert. If there were ten such Frenchmen in that quarter, there might be some hope of securing our interests there, if they were worth the securing, for who would not fight by the side of such a man? And here, Sir, it comes in point to mention a fact of great authority: Général Simcoe, a very able and distinguished officer, once said that he could conquer St. Domingo with 7000 men, but when the question was put to him, how, having once gained, he could keep it, the French inhabitants being hostile to the government and the laws, he gave up the point. Sir, I have thought it my duty to make this statement in order to obviate future disappointments, and to prepare the minds of the House and the people at large for that which will appear when all contest about those conquests will be over. Thus I have endeavoured to shew, that the conquests which the French Directory requires us to surrender are of no value to this country; but not convinced, that this demand of the French Government was the sole reason which induced His Majesty's Ministers to break off the negotiation. It is asserted by the present rules of France, that while the British Ministry was seeking peace, and had formerly sent an Ambassador to Lisle, they were deeply engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Republican Government. Such a charge had certainly been made; and though the declaration afforded the best opportunity of contradicting it if it was false, in that declaration it is not denied.

Upon the whole, Sir, when we review the full scope of our circumstances, when we consider the astonishing waste of two hundred millions of money, and the alarming drain of more than two hundred thousand men of the flower of England sacrificed to this contest, when we see Ireland ripe for universal revolt, and kept only by the terrors of the sword—when we see ourselves a divided people, unanimous only in complaint of grievances and taxes, and when we see the Peerage disgraced by the introduction of men without abilities or praiseworthy services to entitle them to that distinction, it is impossible not to think that there is a combination of evils hanging over our heads, from which nothing can rescue us but death.

Sir, I have thought fit thus to express myself, having no motive but an honest wish that the people at large may be awakened to a thorough sense of their perilous situation. The last resource of the wretched is the hope, that when things are at the worst they will mend; but even this consolation seems to be denied to us—for the right honourable gentleman who has so long and with such distinguished ability influenced the opinions of this side of the House, I am sorry to perceive, has retired from the contest. Sir, if the advice of that right honourable gentleman, whose transcendent talents are his smallest praise, had been attended to, we should not at this day have to mourn over the calamities of our country. He has retired, I fear, wearied and hopeless, in prophetic and silent anguish; and when *he* despairs, when talents, eloquence, and firmness, like his, which once, in spite of parliamentary majorities, saved the kingdom from a ruinous war with Russia, are withdrawn in the the present conjuncture, what remains for men of inferior endowments but, like him, to retire from the scene, to mourn in secret over those evils which they cannot prevent, and silently expect the certain dissolution which awaits this unhappy kingdom.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said he should not have spoken that evening, if he had not felt it his duty to resist the tendency of such extraordinary language as the honourable gentleman had used, and prevent its dangerous effects abroad. The honourable gentleman had regretted the absence of a right honourable gentleman, who was formerly very assiduous in that Assembly, and described him as retiring from public life, with the deepest and most amiable sorrow, to mourn over those misfortunes of his country which his perspicuity was able to foresee, though his prudence and his powers were unable to prevent them. If that right honourable gentleman had been present, however, it appeared that some benefit from his counsels might have possibly accrued, and that a lingering hope might have still existed of succour from his talents. As he was absent, however, gentlemen, it seemed, had nothing else to do but follow his example, and patiently retire in silent and prophetic anguish to wait supinely for the dissolution of their country. It was that singular declaration which had called him up; for it was so strange to his constitutional experience, and so unknown to his parliamentary capacity, that he was surprised beyond description: how the honourable gentlemen should know that the right honourable gentleman alluded to did not mean to attend in his place as usual, he was at a loss to conjecture. For his own part, he knew no efficient reason why the right honourable gentleman should refuse his aid and advice to the great council of the nation now, any more than upon former

occasions; nor should he be at all surpris'd to see the right honourable gentleman immediately enter the door and walk up to his seat, as he was wont to do in the preceding session. If the right honourable gentleman did not come as usual, he knew no reasons, as he said before, why he should stay away, and could only suggest them, as he presumed the honourable gentleman had done, from vague and unauthoris'd reports. What the reasons for his absence might be, therefore, he should not venture to pronounce upon such loose authority, lest he should misrepresent them; but upon the manner in which the right honourable gentleman employed his time, he should say a few words, and he believed upon the same authority from which the honourable gentleman derived his information. Speaking of the manner in which the right honourable gentleman employed his time, the honourable gentleman represented that the distresses of his country so occupied his thoughts, and so weighed down his spirits, that he sat, in silent and prophetic anguish, a perfect image of Despair. Now, it was left to every one to suggest from such authority, or from their own ideas, in what manner the right honourable gentleman employed his time in his retirement; but to judge from the same faithful mirror of his actions, a public newspaper, (the Morning Chronicle of October 11,) it appeared that his melancholy was merely of a temporary nature; for, although the right honourable gentleman was found beginning the day of his annual festivity with regret and lamentations for the hopeless condition of his country, the same vehicle of intelligence has informed us, that after several toasts were drank with great applause, the conviviality of the evening was heightened by several jovial songs. After such an account, there was no doubt but what the right honourable gentleman and his patriotic friends had distinguished themselves upon that anniversary, as they always do on similar occasions; and that the sole cause of their meeting was the general interest they felt for the welfare of the nation. But, to put an end to this sportive kind of observation, and talk in a more serious manner, he hoped and trusted, that whatever might be the regret of the right honourable gentleman for the misfortunes of his country, or however great his interest in her welfare, that he, as well as every gentleman in that House, could feel as poignantly, and discharge their duty to the best of their ability, with as much zeal and patriotism, as he who was thus super-eminently extolled. Nay, he would go farther, and hope that as he was not influenced by personal motives to offer his advice in that Assembly, he should never be capable, through personal indignation, of withdrawing his advice when the danger of his country might be more imminent, or the proffer of his advice more

useful. The honourable gentleman had said, that the right honourable gentleman had repeatedly tried whether he could not prevent the misfortunes which were so despondingly enumerated; and finding that all his endeavours were ineffectual, and his measures declined, he had retired to deplore that desolation which he was not able to controul. Respecting the efficacy of the right honourable gentleman's proposition, which the honourable gentleman had deemed infallible, he was obliged to confess he not only entertained doubts, but absolute disbelief. So far, therefore, he did not at all regret the absence of the right honourable gentleman, because he did not think his counsel worth accepting. On the contrary, he would boldly deliver it as his opinion, that if the advice of the right honourable gentleman had been followed, he should not have been one of those, except in one solitary instance, who would have thought that the situation of the country would have been amended. If he were culpable in speaking so lightly of the right honourable gentleman's abilities, he hoped he should be excused when he averred, that such a declaration had been extorted from him by the intemperate language of the honourable gentleman opposite. In regard to the address, he conceived there could be no objection, since it satisfied itself by general assurances of attachment to His Majesty's person and government, of promises to endeavour to resist the common enemy, and thereby preserve our laws and liberties inviolate: and he trusted that no man who was conscious of the many and invaluable blessings he enjoyed under that happy constitution, which had been prepared and handed down to him by his ancestors, but would desire to have the same blessings perpetuated, and delivered unimpaired to his posterity. Concerning the rupture of the negotiation, and the prosecution of the war, he trusted he entertained as ardent desires for peace as any other person; but he could not submit, as some gentlemen appeared disposed to do, to every humiliation which the enemy might think proper to demand. In this he had the satisfaction of concurring with His Majesty; and he had the farther satisfaction of knowing, that if the honourable gentleman opposite was not forward in acquitting His Majesty's Ministers for their earnest endeavours to conclude a peace by some concessions, he was not forward in condemning them for that line of conduct. Some concessions short of absolute humiliation he thought might be pardoned; but real humiliation he never could allow, because he did not know whether real humiliation would not tend to provoke a speedy return of hostilities. The hostile disposition, and inveterate hatred of the enemy towards this country, made it necessary to act with more than common vigilance, in order to leave them no flight

pretence for the rupture of the negotiation, nor any opportunity for misrepresentation to deceive the public. The honourable mover of the address had expressed his willingness to surrender as many of our conquests as were consistent with the dignity and honour of the nation. In this point he agreed with the honourable mover, but differed in the manner. He was willing to make any sacrifices which might be deemed necessary, not to the Hollanders, not to the Spaniards, nor to the French — but to his country. Nay, he would go farther than the honourable mover in this surrender, and farther than any abstract point whatever, to put a period to the war; for he would not only make a surrender of all the conquests, but a sacrifice of every thing he valued as an individual. Nothing then remained but to call upon the country to submit cheerfully to the sad alternative to which they were reduced, to join in returning thanks to Providence for the signal victory which had improved their condition, and to unite zealously and firmly to save the country from the destructive hatred and inordinate ambition of the enemy. He was sorry he had found it necessary to take up so much of the time and attention of the House; but he thought it fit that every one should know both where they are, and what they are, either as legislators or individuals, under that constitution whose happy influence they hourly experienced, and whose perpetual existence they should hourly endeavour to preserve. For his own part, as he was embarked, he would never quit the ship till she was sinking, and he would exhort every other person interested in her safety to follow his example.

Sir H. MANN cordially coincided in all that had fallen from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and did not imagine he could well add any thing to the spirited reply that Mr. Wilberforce had made to an honourable gentleman (Mr. B. Edwards). He was prepared to go as far as any man in the cause of humanity; but when he attended to the nature of the enemy with whom we had to contend, he saw we had no alternative left but manfully to counteract and defeat the black designs which that enemy meditated against this country. They were sanguine in their hopes that those designs would prove successful, the object of which was no less than to destroy our commerce, to revolutionize the country, to abolish our laws, and to annihilate the constitution. But in these black attempts they would, he trusted, be baffled and confounded. He was not disposed to follow the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards) through the whole of what he advanced; he would, however, agree with him in lamenting the absence of a right honourable gentleman, whose political knowledge and abilities he had ever highly respected.

He hoped to have seen him, and those who acted with him, in their places, and to have heard them come chearfully forward to congratulate the country on the signal and glorious victory which had recently crowned our naval arm; and especially after the insolent and contumelious manner in which the rulers of France had treated our Ambassador; after they had evidently betrayed a fixed design to overturn our Constitution, and deprive us of all the blessings we enjoyed under it; sorely was he disappointed in not seeing that right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) join heart and hand with the House, and harmonise it into unanimity, and approve himself anxious and ready to support, not Ministers, but the Country, and prevent it from being laid at the feet of a cruel, sanguinary, and unrelenting enemy.

The honourable Baronet was astonished to hear the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards) accuse Lord Malmesbury of want of sincerity in the former and late negotiation. [Here Mr. B. Edwards denied the charge, which he intended, he said, only for Ministers.] The honourable Baronet pretended only to a plain understanding, and he thought the accusing Ministers was nearly the same with accusing his Lordship of insincerity. For his part, he thought them both sincere, and if gentlemen would but look at the late declaration, the finest piece of composition he had ever seen, they would soon be convinced both of the sincerity of Ministers, and of the insincerity and ambition of the enemy they had to treat with. If the conduct of the French was duly attended to, it would clearly appear how averse they are to peace—Did they not banish the two Directors who had betrayed pacific dispositions? While our insolent and ambitious foe perseveres in his present temper, we have no alternative left but manfully to persevere in the contest. The evincing of a proud and unbroken spirit can alone uphold our cause, and ultimately prove favourable to the attainment of peace. May this spirit animate and guide us, unless we are prepared tamely to surrender whatever is valuable and dear to us as a nation. The enemy, we have seen, would accede to no preliminaries, but such as could not be looked at without a blush. When, therefore, no alternative is left us, ought not such a situation to arouse the energies, and call forth the unanimity of the British heart?

The honourable Baronet next proceeded to vindicate the character of the new Peers from the aspersions thrown on them by Mr. B. Edwards. They were stigmatized by that honourable gentleman as unworthy of the honours that had lately been conferred upon them. But he felt safe in making an assertion, in which he was satisfied a respectable majority of the House would concur, that the

gentlemen so contemptuously alluded to, had uniformly served their country with ardour and fidelity. That the purest and most disinterested spirit guided their votes, and this he could exemplify in one of them, (Mr. Powys) a relation of his, to whose acknowledged merit he would pass the tribute it deserved, without fearing to be accused of any partiality being dictated by that relationship. As to the address, he perfectly agreed with the honourable gentlemen by whom it had been moved and seconded.

Mr. ELFORD said, that what had fallen from the two honourable gentlemen who spoke last in the debate, had been so ample an answer to the honourable gentleman who spoke last on the opposite side of the House, that he should only notice one circumstance in his speech, to which they had not adverted, and that was what the honourable gentleman had said relative to the great and signal naval victory obtained over the Dutch fleet. He would put it to the honourable gentleman, whether or no it was fair or just to say any thing that might tend to do away any part of the effect of that most glorious action? He had brought into a prominent point of view that unhappy circumstance, which was not peculiarly characteristic of this particular action, but which was the necessary concomitant of all splendid victories—because the severity of the contest was one source of their celebrity: that he was sure his feelings were in union with every man in the House, when he expressed his utmost regret for the loss of those brave officers and seamen who had suffered in their country's cause; but that it was imprudent and unjust, unnecessarily to obtrude any thing on the public, which would at all cloud so glorious a day.

Mr. NICHOLLS was heartily disposed to join with those who lamented the absence of Mr. Fox, however he might be exposed to censure for expressing such a regret. He could not help recollecting the number of years which that right honourable gentleman had toiled in opposing a majority of that House, which supported the continuance of the American war, the termination of which was principally to be ascribed to the unwearied perseverance of that accomplished Statesman. By that war, the House of Brunswick was deprived of a large and valuable portion of its dominion; and God forbid it should now sustain an additional privation, by continuing to hearken to the sinister counsels by which the nation has for a long time been governed. What was the recompence that Mr. Fox's indefatigable exertions have since met with? Censure and obloquy. Of this unmerited censure, he instanced the conduct of Parliament respecting the India bill, brought forward by that right honourable gentleman in 1783. Though that bill contained a

true statement of the Company's affairs, and shewed them to be four millions in arrears. Mr. Nicholls was proceeding to the history of Mr. Fox's parliamentary conduct, when he was called to order by the Speaker, who observed, that the whole House must be sensible that the honourable gentleman seemed entirely to lose sight of the question under discussion; upon which Mr. Nicholls apologised to the House, and then proceeded to state, that if the situation of the country was such as it had been this night described, nothing was left us but to pursue a *bellum internecinum*—under such tremendous circumstances, we all should join heart and hand, and rally round the country. It was his sincere wish to support Royalty, the Nobility, and the Rights of the Commons; the whole of which he saw with pain, were in extreme danger. But while he saw it was necessary thus to wage a war *pro aris et focis*, he could not stifle the resentment that rose up in his breast against a Minister, by whose ill-advised rashments it was begun, and through whose incapacity its conduct and progress had been disgraced by disaster and defeat. We were now without allies; our very existence was threatened; and he could not but concur with an honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards), that Ministers were not sincere in their endeavours at negotiation—not even in their late attempt. What are said to be the obstacles that defeat these endeavours? Our refusal to surrender the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Trincomale. But what are our reasons for wishing to retain them? Is it their value? Surely not; neither are we forced in honour so to do. The same reasons might equally be urged for not retaining Martinique, Demerary, &c. which we would not hesitate to give up. Is it, therefore, our interest to continue the war for the sake of keeping the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, &c. which must so soon cost us much more than they are worth? If such be the intention, let us look to the state of our finances. From the 5th of July, 1796, to the 5th of July, 1797, an addition of two millions six hundred thousand pounds appear in the dividends, which is a sum equivalent to eighty-seven millions and a half in the 3 per cents.; and thus there will be four millions addition to the dividends, if the war be continued but for another year. How this can be borne by the landed or any other property, it was impossible for him to see. The Funds must give way, and the middling class of the people must inevitably be ruined, and the whole country be oppressed and overwhelmed with burdens; and all these accumulated calamities be risked and endured, merely to secure the possession of the Cape of Good Hope. The Minister is a man of sense; he must know and feel the truth of what is here advanced. But the alarmists

who support him are determined on a *bellum internecinum*. For his part, he harboured no aversion against the Minister or his friends. But let him and them make peace: peace is necessary; it is necessary to the salvation of the country, [*much laughter.*] Mr. Nicholls professed his disregard of laughter and ridicule; he was serious and sincere, and the subject he touched on should not be treated with levity. He would again repeat it—peace was necessary, for without it there was no salvation for the country; it must be lost: nor can the dividends in the Funds be paid if the war be protracted for three years more; and, indeed, how could they be paid? Our ears were stunned with nothing but praise and rejoicings for victories that will avail us little. Our finances are our main object; to these we must attend. Even should ten shillings additional be laid on land, we should not be able to continue the war for three years. The question was serious and momentous; it was not one to be carried by acclamation. We owe it as a duty to His Majesty to recommend to him a change of his servants; they have long been tried, and tried to no purpose. Unless the people see every thing done that can possibly be attempted, they will never think of joining cordially in the cause. Ireland, at least, cannot be expected to join it. The cruel treatment which she experiences must altogether alienate her affections; but if any, or every description of men are ready to join and unite in support of Royalty, Nobility, and the Commons, not forgetting the Episcopacy (for the Church establishment is necessarily connected with our political existence), he was ready to join and unite with them. But again, they must be warned and entreated to promote the attainment of peace, upon which the fate of the nation solely depends.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG regretted that such intemperate language had been used as he had heard in the course of that evening; language which he hardly could have expected to have heard in an English House of Commons. Because a menace had been thrown out by the enemy, was it prudent or necessary that we should sit down in despondency? Certainly not. But it is said, that if we had sent out a person under full power to surrender all our conquests, we should have still been enabled to treat with the enemy. To treat! For what? For our navy? Yes, assuredly such would be the final demand of the enemy, and we should be permitted at last, like Carthage under the tyranny of ancient Rome, to keep up so many ships only on the sea, as must eventually destroy our commerce, our liberties, our security, and our existence. In Livy we find *Carthago delenda*, and when the Romans had limited her ships the sentence was fulfilled, and *Carthago deleta* fol-

lowed. Sir William said, he had no greater pretensions to property than other people, but still he was anxious for the preservation of his country, for he did not consider a man's personal interest in the welfare of his country, to be invested in estates, or any other species of wealth, but to consist in his children, his family, his friends, the liberty to walk abroad when he pleased, the freedom of opinion, and, above all, in the measurement and value of his own talents. Living a great deal in the country as he did, he thought he knew the nature of his situation and his circumstances tolerably well, and was able to judge what sacrifices he could make; and as he had prepared himself to do so to a certain extent, for the maintenance of the Constitution and Laws, he should call upon the great body of the People to follow his example. And he should call on his honourable friend also, whom he believed to be sincere in his representation of the distresses of the country, to rouse his energies, and not to weep the fall of Cæsar without the least exertion to avenge. Or to use the words in *Sextus Germanicus*, the original of which he did not recollect, let him say:

"We will not weep, my friends, we will revenge."

Mr. I. H. BROWNE observed, that when the taxes were stated to be grievous, gentlemen ought to review the increased value of estates, of manufactures, and of commerce, to defray them. The internal wealth of the kingdom was never so abundant as at present; and to that and that alone we were indebted for our naval victories, our strength, and our security. That was the permanent cause of the courage in our troops and seamen.

The question on the Address was then put and carried; after which, a Committee was appointed to draw up the same, of which the following is a copy:

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the Throne, and for the communication of the declaration, and the other papers respecting the negotiation with France, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct to be laid before us.

"Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we shall not fail to apply ourselves, with the utmost diligence and attention, to the consideration of the measures which the present crisis requires; but

we cannot refrain from expressing, at the earliest moment, our firm determination to afford your Majesty the most effectual support in resisting every unwarrantable pretension, and checking every attempt dictated by inordinate ambition on the part of those with whom we have to contend.

“ We entertain a firm persuasion that all your Majesty's faithful subjects feel as they ought the value of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve, and will not fail, in every situation, to support your Majesty, in defence of their essential interests, with the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, worthy of a great and free people: and we must, at the present moment, observe, with peculiar satisfaction, the proofs afforded of our means and internal resources in the flourishing state of the revenue, industry, and commerce, of the country.

“ With the utmost gratitude we acknowledge the sense which your Majesty expresses of the public spirit which has been so eminently displayed by your People, and of the conduct of your Majesty's troops of every description, which has justly entitled them to the additional esteem and admiration of their country.

“ And we most heartily congratulate your Majesty on the signal and decisive victory with which providence has rewarded the exertions of your fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan; an event which has crowned the repeated maritime successes obtained over all our enemies, and has, indeed, afforded a brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course of the present war, have raised to the highest pitch the naval glory of the country.

“ It will afford us great satisfaction to find that any branches of our expence will admit of reduction, consistently with the continuance of those vigorous efforts which must be necessary for our safety, and which, at all events, cannot fail to be attended with heavy expence. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying it, we shall, undoubtedly, bear in mind the nature of the present crisis; and, in estimating the value of any temporary sacrifices, we shall not lose sight of the infinite importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and of convincing the enemy that, while we join in your Majesty's anxious desire for the conclusion of peace, on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to support with vigour this arduous contest, as long as it may be rendered necessary, for maintaining the safety, honour, and independence, of these kingdoms.

“ We beseech your Majesty to believe that our loyalty and attachment to your Majesty, and our anxious regard for the interests

of your subjects, will ensure our perseverance in that line of conduct which may best preserve the advantages resulting to your People from your Majesty's auspicious Government.

"The blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments have long been deeply imprinted on our minds; and we cannot but feel more and more, from the events of every day, how much they distinguish us among all the nations of Europe; we shall never be unmindful that they can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy Constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, on which the security and happiness of every class of your Majesty's subjects essentially depend."

Friday, November 3.

Mr. HOBHOUSE made the following motions:

"That there be laid before the House an account of the net produce of the taxes for one year, ending the 10th of October, 1797, distinguishing the produce each quarter, and distinguishing the duties that were imposed in 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797." Ordered.

"That there be laid before the House an account of the income of and charges on the consolidated fund for the quarter ending October 10, 1797." Ordered.

Mr. TIERNEY conceived it to be candid, before Mr. Dundas exercised any parliamentary functions, to give notice that he should, on Monday next, move, "That the House should refuse to acknowledge that gentleman in any parliamentary capacity." The cause of his motion was, that in the session of 1794, it had been represented, upon some questions being asked, that the right honourable gentleman was merely discharging part of the duties attached to the office of the Duke of Portland. It appeared, however, from the reports of the Committee of Finance, that salaries were paid to three Secretaries of State, and that the right honourable gentleman was indisputably the third Secretary of State.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS moved,

"That the thanks of this House be given to Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, for his able and gallant conduct in the brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the Dutch fleet on the 11th day of October, as well as for the zeal, courage, and perseverance, which he has uniformly manifested during the arduous period

in which he has commanded His Majesty's fleet in the North Sea."

"That the thanks of this House be given to Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Baronet, and to the several Captains and Officers in the fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, who, by their bravery and gallant conduct, contributed to the glorious success of that day, and that Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan do signify the same to them."

"That this House doth highly approve of, and acknowledge, the services of the Seamen and Marines on board the ships under the command of Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, in the late glorious victory over the Dutch fleet; and that the officers commanding the several ships do signify the same to their respective crews, and do thank them for their gallant behaviour."

All of which motions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS now expressed his sorrow that he was under the necessity of bringing to the recollection of the House, the lamented death of a gallant officer, Captain Burges. Of that brave man he had no personal knowledge. His character however was not unknown to him, nor to any person in the naval service. He was equally celebrated for professional skill and for private worth. From Admiral Lord Duncan he had authority to assure the House, that both from public and private motives, he considered the loss of such a man as one of the greatest which this country had ever sustained; that the period of life when he was removed from the world, promised that he would rise, had he lived, to the highest stations of his profession, and thereby be furnished with a larger sphere for the display of his abilities. While the House did justice to the conduct of the living, they would, surely, transmit to posterity the memory of the dead; and therefore, he should move,

"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, humbly desiring that His Majesty will be pleased to give directions, that a monument be erected, in the cathedral church of Saint Paul, London, to the memory of Captain Richard Rundle Burges, of His Majesty's ship *Ardent*, who fell gloriously in the naval engagement of the 11th of October, when a decisive victory was obtained by Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan over the Dutch fleet; and to assure His Majesty, that this House will make good the expence attending the same."

Mr. Secretary Dundas then presented to the House, by His Majesty's command, the following Papers :

(No. 1.)

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.

The signature of the preliminaries of a peace, the definitive conclusion of which is to put an end to the continental war, appears to afford to the two Governments of Great Britain and France a natural opportunity and new facilities for the renewal of pacific negotiations between them : A part of the obstacles, which might have retarded this salutary work, no longer existing ; and the interests to be treated of being, after this event, neither so extensive nor so complicated as they were before.

The Court of London, always desirous of employing such means as are best calculated to contribute to this object, so interesting to the happiness of the two nations, is unwilling to omit renewing to the French Government the assurance of the continuance of its dispositions on this subject. And the undersigned is authorized to propose to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to enter without delay, and in such manner as shall be judged the most expedient, upon the discussion of the views and pretensions of each party for the regulation of the preliminaries of a peace, which may be definitively arranged at the future Congress.

As soon as the form of this negotiation shall have been agreed upon, the British Government will be ready to concur in it, by taking on its part such measures as are the most proper for accelerating the re-establishment of the public tranquillity.

Westminster, June 1, 1797.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 2.)

Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, lost no time in laying before the Executive Directory the note which was transmitted to him on the 1st of June (O. S.) by Lord Grenville, in the name of His Britannic Majesty. He is directed to answer it.

The Executive Directory fees with satisfaction the desire which the Cabinet of St. James's expresses to put an end, at length, to the calamities of war. It will receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which shall be made to it by the Court of England.

The Executive Directory desires notwithstanding, that the negotiations should be set on foot at once for a definitive treaty. This proceeding appears to the Directory preferable to a Congress, of which the result must be remote, and which does not correspond with the ardent desire that it has to re-establish, as quickly as possible, peace between the two powers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 16 Prairial, 5th year of the
French Republic, one and indivisible,
June 4, 1797.

(No. 3.)

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Court of London has received with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances of the dispositions of the Executive Directory to entertain

with eagerness the pacific overtures of Great Britain, as well as of its desire to re-establish, as soon as possible, peace between the two powers.

Anxious to contribute to it in every thing which can depend upon itself, the British Government will not delay to send to Paris, or to such other place upon the Continent, as may be agreed upon, a Minister, to treat and conclude with the Plenipotentiary, who shall be appointed by the Executive Directory.

The undersigned is directed to desire to know the wish of the Directory, as to the place of the negotiation, in order that a speedy determination may be taken here upon that subject; and to request the Minister for Foreign affairs to send him, without delay, the necessary passports, to enable the King's Plenipotentiary to repair immediately to his destination. The question of signing preliminary or definitive articles, will necessarily depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations, to which, on the part of Great Britain, will be brought the most sincere desire for the speedy re-establishment of peace.

Westminster, June 8, 1797.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 4.)

Official Note.—The Minister for foreign affairs to Lord Grenville.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic has seen with satisfaction, by the official note of Lord Grenville, dated June 8th (O. S.), that the Court of London shews itself disposed to set on foot, without delay, the negotiation for which it has lately made an overture. Filled with the same eagerness, convinced that the intentions of the British Government are such as it describes them, the Directory has directed the undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to transmit to Lord Grenville the necessary passports for a Minister furnished with full powers for the purpose of negotiating a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French Republic.

The Executive Directory has fixed upon the Commune of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective Plenipotentiaries.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 23 Prairial, 5th year of the French Republic, June 11, 1797.

(No. 5.)

Liberty, Equality.

Fraternity, Union.

In the name of the French Republic.

To all officers, civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name respected abroad.

Allow to pass freely

furnished with the full powers of His Britannic Majesty for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French Republic, Native of, &c. &c.

going to Lisle, Department of the North, the place appointed for the negotiation, without giving or suffering any hindrance to be given to him.

This passport shall be in force for

Decades only.

Given at Paris, the 23 Prairial, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

The Minister of Foreign affairs,
By the Minister,

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

(Signed) T. GUIARDET.

(No. 6.)

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned has received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic his official note, with the passport which accompanied it.

The Court of London willingly accepts the proposal of the French Government with respect to the place of negotiation, and consents that Lisle shall be appointed as the place of meeting for the respective Plenipotentiaries: it being always understood that the King's Plenipotentiary shall have liberty to dispatch his couriers directly from Lisle to Dover, by way of Calais; and that the English vessels, appointed for keeping up this communication, shall be allowed freely to go into, and come out of, the port of Calais, and to pass in perfect safety between that city and Dover.

With respect to the passport, the undersigned finds himself under the necessity of remarking that the terms in which this instrument is drawn up, differ from the usual form, by the particular description, which is inserted in them, of the nature and extent of the powers, and of the mission of the King's Plenipotentiary.

This new form appears liable to produce, in many instances, considerable inconvenience; and, according to the terms used in this particular instance, it would have the disadvantage of not answering exactly to the powers and the mission of the Minister in question.

His full powers, drawn up in the usual form, will include every case; and without prescribing to him any particular mode or negotiation, will give him the most unlimited authority to conclude any articles of treaties, whether preliminary or definitive, as might best conduce to the speedy re-establishment of peace, which is the sole object of his mission.

But the Court of London does not by any means make a point of concluding a preliminary treaty, and would prefer only that mode, whatever it may be, which shall be found the best calculated to accelerate the conclusion of peace.

The King's Plenipotentiary then will be equally ready, and authorized to begin the negotiation without delay, upon either footing; upon the footing of a preliminary treaty—or, should such continue to be the wish of the Directory, upon that of a definitive treaty.

As to what regards the question of a separate treaty—there would be no objection to settling, by a treaty of this kind, whatever relates to the respective interests of France and of Great Britain, as has been usually the practice in similar cases: But the King cannot allow any doubt to subsist as to his intention of providing for what is due to the interests of his ally Her Most Faithful Majesty. And in pursuance of the same principles, His Majesty will not refuse to enter into such explanations with respect to the interests of Spain and Holland as may appear necessary for the re-establishment of peace.

After this frank and precise explanation, the British Government is persuaded that the Directory will not delay to transmit to them a passport for the British Plenipotentiary and his suite, in the usual form, and such as was sent in the month of October last for the mission with which Lord Malmesbury was then charged.

In this expectation, and for the sake of avoiding all delay, His Majesty has already made choice of the same Minister to represent him on this important occasion. And the undersigned is charged to inquire on what

day the French Plenipotentiary will be at Lisle, in order that Lord Malmesbury may arrive there at the same time.

Westminster, June 17, 1797.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 7.)

Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has laid before the Directory, immediately upon its receipt, the official note addressed to him by Lord Grenville, dated June 17, 1797 (O. S.) He loses no time in replying to it, according to the orders which he has received.

The Directory, partaking most sincerely in the pacific sentiments which His Britannic Majesty announces, and wishing to bring the negotiations as quickly as possible to a happy issue, persists in requiring that the respective Plenipotentiaries shall begin immediately upon their meeting to treat of a definitive treaty. The Directory accepts, with satisfaction, the consent of His Britannic Majesty upon this subject, expressed in the note of Lord Grenville.

The Directory consents that His Britannic Majesty shall make, by his Plenipotentiary, such proposals or stipulations as he shall think proper for Her Most Faithful Majesty, as in return the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic will do for their allies His Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic.

The Directory consents that the negotiation shall be opened with Lord Malmesbury. Another choice would, however, have appeared to the Directory to augur more favourably for the speedy conclusion of peace.

The Directory requires that it shall be established as a principle, that each English packet boat, which shall have brought over either the Plenipotentiary or a Courier, shall return without delay, and shall not be allowed to make any stay. The Directory will give orders that a French packet boat shall be furnished, without delay, to each of the Couriers whom the Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty shall dispatch. The Directory desires, at the same time, that the Couriers should not be sent too frequently; the frequent sending of them having been one of the principal causes of the rupture of the former negotiation.

After the above explanation, it becomes unnecessary to transmit to Lord Grenville a new passport, the restrictions which he apprehended were to be found in that which has been addressed to him being entirely done away.

The French Plenipotentiaries will have arrived at Lisle by the time at which Lord Malmesbury can himself be there.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 2 Messidor. (June 20, 1797.)

(No. 8.)

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned has laid before the King the official note of the French Government, which he received the 23d of the present month.

As to the two first articles of this note, both parties are agreed. On this point, therefore, there is nothing to be added to the explanations already given; in consequence of which explanations Lord Malmesbury will, without delay, proceed to Lisle to enter into a negotiation with the French Plenipotentiaries for the completion of a definitive treaty. The

remark of the Directory upon the choice which His Majesty has thought fit to make of his Plenipotentiary, being certainly of a nature not to require any answer.

The British Government agrees to the arrangement proposed for the packet boats; provided that a French packet boat shall be furnished regularly, and without the least delay, for each courier which the British Plenipotentiary shall find it necessary to dispatch: the exercise of his incontestable right in this respect being to be governed by his own discretion only, with a view to bringing the negotiation with which he is charged to a speedy and successful end.

With regard to the rupture of the last negotiation, the circumstances and the motives of it are known to all Europe; and it is not at the moment of entering into a new pacific discussion that the British Government conceives it can be of any use to recall them to recollection.

Lord Malmesbury will set out from London on the 30th of this month to proceed to Calais; from whence he will arrange his departure according to the notification he may receive of the day on which the French Minister may reach Lisle.

Westminster, June 26, 1797.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 9.)

Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs lost no time in laying before the Executive Directory the official note addressed to him by Lord Grenville, dated the 21st of June, (O. S.) 8th of the present month Messidor.

In answer to this note, he has the honour to declare to Lord Grenville, that the Plenipotentiaries charged by the Directory with the negotiation, are already assembled in Lisle, and that the conferences may be set on foot as soon as the Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty shall have arrived there. Provision has been made that there shall never be a want of packet boats for the couriers which he shall think proper to send to London.

The undersigned at the same time apprizes Lord Grenville, that a copy of this note will be delivered to Lord Malmesbury on his arrival at Calais, in order that there may be nothing to hinder his immediate departure for Lisle.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 Messidor, 5th year.

(June 29, 1797.)

(No. 10.)

Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 6th, Thursday, 8 P.M. 1797.

My Lord,

Having had this morning my first conference with the French Plenipotentiaries, and having mutually exchanged our full powers, I think it my duty to dispatch a messenger, in order that His Majesty may have the earliest information of this circumstance. My dispatch, however, must be confined to this alone, as nothing whatever has yet passed relative to the negotiation itself.

(No. 11.)

*Equality.**Liberty.*

Extract from the Registers of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, the 30th Prairial, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Executive Directory, after having heard the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, decrees as follows:

The Citizens Letourneur, heretofore Minister of the Executive Directory, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret, are authorized to negotiate with the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, the treaty of peace to be concluded between the French Republic and Great Britain. The Directory gives them the necessary full powers for agreeing upon and signing the articles of the treaty to be made. They shall conform themselves to the instructions which have been, or shall be given to them by the Executive Directory, to whom they shall render an account of the progress and the issue of the negotiations.

They are equally authorized, and under the same conditions, to stipulate for the allies of the Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic.

The Citizen Colchen, appointed Secretary General to the French legation, is authorized to assist at the conferences, to afford the information which shall be required of him, and to take a note of what shall be agreed upon and settled.

The present decree shall not be printed for the present.

(A true copy.)

The President of the Executive Directory,
CARNOT.

By the Executive Directory, the Secretary General,

LAGARDE.

(No. 12.)

Extracts of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 11, 1797.

I had the honour in my last, by Brooks, of the 6th inst. to inform your Lordship of my arrival here, of the manner in which I had been received, and of my having, in the usual form, exchanged my full powers with the French Plenipotentiaries.

On Friday the 7th, at noon, we held our second conference.

I opened this second conference with the French Plenipotentiaries, by saying, that I myself had no observations to make on their full powers, which appeared to be conformable to those usually given by the Directory to their Plenipotentiaries, and of course must be considered as sufficient for the purposes expressed in them; that I, however, had transmitted them by a messenger to my Court, and reserved to myself the right of communicating any objections or remarks which I might receive by the return of my messenger, relative to them.

M. le Tourneur, to whom, as President of the Commission, I addressed myself, replied, that they had taken precisely the same steps as myself; that *they* considered the full powers I had given in, as in due form, and sufficient; but that they also reserved to themselves the same right, in regard to instructions they might receive from the Directory on this subject, as I had claimed in regard to my Court.

To this, of course, I assented.

On Saturday the 8th instant I gave in the *projet* precisely as I had received it from your Lordship; a copy of which (A), as it is translated into French, I think it my duty to enclose

One of the French plenipotentiaries proposed that some time should be given them to take the proposals I had made into consideration, and begged of me merely for the sake of accuracy, and to help their memory, that I would be good enough either to let M. Colchen put down on paper, or myself send them a note containing the words with which I wished the articles left in blank to be filled up. I readily acquiesced in the latter mode, and immediately on my return sent them the inclosed note (B).

On Sunday evening I received the enclosed note (C) from the French Plenipotentiaries, and in consequence of it went to the proposed conference yesterday.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries informed me on the subject of the *projet* I had given them, and the note with which I had accompanied it, that as these papers contain many points on which their instructions did not enable them to answer, they had, after having given them a very serious attention, sent them, with such observations as they had thought it their duty to make on them, to the Directory, and that the moment they received an answer they would communicate it to me. But that, in the meanwhile, not to delay the progress of the negotiation, they wished that several points which he termed insulated, but which, though not referred to in our *projet*, were, he said, inseparably connected with the general subject of peace, might be discussed and got rid of now if I had no objection, and that it was with this view they had requested me to meet them.—On my not expressing any disapprobation to this mode of proceeding, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* began, by saying, that in the preamble of the treaty the title of King of France was used; that this title, they contended, could no longer be insisted on—the abolition of it was in a manner essential to the full acknowledgement of the French Republic, and that as it was merely titular as far as related to His Majesty, but quite otherwise in the sense in which it applied to them, he hoped it would not be considered as an important concession.

I informed them, that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to me to answer every purpose they required, and which it was my intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed, as proper to make part of this. The article (the first of the separate ones in the treaty of 1783) was then read; but they objected to it, as not fully meeting their views. It was to the title itself, as well as to any right which might be supposed to arise from it, that they objected. I could scarce allow myself to treat this mode of reasoning seriously. I endeavoured to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word; that it was creating difficulties where none existed; and that if all the French monarchs in the course of three centuries had allowed this to stand in the preamble of all treaties and transactions between the two countries, I could not conceive, after its having been used for so long a period without any claim or pretension being set forth in consequence of it, how it could now affect either the dignity, security, or importance of the Republic—that in fact such titles have ever been considered as indefeasible, and as memorials and records of former greatness, and not as pretensions to present power; and I quoted the titles of the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, &c. as examples exactly in point. I argued however in vain. They treated it very gravely, and made so strong a stand upon it, that I could

not avoid taking it for reference, which I thought it better to do, than, feeling as I did at the moment, to push the conversation farther.

The second insulated point was a very material one indeed, and which, although it has been adverted to as a proposal that might possibly be brought forward, I confess came upon me unexpectedly.—It was, to ask either a restitution of the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them. They grounded this claim on the preliminary declaration made by Lord Hood on his taking possession of Toulon; and on the eighth article of the declaration of the Committee of the Sections to him. They said, peace they hoped was about to be re-established; that His Majesty, in acknowledging the Republic, admitted that a sovereignty existed in the French Government; and of course that the ships, held only as a deposit by England till this legal authority was admitted, ought now to be restored. I replied, that this claim was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for me to have been provided for it in my instructions, and that I could therefore only convey my own private sentiments on it, which were, that they could not have devised a step more likely to defeat the great end of our mission.—*One of the French Plenipotentiaries* said, that he sincerely hoped not; that without a restitution of the ships an equivalent might be found to effect the purpose desired, since their great object was, that something should appear to prove that this just demand had not been overlooked by them, and was not left unsatisfied by us. I told him fairly, I did not see where this equivalent was to be found, or how it could be appreciated; and that considering the great advantages France had already obtained by the war, and those she was likely to obtain from the act of condescension I had already intimated His Majesty was disposed to make in order to restore peace, I was much surprised and deeply concerned at what I heard. I trusted, therefore, that this very inadmissible proposal would be withdrawn. They said it was not in their power; *one of them*, from a written paper before him, which he said were his instructions, read to me words to the effect I have already stated.

Their third question was as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the Emperor by Great Britain.—They wished to know if any such existed, since, as they had taken the Low Countries charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare that they should not consider themselves bound to answer any mortgage given for money lent to the Emperor, for the purpose of carrying on war against them.

I told them that, without replying to this question, supposing the case to exist, the exception they required should have been stated in their treaty with the Emperor, and could not at all be mixed up with ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they stood charged with *all* their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant; and that if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retroactive effect.

The French Plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two; and as I found to every argument I used that they constantly opposed their instructions, I had nothing to do, but to desire that they would give me a written paper stating their three claims, in order that I might immediately transmit it to your Lordship, and on this being promised, our conference broke up.

Between four and five P. M. yesterday I received the enclosed note (D), and I have lost no time since it is in my possession in preparing to send

away a messenger, as independent of the disagreeable subjects brought forward in this last conference, and which it is material should be communicated without delay, I am anxious His Majesty should be informed of what has passed in general up to this day, as it may perhaps furnish some ideas as to the possible event of the negotiation.

(No. 13. A.)

Project of a Treaty of Peace.

Be it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most Serene and most Potent Prince George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which has for some time past subsisted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and constituted for their Plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace; viz: the King of Great Britain, the Lord Baron of Malmesbury, a Peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Privy Councillor to His Britannic Majesty, and the Executive Directory of the French Republic,

who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. As soon as this treaty shall be signed and ratified, there shall be an universal and perpetual peace as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship between the two contracting parties, and their dominions, and territories, and people, without exception of either places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions, territories, and people, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other before or since the commencement of the war; and they shall carefully avoid for the future every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons of both parties to stop all hostilities; and for the execution of this article, sea passes shall be given on each side to the ships dispatched to carry the news of peace to the possessions of the two parties.

II. The treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763; and that of Versailles of 1783, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty. And for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and religiously executed by both parties in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. Each party respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners in the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and security shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release.

IV. With respect to the rights of fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and the islands adjacent, and in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, the two parties shall return to the same situation in which they stood respectively, according to the treaties and engagements subsisting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with this view, His Majesty consents to restore to France, in full right, the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon.

V. The same principle of the state of possession before the war, is adopted by mutual consent, with respect to all other possessions and rights on both sides, in every part of the world, save only the exceptions which are stipulated by the subsequent articles of this treaty, and to this intent, all possessions or territories which have or may have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not specially excepted in this treaty), shall be restored to the party to whom they belonged at the commencement of the present war.

VI. From this principle of mutual restitution, the two parties have agreed to except which shall remain to His Britannic Majesty in full sovereignty.

VII. In all the cases of restitution provided by the present treaty, the fortresses shall be restored in the same condition in which they now are, and no injury shall be done to any works that have been constructed since the conquest of them.

VIII. It is also agreed, that in every case of restitution or cession provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the respective territory or place restored or ceded, shall be allowed to persons of whatever description, residing or being in the said territory or place, possessed of property therein under any title existing before the war, or which has since devolved to them by the laws then existing; during which term of three years they shall remain and reside unmolested in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their possessions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they so acquired the same, without being liable in any manner, or under any pretence, to be prosecuted or sued for their past conduct, except as to the discharge of just debts to individuals; and that all those who, within the time of _____ months after the notification of this treaty, shall declare to the government, then established, their intention to withdraw themselves, or their effects, and to remove to some other place, shall have and obtain within one month after such declaration full liberty to depart and to remove their effects, or to sell and dispose of the same, whether moveable or immoveable, at any time within the said period of three years, without any restraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal prosecution for acts done subsequent to the notification of this treaty.

IX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions herein-before stipulated, it is agreed, that the same shall take place in Europe within (one month), in Africa and America within (three months), and in Asia within (six months), after the ratification of the present treaty.

X. For preventing the revival of the law suits which have been ended in the territories to be restored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgements in private causes pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XI. The decision of the prizes and seizures of ships and their cargoes taken at sea or seized in the ports of either country, prior to the hostilities, shall be referred to the respective courts of justice; so that the legality of the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation which have made the capture, or ordered the seizures. And in order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall be restored on each side:—That the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean:—Two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the equinoctial line or equator: Three months from the equator to any part to the westward of the Cape of Good Hope, and the eastward of Cape Horn:—And lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. The allies of the two parties, that is to say, Her Most Faithful Majesty as ally of His Britannic Majesty, and His Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic as allies of the French Republic, shall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace on the terms and conditions specified in the three following articles; the execution of which the said two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being thereto respectively authorized by their above-mentioned allies:—And the two contracting parties farther agree, that if their allies respectively shall not have so acceded within the space of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party so refusing to accede, shall not receive from its ally any aid or succour of any nature during the farther continuance of the war.

XIII. His Britannic Majesty engages to conclude a definitive peace with His Catholic Majesty on the footing of the state of possession before the war, with the exception of which shall remain in full sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty.

XIV. His Britannic Majesty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian Republic on the same footing of the state of possession before the war, with the exception of which shall remain to His Britannic Majesty in full sovereignty, and of which shall be ceded to His Majesty in exchange for

In consideration of these restitutions, to be hereby made by his Britannic Majesty, all property belonging to the Prince of Orange, in the month of December 1794, and which has been seized and confiscated since that period, shall be restored to him, or a full equivalent in money

given him for the same. And the French Republic farther engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compensation for the loss of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the persons who have been imprisoned or banished, or whose property has been sequestered or confiscated in the said Republic, on account of their attachment to the interests of the House of Orange, or to the former Government of the United Provinces, shall be released, and shall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reside therein, and to enjoy their property there, conforming themselves to the laws and constitution there established.

XV. The French Republic engages to conclude a definitive peace with her Most Faithful Majesty on the same footing of the state of possession before the war, and without any further demand or burthen some condition being made on either side.

XVI. All the stipulations contained in this treaty, respecting the time and manner of making the restitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reserved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the islands or territories restored or ceded, shall apply in like manner to the restitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three last articles, viz. the XIIIth, the XIVth, and XVth, except in those instances where the same may be derogated from by the mutual consent of the parties concerned.

XVII. All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent; and the articles of this treaty for the restoration of prisoners, the cessation of hostilities, and the decision relative to prizes and seizures, shall equally apply to the respective parties to whom the said three articles relate, and shall be held to be in full force between them, as soon as they shall respectively and in due form have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts of individuals belonging to any other of the said parties, shall be taken off, and the property of whatever kind shall be restored in the fullest manner to the lawful owner; or just compensation be made for it: and all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the usual practice and rules of war, and all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals at the periods of the commencement of hostilities respectively, between the said parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on the one side, and France, Spain, and Holland on the other; and which ought, according to the usual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, shall be received, heard, and decided in the respective courts of justice of the different parties; and full justice therein shall be done by each of the said parties to the subjects and people of the other, in the same manner as to their own subjects or people.

And if any complaint should arise respecting the execution of this article, which complaints shall not be settled by mutual agreement between the respective Governments within twelve months after the same shall have been preferred to them, the same shall be determined by sworn Commissioners to be appointed on each side, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation; and the decision of the said Commissioners shall be binding, and without appeal.

XIX. His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic promise to observe sincerely, and bona fide, all the articles contained and established

in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XX. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in ^{between the con-}tracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(No. 14. B.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty has the honour of presenting to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in consequence of the wish expressed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note, which he requests them at the same time to consider, not so much in the light of an official paper as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readiness to facilitate the progress of the negotiation, by giving them, on the very outset, all the explanations in his power on the projet of the treaty which he has delivered to them.

If, as the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have assured him, it is contrary to their most positive instructions to enter into any discussion relative to the cession of those possessions which belonged to France before the war, it is useless to dwell on the VIth article; since the compensations which His Britannic Majesty might have demanded by that article, in return for the restitutions which he is disposed to make for the re-establishment of peace, must, in consequence of this declaration, be sought for in the cessions to be made by His Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic.

Lord Malmesbury therefore proposes to insert in the thirteenth article, after the words *status ante bellum*, the following words: "With the exception of the island of Trinidad, which shall remain in full possession to His Britannic Majesty."

Lord Malmesbury imagines that it is unnecessary for him to repeat the reasons which induce him to insist upon the retaining of this conquest, unless compensation should be made for it by some other cession which shall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France, from the acquisition of the Spanish part of St. Domingo.

With regard to the fourteenth article, Lord Malmesbury proposes, that after the words *status ante bellum*, should be added, "With the exception of the town, fort, and establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the possessions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the island of Ceylon, and of the town and fort of Cochin, which shall be ceded to His Britannic Majesty in exchange for the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmesbury repeats to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic the assurance of his readiness to concur with them, in every thing which shall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy issue; and requests of them, at the same time, to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Lisle, July 8, 1797.

(Signed) MALMESEBURY.

(No. 15. C.)

Note.—From the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have received the note which the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty did them the honour of addressing to them yesterday. They will give to it, as well as to the project of a treaty to which it relates, the most serious attention. In the mean time, though they are not yet enabled to communicate to Lord Malmesbury the remarks to which these two papers appear to them liable, they think it their duty to propose to him a conference to-morrow, at one o'clock, if that hour is agreeable to him, in order to treat with him on distinct points, the discussion of which may be entered upon separately, and which may be proceeded in without delay.

They request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)
Lille, 21 Messidor,
5th Year of the Republic,
July 9th, 1797.

LE TOURNEUR,
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MAËT.
COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Leg.

(No. 16. D.)

Note.—From the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lille.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic lose no time in complying with the wish expressed to them by the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, by transmitting to him a note on the three points which were the subject of their conference of this day.

1. They have positive orders to require the renunciation of the title of King of France borne by His Britannic Majesty.

Lord Malmesbury is requested to observe that the question is not only of a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but farther and formally of the title itself. The establishment of the French Republic, and the acknowledgement of this form of Government by the King of England, will not allow of his retaining a title which would imply the existence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

2. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic are ordered to demand the restitution of the vessels taken or destroyed at Toulon.

Great Britain has publicly and formally declared that these vessels were taken in trust for the King of France.—This trust is sacred. It incontestably belongs to the Republic, which exercises the rights and the sovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannic Majesty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French Republic deny its right to the restitution required, or refuse either to make the restitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

3. The Ministers Plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, of the mortgage on Belgium.

That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the Emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French Republic, and cannot remain burthened with such a mortgage.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed)

Lille, le 22 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic,
July 10, 1797.

LE TOURNEUR.
FLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MARET.
COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of Leg.

(No. 17.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 13, 1797.

With respect to the demands contained in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French Ministers, they have been naturally received here with great surprise. On the subject of the Netherlands as connected with the Austrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between His Majesty and the French Government is wholly unnecessary. The loans raised in England for the service of the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by act of Parliament here, rest, as your Lordship will perceive, by the annexed copy of the Convention on that subject, upon the security of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of His Imperial Majesty. They do not seem in any manner to come under the description contained in the sixth article of the preliminaries between Austria and France, respecting mortgages upon the soil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the business.

Nor is this subject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of discussion between His Majesty and the Republic; the King neither forms nor has any intention of forming any demand on the French Government for the payment of any part either of the interest or capital of those loans. It is to the Emperor alone that His Majesty looks for the performance of His Imperial Majesty's engagements to him, and it is upon the Austrian Government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in those loans have claims of private right, and means of personal demand secured to them by the Convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the observations which your Lordship has already made upon them; and we can therefore only wait with impatience for the answer to the projet delivered by your Lordship, which will enable us to form a judgement on the intentions of the Government with whom we are treating.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 18.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, 16th July, 1797.

It was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; *one of them* stated their motive for wishing to confer with me, not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the *projet*, which he observed could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the *projet*, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue before we entered on the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned from various reasons; first, That many and even most

of them were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; secondly, That they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgement that a portion of the regal authority is still existing; thirdly, That they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations, in direct contradiction to their present form of Government, and he quoted the Convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when *another of them* interposed by saying, that their sincere and only desire was that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed, as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he assured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties, in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted most certainly all he said, and that it was with this view and on this principle solely that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by His Majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgement of the tenure by which almost all the Sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republic, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

He replied, that our object was evidently the same, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing these treaties *in toto* would the best contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the interests of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to attain this desirable object. *The French Minister* again repeated, that their first wish was, that the treaty we were now making should be clear, distinct, solid, and lasting, and such a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifest violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be so consonant to my orders, or the intentions of my royal master.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries was disposed to dwell on his objections, which were, that these treaties were signed when France was a monarchy, and that any retrospect to those times implied a sort of censure on their present form of Government; but this was arguing on such weak ground, and so incapable of being seriously maintained, that I, to avoid superfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it pass unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable discussion, in which, however, neither party gave much way to the other, it was proposed by them that we should return home, to meet again as soon as was convenient after an attentive and deliberate perusal of these treaties, in order to state respectively our ideas on this subject. I observed, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almost bold enough to affirm, that no measure could be devised which would so completely meet

our intentions as an unreserved renewal of the treaties they hesitated about, yet I was very willing to acquiesce in their proposal, with this simple observation, that if any delay arose from it, such delay was imputable to them and not to me. My words were, "Je ne me rends pas responsable des Longueurs dans lesquelles cette discussion pourrait nous entraîner." The French Minister's answer was, "Si des longueurs servent à déterminer des objets qui pourraient donner lieu à des querelles à l'avenir, ce sera du tems bien employé." It was not my wish to contest this assertion, and our conference ended with it.

(No. 19.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, July 16, 1797.

My Lord,

Yesterday at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller discussions on the litigated subject of the renewal of the treaties mentioned in the second article of the projet, I received from the French Legation the enclosed paper (A). In about an hour I returned the enclosed answer (B), to which I received the enclosed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in consequence of it.

I began by saying, that I had solicited this interview from the same motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wished to make my reports not only correct but conciliatory as far as depended on me, and I now was come, in order, if possible, to obtain from them such comments and explanations on the note they sent to me yesterday, as would enable me, when I transmitted it to my Court, to secure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the perusal of it. If I understood it right, it meant that the Directory requires as a *sine qua non Preliminary*, that every thing the King has conquered from all and each of his enemies should be restored, and that till this restoration was consented to the negotiation was not even to begin. I said, if I was correct in this statement, and the plain sense of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I must add that it would not only most certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, since it deprived His Majesty of every means of negotiation; for, I could not suppose that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to His Majesty, was to be one of all cession and no compensation, and yet that was precisely the position in which His Majesty was placed by their note.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here stopt me, and said, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expressed a wish to see them before I dispatched my messenger; that they wished to assure me that they had thought it dealing fairly and honourably to state what they had received from the Directory in the very words in which it came to them: that they should be sorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, should be of a nature to interrupt, much less to break off, the negotiation: that it was the sincere wish of the Directory that the negotiation should proceed and end successfully; and that, far from shutting the door to farther discussions, they were perfectly ready to hear any proposals we had to make, and only wished that these proposals should be, if possible, such as were compatible with their most sacred engagements. I repeated what I had said, that no door was left open if His Majesty was *in limine* to restore

every thing; and that a peace on these conditions would not be heard of by the country. I observed, that immediately on leaving them, I should dispatch a messenger; but what that messenger carried would most materially affect the progress and issue of the negotiation; I therefore desired to know whether, in consequence of what I had heard from them, I might consider the strict and literal meaning of the declaration not to be a decided negative (which it certainly seemed to imply) on all compensation whatever to be made to His Majesty, but that proposals tending to this effect would still be listened to. *One of them* answered, "Certainly, and "if they should be found such as it will be impossible for us to admit, "we will on our side bring forward others for your Court to deliberate "on." Under this assurance, which at least, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration of yesterday, I broke up the conference.

(No. 20. A.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have transmitted to their Government the project of the treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them the 20th of the present month, by the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty.

They have just received fresh communications and orders which require that they should make the following declaration to Lord Malmesbury.

There exist in the public and secret treaties, by which the French Republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian Republic, articles by which the three powers respectively guarantee the territories possessed by each of them before the war.

The French Government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it has contracted by these treaties, establishes, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the consent of His Britannic Majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, not only from the French Republic, but farther and formally of those of Spain and the Batavian Republic.

In consequence, the undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary request Lord Malmesbury to explain himself with regard to this restitution, and to consent to it, if he is sufficiently authorized to do so; if not, and in the contrary case, to send a messenger to his Court, in order to procure the necessary powers.

The object of the conference which was to have taken place to-day being necessarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned declaration, the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic have to express to Lord Malmesbury the regret that they feel in losing this opportunity of conversing together, which they had themselves solicited:—but in case Lord Malmesbury should have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe that they will always be happy to receive him, and to listen to him, whenever he may think it proper.

They request him, at the same time, to accept anew the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

Lisle, 27 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic.
July 15, 1797.

LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARÉ.

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Leg.

(No. 21. B.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty has given the most serious attention to the note dated this morning, which he has received from the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

He has no hesitation in declaring to them, that his instructions by no means authorize him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration seems intended to establish; nevertheless, being persuaded that it is his first duty not to give up the hopes of conciliation until he shall have exhausted every means of obtaining it, and being anxious to avoid, in the report which he shall have to make to his Court, the possibility of misunderstanding on a subject of such importance, he proposes to them a conference for to-morrow, at the hour most convenient to them, after which it is his intention to dispatch a messenger to his Court.

He requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

Lisle, 15th July, 1797.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

(No. 22. C.)

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic lose no time in acceding to the desire expressed by the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, of conferring with them on the subject of the note which they addressed to him this day.

They have in consequence the honour of proposing to him to meet to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, at the usual place of conference.

They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

LE TOURNEUR.

Lisle, the 27th Messidor,
5th Year of the Republic,
one and indivisible,

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARET.

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Leg.

July 15, 1797.

(No. 23.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated
Downing-street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's dispatches by the messenger Dressins, were received here on the 17th instant, at night, and I lost no time in receiving His Majesty's commands on the very important subject of your letter, No. 9.

I am much concerned to be under the necessity of remarking that the claim brought forward in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French Plenipotentiaries, is in itself so extravagant, and so little to be reconciled either with the former professions of those Ministers, or with their conduct in the previous stages of the negotiation, that it affords the strongest presumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If such is really the determination of the Directory, nothing can remain for this country, but to persevere in opposing, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a system which must tend to perpetuate a state of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural step upon the present occasion would therefore have been to direct your Lordship to terminate at once a negotiation, which, on the footing now proposed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable conclusion. Nothing being left for treaty,

where, as a preliminary step, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compensation from the other is absolutely and at once precluded. His Majesty's servants have, however, observed that in the conclusion of your Lordship's conference with the French Plenipotentiaries on the subject of the note in question, the president of that mission informed your Lordship, that it was not intended to resist all compensation for the immense extent of restitution demanded from His Majesty, and for the other obvious circumstances of disadvantage to this country in the situation of Europe, as resulting from the war; and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward proposals on this head for the deliberation of the King's Government. It appeared possible that some advantage might perhaps arise to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a farther proceeding, such as might afford to the Directory (if they are so disposed) the means of replacing the negotiation on a more practicable footing. With the view, therefore, of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to restore peace on any suitable terms, His Majesty has been pleased to direct that your Lordship should for that purpose ask another conference with the French Plenipotentiaries. In this conference your Lordship will remark in such terms as the occasion must naturally suggest to you upon the indefensible spirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will observe that France, treating in conjunction with her allies, and in their name, cannot with any pretence of justice and fairness, oppose her treaties with them as an obstacle in the way of any reasonable proposal of peace in which they are to be included. In a separate negotiation, to which they were not parties, such a plea, might perhaps, have been urged; but in that case France would have been bound to offer, from her own means, that compensation which she did not think herself at liberty to engage to obtain from her allies. And such was, in fact, as your Lordship must remember, the principle on which His Majesty offered to treat last year, when he was really bound, by engagements to Austria, similar to those which are now alledged by France. But it never can be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, negotiating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can set up, as a bar to our just demands, the treaties between themselves, from which they are at once able to release each other whenever they think fit.

You will farther remark, that even if, contrary to all reason, such a principle, could for a moment have been admitted on our part, still even that principle, inadmissible as it is, could only apply to public treaties, known to those who agreed to be governed by them, and not to secret articles, unknown even to the French Plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in explicit, though not offensive terms, that the whole of this pretence now set up by France is incontestably frivolous and illusory; being grounded on a supposition of a state of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exist. It being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, so far from wishing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly against their own wishes; and to undertake, without the means of supporting it, a contest in which they had nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. It never therefore can be allowed to be a question of any possible doubt, but that the Directory, if they really wish it, must already have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the consent of those powers to such terms of peace as have been proposed by His Majesty. If, however, France, from any motive of interest or engagement, is in truth desirous to procure for them the restitution of

possessions which they were unable to defend, and have no means to reconquer, the project delivered by your Lordship afforded an opening for this; those articles having been so drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compensation to His Majesty, either out of her own colonies, or out of those of her allies, respectively conquered by His Majesty's arms. The choice between these alternatives may be left to the Directory; but to refuse both, is in other words, to refuse all compensation. This is nevertheless expressly declared not to be the intention of those with whom you treat. It is therefore necessary that your Lordship should demand from them a statement of the proposals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the King's servants are wholly unable to reconcile by any suggestion of theirs, even if it were fitting and reasonable for them to bring forward any new proposals immediately after the detailed project which was delivered on the part of this country at the outset of the negotiation.

Since that project is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a counter project, equally full and explicit on the part of the enemy. You will therefore state to the French Ministers distinctly, that the only hope of bringing this business to a favourable conclusion, is by their stating at once plainly, and without reserve, the whole of what they have to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of the negotiation proposed by themselves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the Ministers themselves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refusing a compliance with this demand, if the Plenipotentiaries of France are disposed to forward the object of peace: and the obtaining such a statement from them is, as I have before stated to your Lordship, a point of so much importance, in any course which this negotiation may take, that it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should use every possible endeavour to prevent their eluding so just a demand.

After what has passed, it is, I fear, very doubtful whether such a counter project would be framed on principles such as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the business on its real issue, and bring distinctly into question the several points on which the conclusion of peace, or the prolongation of war, will really depend.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 24.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

There are two separate points on which it is necessary for me to say a few words to your Lordship, in addition to the instructions in my other dispatch on the general subject of the negotiation.

The first relates to the assertion of one of the French Ministers, that the Portuguese ships and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any conclusion that could be drawn from it, to affect the situation or just claims of the Court of Lisbon; because your Lordship well knows, that it is a principle universally recognized in the public law of Europe, that when one of the parties, in a defensive alliance, furnishes to his ally the stipulated succours, those succours remain entirely at the dis-

posal of the requiring party to be employed wherever he shall judge proper, subject only to the limitations of the treaty which before existed; and if the amount of those succours is not increased beyond that engaged for, nor the means of using them extended by new facilities, the party furnishing the stipulated assistance is not understood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this case, would not bear out the assertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more conclusive. The troops of her Most Faithful Majesty having been, as I apprehend, no otherwise employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land, upon the southern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was said to your Lordship about the treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of several treaties enumerated by name and date, and the latest of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another treaty supposed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the present case is, that your Lordship should take this opportunity to explain, in the most distinct and unequivocal terms, that if any secret treaty was, in fact, concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late Emperor and the King of Prussia, (which is, to say the least, very doubtful in point of fact), this, at least, is certain, that His Majesty was no party to such treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never since adhered to it, nor ever been apprized of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview, shews on the face of it that His Majesty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious that it applied to circumstances which were done away long before the war broke out between Austria and France, and that the subsequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between those powers turned on points wholly distinct from those supposed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the present negotiation, seems to be called for by the allusion made to you upon the subject; and, indeed, on a point on which so much misrepresentation has prevailed, it is useful not to omit the opportunity of stating the facts as they really are.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 25.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated
Lisle, 25th July, 1797.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's dispatches, No. 19 and 20, of the 20th instant, which were delivered to me on Saturday the 22d instant, by the messenger Major.

It was impossible that the claim brought forward in the note inclosed in my No. 9, could have produced on your Lordship's mind any impression different from that which you describe; and I am happy to find, that the conduct I observed, when it was first delivered to me, was such as put it in my power to execute with great consistency the spirited instructions your Lordship now sends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the messenger, I proposed an interview

with the French Plenipotentiaries; and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey His Majesty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impress those who heard me with a just sense of the mixture of firmness and moderation with which His Majesty was pleased to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the substance, but, as far as was practicable in conversation, the very words of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 19; and if I should attempt to relate minutely what I myself said in this conference, it would, in fact, be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by observing, that I was certain the French Plenipotentiaries must be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to say: I reminded them, that I had taken upon me to affirm when we were last assembled, and immediately before I dispatched my messenger, that the requiring such a preliminary as that proposed in the note, was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was sure peace on such terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this assertion lightly, or in consequence of any hasty opinion of my own; at the same time that it would also appear that my Royal Master was as anxiously and as sincerely inclined to listen to all reasonable and admissible conditions, as he was determined to repel and reject all such as were of an opposite description. I then, my Lord, took up my arguments on the precise grounds set forth in your Lordship's No. 19. I neither omitted any thing, nor inserted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its spirit; and I only varied from the letter inasmuch as was necessary to make it applicable to a conference.

My first object was to state, in as forcible a way as possible, the utter inadmissibility of the pretension set forth in the note, the frivolous and illusory reasons alledged for bringing it forward, and I observed, that if it was persevered in, it must lead to this necessary conclusion, that there did exist when it was framed an intention on the part of the Directory to break off the negotiation in the outset. My second object, in point of reasoning, though a very primary one in point of importance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be so clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line so distinctly between such sacrifices as His Majesty might be inclined to make in order to restore so great a blessing as peace, and those to which the dignity of his crown, and interest of his subjects, would never allow him to attend, as to make it impossible that by any future cavil or subterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it should be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cause than the exorbitant demands of the French Government; and the better to insure this purpose, I explained to them that His Majesty having already in a detailed projet stated freely and fully his conditions, and these conditions having been at once rejected by a sweeping claim on the part of the French Government, it was not fitting nor reasonable, neither could it be expected that any new proposals should originate with His Majesty; and that on every ground the King had a right to expect a *contre-projet* from them, stating at once plainly, and without reserve, the whole of what they had to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being insulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progress.

On the first point, on the inadmissibility of the preliminary conditions as proposed by the French Government, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* said, it was impossible for them to do more than to take it for reference, that the instructions they had received when the Directory sent them the note, were precise and positive; and that they had received none since. He therefore had on that point simply to request of me, that I would state in writing the several grounds on which His Majesty rejected this proposition, in order that the report transmitted by them to the Directory might be correct; and he assured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had used to them in the conference, they would have no scruple of employing those I omitted in such a way as was the best calculated to give them weight, and to use *the French Ministers* own expression, to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the second point, he had no hesitation in agreeing with me, that the best method, and indeed the only one, which could accelerate the whole of the business, was for them to give in a *contre-projet*, neither did he attempt to disprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new proposals. But he said, that it was not necessary for him to observe that as long as they were bound by their instructions not to give way on the proposition I had now so decidedly rejected, that it was impossible for them to move a step without new orders from the Directory; that they would ask for these orders immediately, and lose no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I observed, that in our last conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to some explanation with me on the subject of compensation to be made to His Majesty for the great cessions he was disposed to make; that, at the time, I conceived these explanations were of a nature to qualify the wide claim stated in the note, and that if I had abstained from pressing him farther at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward:—That, however, if they really had such proposals to make me, and if they were of a nature to meet in substance and effect the basis laid down in the projet I had given, I should be well disposed to listen to them.

One of the French Ministers, after some hesitation, and a sort of silent reference to one of his colleagues, said he thought as matters now stood, it would be much better to wait their answer from Paris:—That it was a very important period, a crisis in the negotiation, the result of which probably would be conclusive as to its fate, and that it seemed to be of more consequence to make this result as conformable to what he hoped I was convinced were as much their wishes as mine, than to waste our time in discussions which were useless, not to say more, till this was ascertained.

I confined myself in my reply to saying, I had no objection whatever to giving to the French Plenipotentiaries a paper, stating the strong motives on which His Majesty rejected the proposition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had considered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was consistent with truth and correctness, so I heard with great pleasure the assurances he gave me of their intending to observe the same line of conduct.

That as we seemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a *contre-projet*, I had nothing to say on that point, except to express my most sincere wish that it would soon appear, and when it did

appear, be such a one as would lead to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negotiation.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville,

(No. 26.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty has transmitted to his Court the note which was delivered to him the 15th of this month, by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic; and having received the orders of the King his master, on this subject, he hastens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the desire which they have expressed to him, the following reflections, which he had already stated to them verbally, in consequence of his most positive instructions.

He observes, in the first place, that to require "As an indispensable preliminary of negotiation for peace with England, the consent of His Britannic Majesty to the formal restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, as well those of the French Republic, as farther and formally those of Spain and the Batavian Republic," is to wish to establish a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity, refuses to the King all compensation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French Republic formally authorized by its allies to negotiate the articles of peace in their name, cannot fairly set up its partial treaties with them, in opposition to reasonable proposals of peace, since it is universally understood that the contracting parties always preserve the power to modify, by mutual consent, the conditions by which they may be engaged to each other, whenever their common interests may require it—consequently, the proposition made to the King of a general and gratuitous restitution as an indispensable preliminary, would necessarily impute to his Catholic Majesty, and to the Batavian Republic, dispositions far less pacific than those which animate the French Republic.

That, moreover, in consequence of what passed in the first conferences, Lord Malmesbury has always thought himself entitled to expect that the King his master would find a compensation for the sacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conquests; and he was the less able to foresee any obstacle, on account of the secret articles of the treaties which bind the French republic, as the principle of compensation was acknowledged by a formal and positive declaration, made in the name of the Executive Directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November 1796; a declaration, posterior to the completion of those treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much as possible, every difficulty that, in the project of a treaty, which Lord Malmesbury has delivered to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, the alternative was left to France to settle this compensation on its own possessions, or on those of its allies; but the absolute refusal of this alternative appears to do away the only possible means of conciliating every interest, and of arriving at an honourable, just, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmesbury, persuaded that such cannot be the intention of the French Government, hopes, that in consequence of the reasons herein

stated, a condition will not be insisted upon, to which His Britannic Majesty can by no means consent.

He again requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Lille, 24th July, 1797.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 27.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated
Lille, Sunday, August 6th, 1797.

My Lord,

I fully expected, when I received the inclosed note on Friday, the conference proposed was to acquaint me with the instructions the French Plenipotentiaries had received from the Directory, on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an answer to that in which the restitution of the whole of His Majesty's conquests from each of his enemies is required as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation.

I was therefore surprized and disappointed, when I had taken my place at the conference, to hear from the French Plenipotentiaries that the letters they had received that morning from Paris did not bring any specific reply to my last note, but only went to inform them that the Directory had taken the subject into their most serious consideration, and would acquaint them as soon as possible with the result.

I could not avoid expressing my concern and surprize that there existed any hesitation whatever in the mind of the Directory on a point, which, although a very important, was certainly a very simple one: That to allow it to remain in doubt whether His Majesty was to have any compensation or not, was in other words to leave it in doubt whether the Directory sincerely meant peace or not? And that, although I was very far from wishing for any improper haste, or not to move in a matter of such magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapsed without our having advanced a single step, notwithstanding His Majesty had, in the very outset of the negotiation, manifested a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under similar circumstances:—That anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any representations of mine, I must say, this delay placed me in a very awkward position, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all satisfactory, at the same time that it was quite impossible for me to suffer a longer space of time to pass over without writing to my Court.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries expressed his earnest wish that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be seen in its true light; and added, "Si nous n'avancons pas à pas de Géant, j'espère que nous marchons d'un pas sur."—And another of them repeated this phrase.

I expressed my sincere hope this might be the case, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the counter projet they had in a manner pledged themselves to procure, than by any vague and indeterminate assurances of what might possibly be the result of the present suspension of all business. They observed to me, that the counter projet would of course be (virtually) contained in their next instructions, and that their only motive for wishing to see me was, to convince me that this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occasioned at

Paris by any want of attention to this important business, or from any cause not immediately and closely connected with it.

I desired to know from them when they thought it probable they should receive positive and explicit instructions, whether in three, four, or five days? They said, it would be probably eight or ten. And *one of them* observed, that as our not meeting more frequently gave rise to many idle rumours and false reports, he would propose to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other day at two o'clock: that it was very possible that in our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to say, but that we should get better acquainted with each other, and in our conversations mutually suggest ideas which might be of use.—I readily consented to this.

I had a conference again this morning. As I was very desirous of being enabled to transmit to your Lordship some more satisfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again pressed the French Plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had said before, and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impossible it was that His Majesty should not be hurt at this demur on so very simple a point, *One of them said*, you ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refusal to agree to what was stated by the Directory in their instructions to us as a *sine qua non*: if the Directory were determined to persist in this *sine qua non*, they would have said so at once—“*Je vous assure qu'il nous auroit promptement renvoyé le Courier,*” were his words. The time they take to deliberate indicates beyond a doubt that they are looking for some temperament, and it scarce can be doubted that one will be found.—I said I was well pleased to hear him say this; but that still he must be aware that it would not be an easy task for me to make my dispatches to-day either interesting or satisfactory.

Another of the French Ministers said that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we should have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and smoothly, and that I must admit the present to be a very important and difficult point in the negotiation. I agreed with him entirely as to its importance, but could not acquiesce as to its difficulty.

I am very sorry, my Lord, that in such a moment, and after waiting so long, I should not be able to send you more explicit and decisive assurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French Negotiators to move on faster. All I can do is by my conduct and language to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay should attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held, always declared my readiness to proceed, and I shall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville, &c. &c. &c.

(No. 28.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic will be happy to have an opportunity of conversing for a few minutes with Lord Malmesbury; and they have in consequence the honour of proposing to him to meet them at two o'clock to-day, or at any hour which may be more convenient to him, and which he will have the goodness to appoint.

They renew, with pleasure, to Lord Malmesbury the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

Lisle, 17 Thermidor,
5th year of the Republic,
Aug. 4, 1797.

LE TOURNEUR.
HUGUES B. MARET.
COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the
Legation of the Republic.
Aug. 4, 1797.

(No. 29.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated
Lisle, August 14, 1797.

My Lord,

In consequence of the resolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the post from Paris, our conferences for this last week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thursday the 10th of August, which being the anniversary of one of their national festivals the French Legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No. 17, given your Lordship an account of every thing which passed in these conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th nothing was said at all worth transmitting, except an intimation flung out by *one of the French Plenipotentiaries*, that it would be necessary to take into consideration the rights of neutral nations on this occasion. But as he spoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not choose to press him for an explanation, as I consider it more judicious to avoid discussions on separate and collateral points, and not to enter into negotiation till the whole can be brought under deliberation at once.

What passed on the 12th was rather more interesting. The return of Mr. Wesley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expressing the impatience with which an answer to my last note was expected by my Court; that three weeks had now elapsed since its transmission, and that although I by no means wished to insinuate that due attention had not been paid to so very important a subject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day should be allowed to pass away without our proceeding at all in the great business for which we were met. *One of the French Ministers* said, that it was impossible I could lament this delay more than they did; that they had already declared to me that it was occasioned by a wish not to create but to remove difficulties; and they could assure me positively, that the French Government had no other object in view, and that I should find, when once we began fairly to negotiate, we should proceed very rapidly.

I replied it was indeed very material to make good the time we had lost. *The French Minister* answered, you would not call it time lost if you knew how it was employed. On my expressing, by my manner, a wish to be informed, he went on, by saying, we will not scruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are consulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has passed here; we have stated that, unless they mean to continue the war, they must release us from our engagements, and enable us, to a certain degree, to meet your proposals.

The conference of to-day is this moment over. *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the President of the Directory, assuring him that in four or five days they would receive their final instructions; and he added of him-

self, that he trusted these would be such as would enable us to continue our work without any farther interruption. I said, I hoped these instructions would be in substance a counter project, as I did not see how any thing short of one could enable us to proceed so rapidly as he described. He agreed with me entirely, and assured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly stated the necessity of a counter project being sent them; and he observed, that he really thought the French Government might have foreseen every thing which had passed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have saved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myself have said more, I readily gave a full assent to what I heard.

(No. 30.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, August 19, 1797.

An expression mentioned in one of your Lordship's last dispatches to have fallen from one of the French Plenipotentiaries, leads to the presumption that is intended, on the part of France, to bring forward some proposal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your Lordship will best judge of the proper opportunity of expressing His Majesty's decided and unalterable resolution on this point, not to admit of any proposal for treating with his enemies on the subject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your Lordship by this messenger, relates to an expression in the late message of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, which, if literally taken, conveys an accusation against His Majesty's Government, that some delay has arisen on the part of this country in the negotiations at Lisle. This is so avowedly contrary to the fact, that it must be considered as impossible that such a charge could be intended to be made by a Government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any answer to His Majesty's distinct and liberal proposals of peace, and whose Plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing to your Lordship for this unbecoming, and as they almost confess, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should present a note, remarking upon the sense to which these words are liable, expressing your persuasion that such cannot be the intention with which they were used, but asking on the part of your Court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refused without a violation of every thing which truth and justice require on such an occasion.

(No. 31.)

Extract from the Message of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, August 9, 1797.

In short, this cause is in the same despondency in which all good citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country are, at seeing deferred at the very moment when its conclusion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with so much blood and so much suffering—a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquished coalition at length solicited in good earnest, when its conclusion was expected, and which a Government friendly to humanity, were still more earnest to conclude: when, all on a sudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general dissolution of the Government, by the falling of its finances, upon its destruction, upon the death or banish-

ment of its bravest generals, and upon the dispersion and loss of its armies, these very same coalesced powers have thrown as much delay into the negotiations, as they had shewn anxiety to bring them to an end.

(No. 32.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated
Lille, August 22, 1797.

My Lord,

In my conference of this morning, I took an opportunity of remarking to the French Plenipotentiaries on the very unfair and extraordinary assertion which had appeared in the message of the 9th instant, from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, viz: "*que les Puissances coalisées ont mis autant de Lenteur dans les négociations, qu'elles avoient montré de l'Ardeur pour les terminer.*" I observed to them, that I had orders from my Court to ask a precise explanation, whether this accusation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which His Majesty had conducted the negotiation at Lille, and if it was so meant, to declare that no accusation was ever more destitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I said I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impossible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay) rested with the French Government and not with His Majesty. The French Plenipotentiaries admitted this to be most strictly true; that the phrase I had quoted was an ill-judged one, and *mal rédigée*; but that it could not in any point of view whatever be construed as applying to England, and they were ready to say, that when it was written, the Directory alluded solely to the Court of Vienna; that they could assure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and that when they said this it was saying in other words that I had carried on the negotiation with as much expedition as possible, and that if it had proceeded slowly for this last month, the slowness arose on their side and not on mine.

I said I could not for an instant call in question their feelings on this point; it was an insinuation conveyed in the message, and which had gone over Europe, that it was necessary for me to clear up, and to know whether the Directory thought and felt as they did. *One of the French Ministers*, with very strong expressions, assured me the Directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair or insidious allusion was meant, and added, "*que ce message étoit fait pour stimuler les Conseils.*" I went on by observing it was very essential for me to have this fully explained, and that I should give them in a note to this effect; they requested I would not, it would lead to disagreeable discussions, and would not answer the end I proposed. They would take upon themselves *now* to assure me in the name of the Directory, that nothing at all similar to the construction I put on the phrase was intended, and that as soon they could receive an answer to the report they should make of to-day's conversation, they would say the same from the Directory itself.

I hope, my Lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very precise and formal disavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on His Majesty's Government, fulfilled the object of my instructions on this particular point. If when the French Plenipotentiaries speak from the Directory the disavowal should not be equally satisfactory and complete,

I then will not fail, according to your Lordship's order, to give in a note.

Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville. (Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 33.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 22, 1797.

The four conferences I have held with the French Plenipotentiaries, since I last wrote to your Lordship on the 14th instant, will not, I fear, furnish very interesting materials for a dispatch.

Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other dispatch; but the French Plenipotentiaries assured me, that by Thursday, or at the latest by Saturday, they expected to receive their long-expected messenger.

(No. 34.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 29, 1797.

I am extremely sorry to be forced to announce to your Lordship, that fresh delays occur in the progress of the negotiation.

The French Plenipotentiaries informed me at our conference yesterday, that the last answer from Holland was so unsatisfactory, that the Directory had ordered the Minister for Foreign Affairs to return it to the Dutch Ministers at Paris; that the Dutch Ministers could not take upon themselves to alter it in the way the Directory proposed, but had been obliged to refer to their Government for new orders; and that therefore, supposing no time to be lost in deliberation on this subject at the Hague, it would be at least a week from to-day before any farther account could be received here.

After lamenting this unexpected procrastination of our business, I expressed a wish to know what the Dutch answer had been, what objections the Directory had made to it, and the alteration they were desirous it should undergo.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries said, it had not been communicated to them, but that he understood it was *complexe, louche et peu satisfaisante*. — That the Directory expected it should be clear and distinct, and such an one as would enable them to send such instructions here, as would allow us to go on with the negotiation in a way to recover the time we had lost.

(No. 35.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, September 5, 1797.

My Lord,

I should have considered what has passed in our conferences since I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship by Mr. Wesley, as in itself too unimportant to authorize me to dispatch a messenger, but that in general I think it my duty never to leave your Lordship more than a week without hearing from me; and I was also glad of an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 23, which was delivered to me by the messenger Shaw on the 31st August, at 10 P. M.

Nothing but common conversation passed in our conferences of the 30th of August and of the 1st of September. In that of the 3d the French Plenipotentiaries confirmed what they had taken upon themselves to assure me on the 22d August, in consequence of the representation I had your Lordship's orders to make on the expressions employed by the Directory in their message of the 9th August to the Councils, and which expressions appeared to fix an imputation of delay on His Majesty's Government in the progress of the negotiation. They said that they had reported to the Directory what I observed on this subject, and that they were now charged to repeat what I had already heard from them, and to declare that no intention similar to that I supposed ever existed on the part of the Directory.

In our conference of this morning, although I had reason to expect that the answer from the Hague was arrived at Paris, yet it was not admitted by the French Plenipotentiaries.

(No. 36.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, 9th September, 1797.

I need not say that the two conferences which have been held since I dispatched the messenger (Brooks) were not likely, under the present circumstances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or interesting.

In that of Thursday the 7th, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wish that the great event which had taken place at Paris should not interrupt for a long time our negotiation, or destroy the pleasing prospect we had of its soon terminating successfully; and from his manner I clearly saw he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to discover whether he spoke in consequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or simply from his own private judgement, and I found it was entirely from the latter.

In our conference of this morning, he said they were still without any letters from M. Talleyrand (which rather surprised him); but he could assure me *with certainty*, that by Monday they should be empowered to go on with the negotiation, and that I might safely say so to my Court.

(No. 37.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, Sept. 11, 1797.

Your Lordship's dispatches by the messenger, Shaw, were received here this morning.

It would be premature in the present moment, to enter into any reasoning on the effect which the extraordinary events at Paris may be expected to have on the important negotiation with which your Lordship is charged. A very few days must now probably shew, in the most unequivocal manner, what are the views which are entertained by the now predominant party at Paris, respecting the question of peace or war with Great Britain: and it becomes His Majesty's Government to wait the event with the same desire for accommodation on reasonable terms, and the same firmness with respect to undue and insulting demands, which has actuated every part of the conduct held by your Lordship.

(No. 38.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated
Lille, Monday, Sept. 11, 1797.

My Lord,

On my going to the conference this morning, the French Plenipotentiaries informed me that the whole French Legation was recalled, and that Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco were appointed in their room. They said, their orders were to communicate this event to me immediately, and at the same time to add, in the name of the French Government, that this alteration, in the choice of the Negotiators, would not produce any whatever in the disposition of the Directory, to bring the negotiation to a happy issue.

I assured them I was extremely sorry to hear that they were recalled. That we had hitherto acted together so cordially, that it was to be lamented any circumstances had arisen which made the French Government think it advisable to put the negotiation into other hands.

That I received with satisfaction what they told me as to the sentiments manifested by the Directory, relative to the negotiation, and that I could assure them, they were such as certainly existed in the breast of my Royal Master.

I then suggested to them, whether it would not be proper to give me an official note on this occasion, since it made a very marked period in the negotiation; and as they perfectly agreed with me on the propriety of this, they sent me that I now enclose.

I consider this event as so material, that I do not lose a moment in dispatching one of my servants to England, as I have at present no messenger with me. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 39.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have the honour to inform Lord Malmesbury that they have received by this day's post, a decree of the Executive Directory, signifying their recall, and the nomination of Citizens Treilhard and Bonnier to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations entered upon with England.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in sending to the undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary this decree of the Directory, of the 22nd of this month, orders them to wait the arrival of their successors. It also directs them to inform the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, that the change of the Negotiators does not carry with it any change in the disposition of the Directory, with regard to the negotiation.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have the honour to renew to Lord Malmesbury the assurances of their high consideration.

Lille 25 Fructidor,
5th year of the Republic,
Sept. 11, 1797.

(Signed)

LE TOURNEUR.

HUGUES B. MARET:

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Leg.

(No. 40.)

Note.—From Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Ministers Plenipotenti-

ary of the French Republic have addressed to him, communicating the decree of the Executive Directory, which signifies their recall and the nomination of the Ministers destined to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations already commenced. He receives at the same time with satisfaction, and will transmit without delay to his Court, the assurance that this change of the Negotiators does not bring with it any change in the disposition of the Directory as to the negotiation.

Lord Malmesbury, in thanking the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic for this communication, begs them to be persuaded of his personal regret on account of their departure, and to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Lisle, Sept. 12, 1797.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 41.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th September, 1797.

My Lord,

The new French Plenipotentiaries, Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco, with their principal Secretary M. Derche, and two private Secretaries, arrived here at five o'clock A. M. on Wednesday the 13th instant, at eleven A. M. they sent M. Derche to acquaint me with their arrival, and to enquire at what hour I would receive their visit. In consequence of my saying whenever it was convenient to them, they came immediately, attended by Messrs. Le Tourneur, Maret, and Colchen.

On taking leave, M. Le Tourneur came forward and said to me, in his name and that of his colleagues, that they could not terminate their mission without expressing the satisfaction they had felt from the openness and candour (*Loyauté et Franchise*) with which I had acted during the whole of the negotiation, or take leave of me, without expressing their sincere personal regrets; that the recollection of my conduct would always be agreeable to them, and that it had given me the strongest title to their esteem and good wishes.

After giving the new Plenipotentiaries as much time as was necessary to return to their own house, I sent Mr. Ross to ask at what hour I might return their visit; and, in consequence of their answer, I went to them, attended by Lord Morpeth and Mr. Ellis.

I took an opportunity of returning the compliment M. Le Tourneur had made me; and I must in justice repeat, my Lord, what I have already said, that his conduct and that of his colleagues has, in every point which has depended on them, been perfectly fair and honourable, and in no instance contrary to the principles they announced, and the professions they made. It is therefore impossible for me not to regret them, and not to consider the change of Negotiators at least as a very unpleasant, if not a very unfortunate incident.

(No. 42.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th September 1797.

My Lord,

I shall endeavour in this dispatch to give your Lordship as circumstantial an account as my memory will allow me to do, of what has

passed in the two conferences I have held with the new French Plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the *arrêté* of the Directory appointing them to succeed Messieurs Le Tournear and Maret, and empowering them to continue the negotiation with me, *one of them* began by making the strongest assurances of the sincere desire entertained by the Directory for peace. He observed, that if this desire had manifested itself so strongly at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it must naturally become stronger and be exerted with more effect when all spirit of division was suppressed and when the Government was strengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches: that the first and most material point to be ascertained in every negotiation was the extent of the full powers with which the negotiators are vested; that I should find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was necessary to the success of our discussions that mine should be equally so, they had it in command to present a note, the object of which was to inquire, whether I was authorized to treat on the principle of a general restitution of every possession remaining in His Majesty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their allies: that I was not unacquainted with their laws and with their treaties; that a great country could not on any occasion act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I must be of this, I could not but expect the question contained in the note, neither could I conceive the requisition of an explicit answer, previous to entering upon the negotiation, as arising from any other motive than that of the most perfect wish, on the part of the Directory, to bring it to a successful, and, above all, to a speedy conclusion.

I replied, that if after what I heard I could allow myself to hope for such an event as he seemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacific dispositions he announced on the part of the French Government, such hope must arise solely from the confidence I might place in his assurances; since the measure itself now adopted by the Directory was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impression on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that far from expecting such a question, its being now put surprised me beyond measure, and still more so, when from his comment upon it I was to infer, that he wished me to consider it as tending to promote a speedy pacification: that the question expressed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his speech) was word for word the same as that put to me by his predecessors so long ago as the 14th July; that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an answer, and that this answer I confirmed fully and distinctly by order of my Court on the 24th July; that these notes had to the present hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reasons assigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided resolution on the part of the French Government to listen to the reasonable proposals made by His Majesty; but that being bound by their engagements with the Court of Madrid and the Batavian Republic, and wishing to treat their allies with due consideration, they were desirous of consulting with them previous to any positive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary release from those engagements sufficient to enable the French Plenipotentiaries here to admit the basis His Majesty had established, and to ground on it all future discussions which might arise in

the course of the negotiation ; that if he had read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his possession by his predecessors, he would find what I stated to be strictly true ; and that of course it could not be difficult to account for my surprize, when, after being told that he and his colleagues were to take up the negotiation precisely were they found it, it now became evident that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we started, and flung back in a way which seemed to threaten a conclusion very different from that he foretold.

I shall not attempt to follow *the French Minister* through the very elaborate and certainly able speech he made in reply, with a view to convince me that the inquiry into the extent of my full powers was the strongest proof the Directory could furnish of their pacific intention, and the shortest road they could take to accomplish the desired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation, (*activer* was his word,) and to prevent its stagnating, that this demand was made so specifically ; and he intimated to me, that it was impossible for the Directory to proceed till a full and satisfactory answer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by saying, their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the negotiation at once, not to give it activity, since it must be known, I could not have powers of the description he alluded to : and even supposing I had, the admitting it would be in fact neither more nor less than a complete avowal of the principle itself, which once agreed on, nothing would be left to negotiate about. *The other French Plenipotentiary* interposed here, by saying, *that would not be the case ; many articles would still remain to be proposed, and many points for important discussion.* I said, every word I heard seemed to present fresh difficulties. Without replying to me, *the first-mentioned Minister* went on by endeavouring to prove, that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent, did not imply the necessity of exercising them ; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take ; that the note, and the time prescribed in it, were in consequence of the most positive orders from the Directory ; and that if I drew from it a conclusion different from the assurances they had made me in the name of the Directory, I did not make the true inference. I replied, that although the prescribing the day on which the question was put to me as the term within which I was to give my answer to it, was both a very unusual and abrupt mode of proceeding, yet as a day was much more than sufficient for the purpose, I should forbear making any particular remark on this circumstance ; that as to the inference to be drawn from the positive manner in which they appeared to maintain the question put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expressed : that the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a question already answered, and which question involved the fate of the negotiation, certainly could not be considered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance. That in regard to my answer, it could not be different from that I had given before : that my full powers, which were in their hands, were as extensive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or less latitude ; but that in fact their question went not to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my instructions ; and on this point they certainly would forgive me if I did not speak out till such time as the circumstances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French Minister strove to prove to me what he had before at-

tempted, that the claiming a right of inquiry into the nature of the discretionary authority confided in a minister, by no means implied an intention of requiring of him to act up to its utmost limits. I observed, if no such intention existed, why institute the inquiry? and if it did exist, why not say so at once?—*He* said, what we now ask is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your answer, we shall follow it up by another step, which we are ordered to take. I said, my answer was given two months ago; that, although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not see why they should not proceed immediately to the other step, by which I was told the question was to be followed up. It would be premature, said *the French Minister*; but in drawing up your answer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have used, or in your report to your Court, the assurances we have given of the earnest wish of the Directory to terminate the war.

I replied, that I still must maintain, that, from the manner in which they thought proper to define full powers, I could see no distinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle; and that the question itself could not be put with any other intention—(Your Lordship will observe, from the subsequent notes which passed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this assertion);—that in my reports, they might be fully assured I should act up to that conciliatory spirit, which, from the earliest period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inauspicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look *hostile*. At the word hostile, both the French Plenipotentiaries were most warm in their protestations, that nothing could be less so; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as from their wishes. I said, that although I heard this with pleasure, yet I could not avoid adverting to facts, and that, when instead of an answer, and the favourable answer which I had every reason to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand, which had been already satisfied two months ago; I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the treaty, it assuredly did not announce a near and successful termination of it. *The above-mentioned Minister* persisted I was mistaken; that the business would end speedily: that speed was their wish, and speed with peace for its object.

On breaking up our conference, I said, that I took it for granted we should meet again at the usual hour, on Sunday. *He* said, that it perhaps might not be necessary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the first idea of what has since taken place.

I inclose your Lordship the Note A, I received in this conference from the French Plenipotentiaries, and the Answer B, which I made to it yesterday morning at 10 A. M.

At 6 P. M. the Note C was transmitted to me; to which at 8 P. M. I returned the Answer D, by Mr. Rofs, whom I sent in order that he might bring me the passports I asked for; but at a quarter before 10 P. M., M. Derché, Secretary of the French Legation, delivered to me the paper marked E; and this morning at 9 A. M. I replied by the Note F, which immediately produced that marked G.

The notes sent me by the French Plenipotentiaries speak for themselves; and it is unnecessary to enter into any reflections on them. I am willing to hope that the answers I have made were such as became

the situation in which I stand, the importance of the cause intrusted to me, and the steady but temperate conduct which the spirit of my instructions enjoin me to hold.

It was my wish to give every opening to the French Plenipotentiaries to recal the violent step they had taken; and, if possible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it was with this view, and with a most anxious desire not to exclude all hope of the restoration of peace, that I determined on suggesting the idea of our meeting once more before I left Lisle.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by observing, That the several notes they had received from me since the preceding evening, had been too expressive of the surprize I felt at the measure the Directory had thought proper to adopt, to make it necessary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference; and indeed my sole motive for suggesting that it might be for our mutual satisfaction that it should be held, was, because this measure appeared to me to be in such direct contradiction to the very strong assurances I had so constantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacific intentions with which they declared they were sent, that it was my earnest wish (before I considered their conduct as forcing me to a step which must so materially affect the success of the negotiation), to be perfectly certain that I understood clearly and distinctly the precise meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing could be more reasonable than that I should, on so important a point, require explanation, or more satisfactory to them than to give it me (as far as lay in their power), I proceeded by saying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my instructions (for however different these were in themselves, in their demand they seemed constantly blended), and that if either I refused to consent to this, or if, on consenting to it it was found that I was not authorised to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the space of twenty-four hours to leave Lisle, and return to my Court; and that I was required to obtain full authority to admit this principle, if it was wished the negotiation should proceed. This I said appeared to me to be the evident sense of the notes, and I begged to know whether I had mistaken it or not? *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* said, "You have understood it exactly; I hope you equally understand the intention of the French Government, which is to accelerate peace by removing every obstacle which stands in its way."

I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite sure notwithstanding the observation they had made, *que j'avais saisi la véritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be a very unprofitable employment of our time to argue either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *sine qua non*, to even a preliminary discussion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory demand with which they opened their mission, to the pacific professions that accompanied it; that if they were determined to persist in this demand, it was much better to avoid all useless altercation; and nothing in that case remained for me to do, but to ask for my passports, and to signify to them my intention of leaving France at an early hour the next morning. They said, they had their hands tied by an *arrete* of the Directory, and were bound to observe the conduct they had followed by the most positive orders; and although we remained together some time longer, not a hint dropped from them expressive of a wish

that, instead of going myself for new instructions, I should either write for them by a messenger, or obtain them by sending to England one of the gentlemen who are with me. I endeavoured by every indirect means to suggest to them the necessity of adopting some such modification, if they meant that their wishes for peace, in the expression of which they were this morning more eager than ever, should meet with the slightest degree of credit: I again brought to their recollection that I was authorized to receive any proposal, any *contre-projet* they tendered to me, but that they must be aware that it was not possible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to assume an authority with which I was not invested. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they said for reference; but this availed nothing, except drawing from *one of them* a remark, that the full powers which authorized a minister to hear proposals, were widely different from those which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was such full powers that the Directory required me to solicit.

An easy answer presented itself to this mode of reasoning; but I saw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a conversation, which, after the positive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing: I therefore ended the conference by declaring my resolution to begin my journey at a very early hour the next morning, and by saying, that immediately on my arrival in England I would make an exact report of every thing that had passed since their arrival.

I trust, my Lord, I shall not incur censure for having declined to offer in distinct terms to wait at Lisle till I could know His Majesty's pleasure on the peremptory proposal made to me: but when I considered the nature of the proposal itself, the avowal *that this would not be the last*, nor perhaps the most humiliating, condition required of us, and the imperious stile with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impossible for me to assume a language or affect a manner that could be interpreted into solicitation or entreaty: I felt myself called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary proceeding with calmness and temper; and notwithstanding the deep and poignant concern I must feel at an event which I fear will remove all probability of an immediate pacification, I trust that in the expression of this sentiment I have not used a language unbecoming the character with which I am invested, or the greatness of the Sovereign and country whose dignity and interests it is my primary duty to consult and to maintain.

I have the honour to be with great respect,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville

(No. 43. A.)

The undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to assure Lord Malmesbury, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, that the French Government wishes as sincerely, as strongly as ever, a peace, desired by the two nations: but, unable to conclude any other peace than such a one as is founded on the laws and on the treaties which bind the French Republic, persuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is necessary to explain itself with entire frankness, and desirous of

giving to the negotiation the greatest rapidity, the Executive Directory has expressly charged the undersigned to demand of Lord Malmesbury, whether he has sufficient powers for restoring, in the treaty which may be concluded, to the French Republic and to its allies, all the possessions which, since the beginning of the war, have passed into the hands of the English.

The undersigned are equally charged by the Executive Directory to demand from Lord Malmesbury an answer in the course of the day. They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

Lisle, 29 Fructidor,
5th year of the Republic,
(Sept. 15, 1797.)

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the
French Republic, the Sec. Gen.
DERCHE.

(No. 44. B.)

The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary to His Britannic Majesty receives with great satisfaction the expression of the sincere desire for peace, which the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic announced to him yesterday in the name of their Government. He has the honour to assure them that the King his master is animated with the same desire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the question which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic addressed to Lord Malmesbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he considers himself as having already given the most unequivocal answer upon this subject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predecessors on the 15th and 24th of July.

However, to avoid all misunderstanding, he renews the declaration which he made yesterday; that is to say, that he neither can nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensations; a principle which has been formally recognized as the basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers.

Lord Malmesbury requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Lisle, Saturday, 16th Sept. (Signed) MALMESBURY.
1797, 10 A. M.

(No. 45. C.)

The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the answer of Lord Malmesbury to the note which was presented to him in the conference of yesterday.

It appears from this answer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 24th of July, to which it refers, that Lord Malmesbury has not powers for agreeing to the restitution of all the possessions which His Britannic Majesty occupies, whether from the French Republic, or from its allies.

In consequence, while they reiterate to Lord Malmesbury the most positive assurances of the sentiments of the French Government, the undersigned apprise him of a decree of the Executive Directory, which signifies that, in case Lord Malmesbury shall declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French Republic, make indispensable,

he shall be to return, in four-and-twenty hours, to his Court, to ask for sufficient powers. Lord Malmesbury can see in this determination of the Executive Directory nothing else than an intention to hasten the moment when the negotiation may be followed up with the certainty of a speedy conclusion.

The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 30 Fructidor,
5th year of the Republic,
(Sept. 16, 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiaries,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 46. D.)

The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been sent him by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

Whatever regret he may experience at seeing the hope of a speedy conciliation thus destroyed, he can return no other answer to a refusal so absolute to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite, in order that they may set off within the four-and-twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, Saturday, 16th September, 8 P.M.

(No. 47. E.)

The undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England; have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Malmesbury's answer to the note which they addressed to him this day.

They think it right to observe to him, that he does not appear to have seized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains refusal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a success, no less desirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the Ministers charged with the conduct of them.

The French Government is so far from entertaining the intentions which the note of Lord Malmesbury appears to impute to them, that the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have received no order to quit Lisle, after the departure of the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 30 Fructidor, 5th year of the
French Republic.
(Sept. 16, 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 48. F.)

The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic transmitted to him yesterday, through the hands of the Secretary General of their Legation. He thinks he cannot answer it better than by submitting to them in his turn the following observations :

That having already by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the express orders of his Court, given an answer to the question which is now so unexpectedly renewed, a question, that in appearance relates solely to the limits of his full powers, (which are in the most ample form), but which does, in fact, require a declaration of the whole extent of his instructions ; and not being authorized to quit the place of his destination without the express orders of the King his master, in any case except that of the rupture of the negotiation ; he could not help considering a note enjoining him, in consequence of a decree of the Executive Directory, to return to his Court in the space of four-and-twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the conclusion of peace. Nevertheless, to answer the assurances of the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, and to testify his desire to seize their real meaning with respect to which he should be very sorry to deceive himself, he thinks that it would be more satisfactory to meet once more ; and if the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic should be of the same opinion, Lord Malmesbury would propose that this meeting should take place at an earlier hour than usual, in order that he may have time to take such steps as the result of their conferences may render necessary. He desires the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Lille, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1797.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 49. G.)

The undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has transmitted to them this morning. Referring to the notes addressed to Lord Malmesbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and especially to the first of yesterday, they agree to the meeting which Lord Malmesbury appears to desire, and propose the hour of noon.

They request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

TREILHARD.
BONNIER.Lille, 1st complementary day,
5th year of the French Republic.

(17 Sept. 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation,

DERCHE.

(No. 50.)

Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, Sept. 22, 1797.

My Lord,

I have had the honour of laying before His Majesty your Lordship's dispatches, in which you have given an account of the extraordinary conduct of the new Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, of the answers given by your Lordship to their unjustifiable demand, and of your consequent departure from Lisse.

I have the satisfaction to be able to assure your Lordship, that His Majesty has been pleased to express his entire approbation of your Lordship's judicious and temperate conduct in the unprecedented situation in which you were placed, and of the manner in which you expressed yourself, both in your official notes, and in your conversations with the French Plenipotentiaries, as well as of that in which you have conducted yourself during the whole course of the negotiation, which seems too likely to be now brought to its close.

As it appears, however, that some farther answer will probably be expected by the French Government to their late extraordinary demand, notwithstanding the full and conclusive reply given in your Lordship's notes, I have received the King's commands to transmit to you the inclosed draft of a note, which it is His Majesty's pleasure that your Lordship should transmit to the Plenipotentiaries at Lisse, by a messenger whom I shall direct to be in readiness for that purpose.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 51.)

The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has rendered to his Court a faithful account of the circumstances that have interrupted the exercise of those important functions which His Majesty had been pleased to entrust to him. His Majesty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation the answers which the undersigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demands which the new Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic addressed to him immediately upon their arrival at Lisse.

But in order to leave no doubt respecting the nature and object of this demand, the undersigned has been expressly ordered to declare in the name of his Court.

1. That the full powers with which His Majesty had thought proper to furnish him for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace, are conceived and expressed in the most ample form, authorizing the undersigned fully, and without reserve, to sign any treaty upon which he might agree with the French Plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be; conforming himself in all cases to the instructions which he might receive from his Court.

2. That these full powers have been received and recognized as sufficient as well by the Plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the Directory themselves, and that there is consequently no room for any new discussion upon a subject which has already been closed by common agreement, and which moreover is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this

subject, being entirely conformable to customs long established and recognized by all the nations of Europe.

3. That the demand of the Directory, therefore, in reality, refers not to the full powers of the undersigned, but to the extent of his instructions, of which the Directory could not, under any circumstances, require any communication, farther than as the undersigned himself might judge such a communication conducive to the success of the negotiation; and that very far from being in a situation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the undersigned had every reason to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French Plenipotentiaries, that he should immediately receive a *contre projet*, of a nature to facilitate the farther progress of the negotiation which had been suspended for more than two months.

4. That the Court of London had good reason to be still more astonished at the substance of the new demand made to the undersigned; a demand relating to preliminary conditions which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the negotiation, and from which the French Plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the measures which the Directory were in consequence taking for the purpose of coming to some arrangement with their allies.

5. That it is therefore only by consenting to treat upon the basis of the project, detailed with so much openness, which was presented by the undersigned a few days after his arrival at Lisle, or by returning a *contre projet* of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the assurances which he received so long ago, that it appears possible to continue the negotiation which the Plenipotentiaries have so strongly assured him that the Directory did not wish to break off, notwithstanding the measures lately adopted with respect to him: a measure which the undersigned forbears to characterize, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impression of a disposition by no means pacific on the part of the Directory.

The undersigned is directed to add, that His Majesty would see with real regret the certainty of the existence of such a disposition, so little compatible with the ardent desire with which he is animated to restore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himself contributed to it on his part, he should again find himself under the necessity of continuing the war, he will conduct himself upon every occasion agreeably to the same principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-establishment of peace, but persisting to defend, with an unshaken firmness, the dignity of his Crown, and the interests of his People.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

London, the 22d of September, 1797.

(No. 52.)

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary messenger, from Lord Malmesbury. They have the honour to answer to him, that their note of the 29th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double assurance of the settled intention of the French Government to continue the negotiations for peace, and of its constant determination not to agree to any

other conditions than such as are compatible with the dignity of the French Republic.

A peace, of which the basis should be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its allies, would never satisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the Executive Directory has never departed, and upon which its sentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmesbury having formerly declared in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the last instance in that of the 17th September, that he had not the powers necessary for restoring the Dutch and Spanish possessions, occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, the Executive Directory has given a new proof of its openness, and of its desire to accelerate the conclusion of peace in requiring Lord Malmesbury to return to his Court, for the purpose of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude; a measure rendered necessary by the declaration of the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, and upon which it is impossible to give a wrong impression to any thinking and impartial mind.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

TREILHARD.
BONNIER.
DERCHE.

Lisle, 4th Vendemiaire,
5th year of the Republic,
(Sept. 25, 1797.)

(No. 53.)

The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, charged to treat for peace with England, have the honour to inform Lord Malmesbury, that having sent a copy of his last note to their Government, the Executive Directory has directed them to declare in its name, that it has never ceased to wish for peace; that it gave an unequivocal proof of the sentiment which animates it, when it ordered the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic, to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the English Government to its Minister Plenipotentiary; that this demand had, and could have, no other object but to bring the negotiation to a speedy and successful issue:

That the order given to the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic to remain at Lisle after the departure of Lord Malmesbury, is another proof that the Directory had desired and foreseen his return with powers that should not be illusory, and the limitation of which should no longer be a pretext for delaying the conclusion of peace:

That such are still the hopes and intentions of the Executive Directory, which enjoins the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic not to quit Lisle till the continued absence of the negotiator shall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic Majesty to break off all negotiation:

That consequently the 25th Vendemiaire (16th of October old style) is the period fixed for the recall of the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, supposing that at that time the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty shall not have arrived at Lisle.

The Executive Directory will feel the greatest regret that a reconciliation already twice attempted, should not be perfected; but its conscience, and the whole of Europe, will bear it testimony, that it is the English Government alone that will have inflicted the scourge of war upon the two nations,

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic entreat the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

Lille, 10th Vendemiaire,
6th year of the French Republic,
(October 1, 1797.)

(Signed)

TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

The Sec. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 54.)

The undersigned having laid before the King's Ministry the note of the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, is directed to observe to them,

That it is only in consequence of the formal and positive injunction of the Directory that he quitted Lille; that his powers were neither illusory nor limited; and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the Directory, and which at this moment is only suspended by its act.

With regard to the renewal of the conferences, the undersigned can only refer to his last note, where he has explained with frankness and precision the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation; observing at the same time that the King could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the customs established amongst all civilized nations, with regard to Public Ministers, and especially to those charged to negotiate for the re-establishment of peace, would be respected for the future in the person of his plenipotentiary.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

London, 5th October, 1797.

(Signed)

MALMESBURY.

DECLARATION PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

His Majesty's benevolent endeavours to restore to his people the blessings of secure and honourable peace, again repeated without success, have again demonstrated, beyond the possibility of doubt, the determined and persevering hostility of the Government of France, in whose unprovoked aggression the war originated, and by whose boundless and destructive ambition it is still prolonged. And while by the course of these transactions, continued proofs have been afforded to all His Majesty's faithful subjects, of his anxious and unremitting solicitude for their welfare, they cannot, at the same time, have failed to recognize, in the uniform conduct of the enemy, the spirit by which the Councils of France are still actuated, and the objects to which they are directed.

His Majesty could not but feel how much the means of peace had been obstructed by the many additional difficulties which his enemies had so repeatedly thrown in the way of every negotiation. Nevertheless, on the very first appearance of circumstances in some degree more favourable to the interests of humanity, the same ardent desire for the ease and happiness of his subjects induced His Majesty to renew his overtures for terminating the calamities of war: thus availing himself of every opening which could in any manner lead to secure an honourable peace.

and consulting equally the wishes of his own heart, and the principles by which his conduct has invariably been guided.

New obstacles were immediately interposed by those who still directed the Councils of France, and who, amidst the general desire for peace, which they could not at that time openly disclaim, still retained the power of frustrating the wishes of their own country, of counteracting His Majesty's benevolent intentions, and of obstructing that result, which was so necessary for the happiness of both nations. Difficulties of form were studiously created; modes of negotiation were insisted upon, the most inconsistent with their own conduct in every other instance; the same spirit appeared in every step which was taken by them; and while the most unwarranted insinuations were thrown out, and the most unfounded reproaches brought forward, the established customs and usages, which have long prevailed in Europe, were purposely departed from, even in the simplest acts which were to be done on their part for the renewal of the negotiations. All these things His Majesty determined to disregard; not as being insensible of their purport and tendency, nor unmindful of the importance of these points, in the public intercourse of great and independent nations, but resolving to defeat the object of these artifices, and to suffer no subordinate or inferior consideration to impede, on his part, the discussion of the weighty and extensive interests on which the termination of the war must necessarily depend.

He directed his Minister to repair to France, furnished with the most ample powers, and instructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace, reduced into the shape of a regular treaty, just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every subject connected with the restoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very first conference, was accompanied by such explanations as fully stated and detailed the utmost extent of His Majesty's views, and at the same time gave ample room for the examination of every disputed point, for mutual arrangement and concession, and for reciprocal facilities arising out of the progress of fair discussion.

To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of His Majesty's enemies opposes the most striking contrast. From them no counter-project has ever yet been obtained: no statement of the extent or nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with these kingdoms. Their pretensions have always been brought forward either as detached or as preliminary points, distinct from the main object of negotiation, and accompanied, in every instance, with an express reserve of farther and unexplained demands.

The points which, in pursuance of this system, the Plenipotentiaries of the enemy proposed for separate discussion, in their first conferences with His Majesty's Minister, were at once frivolous and offensive: none of them productive of any solid advantage to France, but all calculated to raise new obstacles in the way of peace. And to these demands was soon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its substance extravagant, and such as could originate only in the most determined and inveterate hostility. The principle of mutual compensation, before expressly admitted by common consent, as the just and equitable basis of negotiation, was now disclaimed; every idea of moderation or reason, every appearance of justice, was disregarded; and a concession was required from His Majesty's Plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indispensable condition of negotiation, which must at once have super-

fed all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions so large a portion of her conquests, and affecting to have deprived herself, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating these valuable additions of territory, did not scruple to demand from His Majesty the absolute and unconditional surrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies, have conquered in the present war, either from France or from her allies. She required that the power of Great Britain should be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almost unparalleled in history. She insisted, that in proportion to the increase of danger, the means of resistance should be diminished; and that His Majesty should give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguards of his empire. Nor was even this demand brought forward as constituting the terms of peace, but the price of negotiation; as the condition on which alone His Majesty was to be allowed to learn what farther unexplained demands were still reserved, and to what greater sacrifices these unprecedented concessions of honour and safety were to lead.

Whatever were the impressions which such a proceeding created, they did not induce the King abruptly to preclude the means of negotiation. In rejecting, without a moment's hesitation, a demand, which could have been made for no other reason than because it was inadmissible, His Majesty, from the fixed resolution to avail himself of every chance of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, directed that an opening should still be left for treating on reasonable and equal grounds, such as might become the dignity of his Crown, and the rank and station in Europe, in which it has pleased the Divine Providence to place the British nation.

This temperate and conciliatory conduct was strongly expressive of the benevolence of His Majesty's intentions; and it appeared for some time to have prepared the way for that result which has been the uniform object of all his measures. Two months elapsed after His Majesty had unequivocally and definitively refused to comply with the unreasonable and extravagant preliminary which had been demanded by his enemies. During all that time the negotiation was continued open, the conferences were regularly held, and the demand thus explicitly rejected by one party, was never once renewed by the other. It was not only abandoned, it was openly disclaimed; assurances were given in direct contradiction to it. Promises were continually repeated, that His Majesty's explicit and detailed proposals should at length be answered by that which could alone evince a real disposition to negotiate with sincerity, by the delivery of a counter-project, of a nature tending to facilitate the conclusion of peace; and the long delays of the French Government in executing these promises were excused and accounted for by an unequivocal declaration, that France was concerting with her allies for those sacrifices on their part, which might afford the means of proceeding in the negotiation. Week after week passed over in the repetition of these solemn engagements on the part of His Majesty's enemies. His desire for peace induced him to wait for their completion, with an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the object; nor was it much to expect, that his Minister should at length be informed what was the extent and nature of the conditions on which his enemies were disposed to terminate the war.

It was in this stage of the business that, on the 11th of September, the appointment of new Plenipotentiaries was announced on the part of France, under a formal promise that their arrival should facilitate and expedite the work of peace.

To renew, in a shape still more offensive than before, the inadmissible demand so long before brought forward, and so long abandoned, was the first act of these new messengers of peace. And such was now the undisguised impatience of the King's enemies to terminate all treaty, and to exclude all prospect of accommodation, that even the continuance of the King's Plenipotentiary at the appointed place of negotiation was made by them to depend on his immediate compliance with a condition which his Court had, two months before, explicitly refused, and concerning which no farther discussion had since occurred. His reply was such as the occasion required: and he immediately received a positive and written order to depart from France.

The subsequent conduct of His Majesty's enemies has aggravated even this proceeding, and added fresh insult to this unexampled outrage. The insurmountable obstacles which they threw in the way of peace, were accompanied with an ostentatious profession of the most pacific dispositions. In cutting off the means of negotiation, they still pretended to retain the strongest desire to negotiate; in ordering the King's Minister to quit their country, they professed the hope of his immediate return to it: and in renewing their former inadmissible and rejected demand, they declared their confident expectation of a speedy and favourable answer. Yet before any answer could arrive, they published a declaration, announcing to their country the departure of the King's Minister, and attempting, as in every former instance, to ascribe to the conduct of Great Britain the disappointment of the general wish for peace, and the renewal of all the calamities of war. The same attempt has been prolonged in subsequent communications, equally insidious and illusory, by which they have obviously intended to furnish the colour and empty pretence of a wish for peace, while they have still studiously and obstinately persisted in evading every step which could lead to the success of any negotiation; have continued to insist on the same inadmissible and extravagant preliminary, and have uniformly withheld all explanation either on the particulars of the proposals of peace so long since delivered by His Majesty's Minister, or on any other terms on which they were themselves ready to conclude; and this in the vain hope, that it could be possible, by any artifice, to disguise the truth of these transactions, or that any exercise of power, however despotic, could prevent such facts from being known, felt, and understood, even in France itself.

To France, to Europe, and to the World, it must be manifest, that the French Government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave His Majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies, the honour of his Crown, and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest, that, instead of shewing, on their part, any inclination to meet His Majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themselves to state any terms, however exorbitant, on which they were ready to conclude peace.—They have asked as a preliminary, and in the form the most arrogant and offensive, concessions which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negotiation; which were directly con-

trary to their own repeated professions; and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outset; reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

On the other hand, the terms proposed by His Majesty have been stated in the most clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others, which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on His Majesty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promised by the French Plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotiation is not therefore to be ascribed to any pretensions, however inadmissible, urged as *the price of peace*; not to any ultimate difference on terms, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the contest, and to pursue, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the prosperity and safety of these kingdoms.

While this determination continues to prevail, His Majesty's earnest wishes and endeavours to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. But his sentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the Government of France may shew a disposition and spirit in any degree corresponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been strengthened and confirmed by that fresh success which, by the blessing of Providence, has recently attended his arms, he is yet ready, if the calamities of war can now be closed, to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed; the rejection of such terms must now, more than ever, demonstrate the implacable animosity and insatiable ambition of those with whom he has to contend, and to them alone must the future consequences of the prolongation of the war be ascribed.

If such unhappily is the spirit by which they are still actuated, His Majesty can neither hesitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the sentiments and determination of his People. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themselves. He has an anxious, but a sacred and indispensable duty to fulfil; he will discharge it with resolution, constancy, and firmness. Deeply as he must regret the continuance of a war, so destructive in its progress, and so burdensome even in its success, he knows the character of the brave People whose interests and honour are entrusted to him. These it is the first object of his life to maintain: and he is convinced that neither the resources nor the spirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous contest, or unequal to the importance and value of the objects which are at stake. He trusts, that the favour of *Providence*, by which they have always hitherto been supported against all their enemies, will be still extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful subjects, by a resolute and vigorous application of the means which they possess, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to resist, with just indignation, the assumed superiority of the enemy, against whom they have fought with the courage, and success, and glory of their ancestors, and who aims at nothing less than to destroy at once whatever has contributed to the prosperity and greatness of the British empire; all the channels of its

industry, and all the sources of its power; its security from abroad, its tranquillity at home, and, above all, that Constitution, on which alone depends the undisturbed enjoyment of its Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

Westminster, Oct. 28, 1797.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, November 2.

This day, at half past two o'clock, His Majesty came down to the House in the usual state, and being seated on the Throne in his royal robes, Sir Francis Molyneux, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, was deputed to desire the attendance of the House of Commons; and that body having appeared at the bar, His Majesty was pleased to state his reasons for assembling the Parliament in a most gracious speech from the Throne——

[For which, see the Proceedings of the House of Commons.]

His Majesty and the House of Commons then retired; and after the speech had been read by the Lord Chancellor on the woolsack, and the Clerk at the table,

The Earl of GLASGOW then presented himself to their Lordships' attention. He apologized to the many noble Lords of much greater experience than himself, whom he saw in their places, for his rising so early; but he felt himself impressed with the speech from the Throne, and was willing to embrace the first opportunity of expressing his explicit acquiescence in the magnanimity and patriotism it avowed; and he doubted not but the public would approve of it to the same extent and with the same complacency he did. It proved to him, and certainly also to their Lordships, that the confidence of Government in the object of the contest, their resources to carry it on with vigour, and the prospect of bringing it to an honourable conclusion, was in no degree diminished, nor different from what it originally was. This he considered as an example to the country at large, which takes its feelings and opinion for the most part from those at the head of the councils, as well it ought. For thus eminently occupied, they are in the centre of intelligence, and embrace at one glance the whole complete machinery of our domestic and foreign politics. And when men who had every source of knowledge open to their view, and were not in-

terested in disguising the truth, but much otherwise, came forward with such a declaration of facts and circumstances as had been now announced in His Majesty's name, the people of England could not but rejoice that their case was not worse, and repose themselves contentedly in a Government thus enlightened, and happily disposed to do every thing for the best. The noble Earl called their Lordships' attention to the manner in which our enemies had insulted and contemned our pacific propositions, and he begged it might be particularly remarked with what ease and effrontery they notwithstanding boasted of their pacific intentions in the face of Europe. Every thing that had happened proved our sincerity and their insidioufness, that peace was not their object but ours; and that blood, which had so long overflowed the fields of the Continent, resulted not from our councils and ambition, but theirs. He spoke of our late victories as substantiating our competence to extort from the enemy more eligible terms. Their fleet was perfectly annihilated, which left no doubt on his Lordship's mind that they must now see the impotence of all their schemes in any measure to injure this country. We never had been successful on any occasion in the commencement of hostilities, and this ought to encourage our continuance, especially as the late splendid victory of Viscount Duncan shewed what our navy, under its discipline and wise management, could accomplish. And it was at the same time a pledge of certain prosperity always accompanying a steady perseverance in the use of the means with which Providence had endowed us. From all these considerations, he trusted their Lordships were prepared to strengthen the hands of the Executive Government, and would agree with him in moving the address.

Lord GWYDIR rose and said: After the detailed accounts your Lordships have read in the declaration which has been published; after the gracious speech you have this day heard delivered from the Throne, and the able manner in which the address has been moved, it must certainly appear presumptuous in me to offer myself to your Lordships' notice: but at a moment like the present, I esteem it a duty I owe to your Lordships, to the Public, and to myself, to declare the principles which have hitherto governed my public conduct. Under the favour of your Lordships, I shall now attempt to do so in as concise a manner as I am able.

I have supported this war from its commencement, because I thought it just and necessary: every act of the enemy, every event of the war, every consequence that has followed, has served to confirm me in the opinion I first formed. It is from this conviction

tion I now call upon your Lordships to support the address which has just been moved.

The powers of language have so often been employed to describe the complicated nature of this war, that words have lost their effect by repetition; but the magnitude and importance of the objects it embraces, remain still the same.

Three times have His Majesty's Ministers gone to the utmost verge that prudence and honour would permit, in the hope of putting an end to this unexampled contest, by negotiation and treaty—the result is well known. And I am at a loss to imagine a reason for your Ambassador's having been received, unless it was to afford the Jacobin party in France an opportunity of adding insult to injury.

I have heard it stated from high authority, that a point of honour was almost the only rational cause for war. A dispute for trade or territorial possession might be easily compromised, might even be given up entirely, and the loss replaced from other resources. But the honour of this country once gone, it would sink from the high situation it now holds among nations, into derision and contempt.

Has the object of this war altered? Certainly not. The means of carrying it on have varied; but the preservation of the Constitution and independence of Great Britain has, from the first, continued to be our great pursuit.

We have undoubtedly expended immense sums of money; we no longer appear to have the same facility of commanding fresh supplies. Granted:—but let it be remembered, that the comparative force of different countries must be judged of, in its relative as well as real sense. And I firmly believe, that notwithstanding the successes of France on the Continent, her real physical resources and power against this country are infinitely more sunk, in proportion, than our own; and consequently, if we make the exertions which are called for, we make them with an increased prospect of success.

The sole aim of the rulers of that country, is universal dominion; and whether they have pursued it by war or treaty, that object has never varied. With the words, Justice, Good faith, and Humanity, in their mouths, they think no action too atrocious to be committed. Indulging their minds in ideal victories over this country, they already consider you as a conquered enemy, and will listen to no terms but such as they shall dictate. The laws they have made apply only to themselves: occasional possession

creates of itself indefeasible right ; but when this doctrine, as new as it is inadmissible, comes under discussion with their adversaries, it is exactly reversed as applied to them, and they instantly demand a previous unconditional restitution of every thing that has been taken, either from themselves, or their pretended allies. Had these haughty terms been acceded to, our dishonour would have been sealed, but every chance of peace would have been farther removed. No negotiator could have thought, even of proposing such terms, but with the view of forcing you to continue the war. So much for the justice of their theory and practice.

It would be a waste of your Lordships' time, were I to comment on their good faith, either in the treaties they have dictated and broken, or the alliances they have formed and abused. But permit me to say, it is from these treaties, and these alliances the rest of Europe would do well to take an example of what they have to expect.

Had the allies continued true to their engagements, the war would, long ere this, have been brought to a happy conclusion. Far different has been the conduct of this country. The state of the Funds, the pecuniary difficulties under which we have exerted and maintained our public credit, must convince our allies of the efforts we made to supply their wants. We have more than fulfilled every engagement ; and in the negotiations we proposed, their interests were combined with our own.

Perhaps it was wise to learn by negotiation, to what extent the unjustifiable demands and insolent stipulations of the faction in France would go. Perhaps it was necessary to prove to this country, peace was impossible, in order to rouse that vigorous exertion which its honour and true interest equally demand. How long the rest of Europe may continue the short-sighted policy of keeping aloof from a contest, in which all are so deeply concerned, I know not. But in this momentous war, in which we are, and must be, embarked, and of which they are the inglorious and passive spectators, should the event prove destructive to this country, all the terms they have obtained, all the alliances they have formed, all the friendships they have courted, would, in a moment, crumble into dust : and the triumphant Jacobins, freed from the correcting power of Great Britain, would resume with safety what with apparent, though false moderation, they have hitherto given up. Engaged as we are in a struggle for existence as a nation, what creates our difficulty but a question of finance ?—what, but an unwillingness to contribute a part of that wealth for our defence, the whole of which would soon be wrested from us, after a cowardly submission

to an ignominious peace. Are our possessions ravaged? Are our armies defeated? Is our commerce destroyed? or, are our fleets subdued?—The answers to all these questions are as consolatory as they are obvious. On the splendour of our naval victories, separately and repeatedly gained over the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, I shall not presume to enlarge. They are above all praise; and I trust the admiration and gratitude of the country will, if possible, keep pace with the advantages and honour so gloriously obtained.

The Government of France has, at least, the merit of proclaiming its intentions. It is determined utterly to overthrow your system. It considers England as the great magazine of the riches of the world, which it is determined to plunder and destroy.

I contend you have nothing to fear from being conquered, that you have not equally to dread from a base surrender. The terms on which they offer to accept your surrender (for in no other sense will they consent to treat,) must lay you completely at their feet. When at their mercy, could the most sanguine friend of their power expect better treatment than their own subjects?—and I would ask your Lordships, if death is not preferable to life, under such rulers?

An extreme desire to put an end to the miseries of war, induced His Majesty's Ministers to go every length that prudence and honour permitted, (nay, perhaps, farther,) to terminate those miseries by negotiation. But after the reception those advances have met with, the nation would be regardless of its dignity, it would be careless of the high opinion in which it now stands with the rest of Europe; it would be disgraced in the eyes of the whole world, if it hesitated a moment in resenting the insult, and accepting the challenge. It would be a strange return for all the blood that has been spilt, and all the valour which has been shewn by our fleets and armies, if we were barely to surrender the fruits of so many victories, instead of seconding their efforts by the same inflexible steadiness in our counsels, which they have constantly manifested in every service they have undertaken.

The wild fury of your old and inveterate enemies has spoken in a manner too plain to be misunderstood: they offer no other alternative but unconditional submission to their will, or fierce and bloody contest with their power. When have they, by their actions or successes against this country, established a right to hold such insolent language?—Here, then, we are forced to make our stand. There is no safety in retreat: the most mortifying submissions, the most important sacrifices, would only serve (as baseness and fear

always must serve) to increase the insolence of your relentless foe. Are we, then, to wage eternal war?—In fair argument, no man has a right to put this extreme case. The events of the war will, I hope, soon decide that question. It is sufficient evil for the day, if it be proved that peace cannot at this moment be obtained. With the present Directory, a wish for peace with this country constitutes a crime of the deepest die. Those who in France, supported by public opinion, wished for peace on fair and honourable terms, have been seized and transported like criminals, with a cruelty unrecorded in history; and with them, all appearance of justice and liberty have vanished also. The Jacobin despotism is now at its height:—let the powers of Europe, which still retain their independence, look well to its explosion.

Much as I lament the horrors of war, (and no man can more than I do,) I am convinced there is no road to peace, but that which must be opened by the power of the sword. To secure the permanent happiness and prosperity of this country, all temporary sacrifices are as nothing. I trust a plan will be brought forward for raising the supplies, equal to meet all our difficulties. I am far from endeavouring to keep out of sight those temporary inconveniencies, which all must feel, more or less, and many to a very great and severe degree: but they are inconveniencies which we must endure, to prevent more serious evils, and will, no doubt, be borne with cheerfulness, by every true lover of his country. Under Providence our safety is in our own hands. I trust there will be no half measures, but by boldly looking at our situation, we shall find our spirit and resources adequate to the wants of the nation and the importance of the crisis.

After the indulgence I have experienced from your Lordships' goodness, I will not trespass farther on your time, than once more to call upon you for your support of the motion that you have this day heard so ably made.

Earl FITZWILLIAM. My Lords, my concurrence with the address shall not be withheld, on condition of allowing a trivial alteration in a few words. In every other respect my sentiments are in unison with the noble Lord who just sat down; and your Lordships will do me the justice to believe, that my sentiments have, from the commencement of the war, never once varied. The object on its first appearance struck me precisely as it ever has done since. Its aspect has been uniform. Whatever shape it assumed, to whatever point it tended, the principle was the same, compounded of the same ingredients, and in every direction productive of the same effects. To every word, therefore, in the speech, in the

address, and in the declaration, which aim at the most distant connection with a system thus hostile to both happiness and human comfort, I am determined to give my decided negative. What terms can you make with a Government between which and you there are no common data. You have no medium of access to the views and wishes of each other. It is not proper you should. What is the object of their Government and ours? The same lust of universal empire which poisoned and debased their old establishment, seems the only principle which distinguishes the new. Is it necessary to trace their revolutionary progress, or in what stage of it is not this characteristic feature most prominent? Look at all their views, their conquests, their intrigues, and their negotiations. Have these any other end or aim than the aggrandizement of France? How are the relations of peace and amity to be obtained or established between nations thus at variance in pretensions and spirit, in views and means, in what they would have and what they would be? The detail of the transactions mark their Jacobinical march over all the mounds of good order and political subordination.

It might have been expected, after they had abolished Monarchy in all its parts and branches, and had fenced themselves in their usurpation with their decrees, their armies, and their tribunals, that they would have desisted from troubling their neighbours. But is it not evident that their original purpose is as strong and as extensive in its operation as ever in their very last actions? However they have disguised their intentions to their new friends, a very short time has brought them into light. Only recollect the many fine speeches of liberty and equality with which the Dutch and all its dependencies have been amused. Have not all of these, more or less, been fulfilled? And is there a people this day on earth in greater slavery than these infatuated States to their new masters? Have they not found how ill-exchanged our connection is for that of these Republicans? By what are they gainers? How preposterous to think of acquiring independence from those who, after despoiling their own countrymen of their rights, issue forth the destroyers of whatever belongs to our common nature. And has it not been the same with all the allies they have been able to make? With none of them have they ever fairly substantiated what they held out. The strict and cautious neutrality which Venice observed, the complaisance of Genoa for the French Government, were unable to protect them from the rage of Jacobin proselytism. They have fallen victims to the pusillanimity, or the prudence with which they acted. But it may be said, that here a victorious army interfered, and in the exultation of victory effected changes which

might not have arisen from the general politics of the French Government. The unexampled atrocities, however, the unjustifiable interference with the little State of Genoa, were the deliberate effects of their desolating and revolutionary system. Disorganization in all its extent has uniformly succeeded every establishment they have been able to overthrow. They have indeed but one character, which discriminated them at the beginning, and has never since changed, and in all probability never will. It is their own incommunicable prerogative, an incompatibility of coalescing with any other power whatever. In all their treaties this accordingly is the paramount article. It is for the privilege of regenerating the Constitutions of other nations, and proselyting the subjects of other States, that they threw away all their old forms of every quality and complexion for the substitution of an arrangement perfectly new, unknown, and untried; that they burst upon all the states in their vicinity, and convulsed them with their enthusiasm, and that wherever they penetrated by art or arms the revolutionary mania followed them in its full effects—From which of the most uncultivated wilds, in the most barbarous countries, did ever swarms of such banditti issue as has issued from the cultivated empire of France, and overspread the surrounding kingdoms with madness and guilt? And is this the people with whom your Lordships are ready to make engagements? The character and tempers of their rulers evince what you have to expect from their warmest professions. These are probably formed on the spirit of the people, and within these two months have presented to every humane and considerate mind a most dreadful picture of hypocritical affectation and usurped extravagance, the cant of liberty and the horror of despotism. Is not their late proscription of no less than sixty-five Deputies an instance of this predominating lawless propensity? How much have they exposed their absurd conceptions of popular representation. Of this primary principle in modern democracy, how much have they not boasted, but in what instance has it been realized? Is the expulsion of such a number of those, legally chosen by their constituents, and authorised to represent them in the great National Council, meant to exemplify their doctrine or to explain it? Does the equality they originally proposed consist of such outrages on the rights and feelings of each other? And have we any reason whatever to expect better usage than is mutually adopted among themselves? Here, therefore, I am pledged to your Lordships and the public to make no peace where peace is impracticable, where it can neither be honourable nor lasting; where the party you close with, only close the more effectually to break on the first occasion that

offers, and either prove perfidious friends or implacable enemies. Your Lordships will of course have to consider, whether it is not better to prosecute the war on the original ground of it, or by putting an end to the one, basely relinquish the other. No one who seriously considers the matter can be at a loss to make his election in this alternative. Persevere in the course you have commenced, and your efforts must be crowned with success. The machinery is in motion which must eventually prevail. All the world are satisfied of the responsibility of our funds, of their competency to all our exigencies, of their readiness on every emergency. Let our resources be compared with that of our adversaries. They are in fact without any resource. All they have yet done, all the armies they have raised, all the magazines they have filled, and all the treasures they have expended, have been effected, not by any established arrangement of finance, any system of efficient taxation, or any well-digested plan of levying an equal contribution for supplying the public expenditure, but by an indiscriminate application of the power they had usurped, to make the property of individuals answerable to the exigence of the State. This general appropriation of wealth may do for once, or be the expedient of a moment, but it cannot be a permanent resource. And nothing proves to me their weakness more decidedly than their carrying on the public business by private property. It is blowing up the mine instead of working and carrying it to the coinage. But now how is it with our revenue? In fact, all its sources have rather improved than diminished since the war. Our commerce is actually increased and extended beyond all expectation. Where are not our manufactures exported? In what sea is not the British navy triumphant? The Spanish, the French, and the Dutch fleets have successively acknowledged the superiority of our flag. And are all these instances of our glory to be surrendered for the amity of a Government incapable of accepting, cementing or realizing it? What do we gain by this heterogeneous connection? Are your Lordships in hopes of better treatment than any of their other allies? Have they not subverted the order pre-established in all the connections they have formed? And will they reverence yours any longer than it is in their power to trample it under their feet? By what means can you deter them from this outrage, or bind them to regard as sacred among us what they abolished among themselves? It has always been my opinion that had our allies proved true to each other, had they been animated with as much zeal to defend as the French to attack, the whole fabric of regular society, the war had been happily terminated long ago. But the eccentricities we had to repel have never been fairly met. We

have ruined the cause we wished to protect by our own mismanagement, by want of magnanimity, by mutual jealousy and inattention to the common spirit and principle which ought to have animated and knit us altogether in one heart and one aim. The desertion of one led the way to that of another. But though left in the field alone, we occupy such vantage ground as may enable us for a long time to come to hold them in perfect defiance. Is not the Emperor a beacon to the people of this country? He who ought to have preserved the empire from the dreadful inundation to which it is now exposed by his new allies, who had so many reasons for resisting the torrent that has so long threatened to overthrow his dominions; instead of proving himself the father of his people, their hereditary head and protector, is actually, by the ascendancy of the French in his councils, become their tool to Jacobinise his subjects. This is his fate, and the fate of all who have suffered themselves to be the victims of this new policy. In proportion as your Lordships regard with veneration and patriotism our valuable liberties, as transmitted in purity to us by our ancestors, you will resist all terms of coalescence with this Regicide Government. Has not the object, as advanced by His Majesty in a former speech, that we fought for order, morality, and religion, the same value in your estimation, and the same claim on your decision and exertion as ever? Your Lordships know how sacred these ought to be to us all, and what influence they are calculated to maintain in our individual and relative state; and for what, by pressing a negotiation, would your Lordships exchange them? It merits deep and mature consideration, whether it becomes a great and free people to part with order, morality, and religion, for every species and degree of confusion, mutual depredation and Atheism. These are the sentiments in which it has been my lot to contemplate the progress of these new-fangled principles. And it is now as much as ever my steadfast opinion that consistently with our national dignity, with our Constitution, with the patriotism we severally owe our country, our children, and our posterity, with all our dearest and best regards for the creed and independent sentiments of our forefathers, we cannot agree to conditions of peace and amity with our enemies until the old Monarchy is restored, and an hereditary Sovereign re-instated in the Throne of his ancestors! His Lordship concluded by moving, as an amendment, to leave out that part of the address beginning with—"require, and that while we participate with your Majesty in the concern which your Majesty feels at the failure of your earnest endeavours to procure for your People the blessings of peace, we are fully confident, from the uniform tenor of your

“ Majesty’s conduct, that every step has been taken by your Majesty, which could tend to accelerate that object ; and that it is to the unwarrantable pretensions, and inordinate ambition of the enemy ; and above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms, that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be ascribed”—and which, in his Lordship’s opinion, went to acknowledge the justice and legality of the French Government.

Lord GRENVILLE. In presenting myself to your Lordships immediately after the noble Earl who has thought it right, I am sure with the best intentions on his part, to move for leaving out a part of the address that has been so ably moved and seconded, I by no means intend to offer any sentiments in opposition to the well-grounded doctrines he has thrown out, with respect to the conduct of the French, and to the efficacy of their principles on the fate of Europe. On the contrary, I concur with the noble Earl in all that he has said of the dreadful import of the system which now tyrannizes in France, not merely as it affects all foreign nations, but also, and chiefly, as it affects their own people. I agree with the noble Earl also in the idea that there is no safety for any people by being at peace with the French ; for the dreadful picture which he has drawn of the horrible nature of their friendship, is justified by the history of the nations which they have ruined—but I carry my opinion so much farther than the noble Earl, as I think that these calamities not merely flowed from their peace with France, but happened to them totally and altogether on that account. It was because they were at peace with France ; it was because they fought for safety in a temporising system, as if it were possible to find safety by a dishonourable and ignominious acquiescence in such principles. In my opinion the only safety to be obtained under such a system is by an honourable peace or vigorous war. It is not by compromises, however humble ; it is not by sacrifices, however extravagant, that security can be obtained against such a system. It is only by a vigorous resistance of their principles, a manly disregard of their threats, and a zealous maintenance of our own principles, that we can secure to ourselves the blessings of our established Government ; but acting on these ideas, and trusting to our own genuine vigour, I differ from the noble Earl so far as that I believe that even with the French Republic, as now constituted, peace upon these terms may be both practicable and permanent. It may be obtained, in my mind, upon conditions consistent with the honour and safety of the empire, and such as no man, whatever may be his feelings, need disdain to embrace : but I perfectly agree with the noble Earl

that we can look for no safety by following the conduct of those powers that have fought it in ignominious submission. It is not by sacrifices of principle, not by acquiescence, not by yielding point after point, but by a regular, temperate, and firm maintenance of our just rights and dignity, that we can secure ourselves against the peril of the torrent of French inundation.

I think, my Lords, that I have said all that is necessary in answer to the noble Earl's observations on this part of the subject: but the noble Earl chose to refer to some words of a declaration of the King, made in the commencement of this contest, as if His Majesty's Ministers had departed from the line of politics pointed out therein. I think the noble Earl has not been altogether correct in this reference. I have in no idea varied, and the rest of His Majesty's servants have in no idea varied from the words of the declaration to which the noble Earl alluded. At no time since the commencement of the war have His Majesty's Ministers declared that no peace could or ought to be made with the Republic. All that they asserted in that declaration to which the noble Earl has alluded, and which is farther proved by the whole tenor of the conduct which His Majesty has been advised to hold, is that they thought peace was more likely to be permanent if France should happily return to a regular government. It was never said that peace was not practicable under the new order of things, but that certainly it would be better made and more likely to be durable, under the Monarchy. I beg, therefore, that the noble Earl will examine with attention our former declarations, and compare them with the present, that he may satisfy his fair and honourable mind of the consistency of our conduct; we have been uniform throughout; we are eager only to secure to this country peace upon conditions which shall be independent of any existing order of things in France, and however we may have preferred to treat with one kind of government to another, we have never made any one kind of government a *sine qua non* of negotiation.

On the main subject of His Majesty's speech from the Throne, it is impossible for me to add any thing to what has been so eloquently said by the noble Peers who moved and seconded the address. They have so forcibly expressed the sentiments which I feel, and I think have so perfectly secured the approbation of your Lordships to the address itself, that it would be equally vain and impossible for me to add any thing to what they have said. I rejoice in the unanimity which is likely to prevail this day, it is the most critical and the most awful period that the history of England ever witnessed, and at no moment was the unanimous declaration of a

determined spirit to support His Majesty in the measures essential to national prosperity more incumbent upon us than at present. If the address could be made more clear, more decisive upon this point, by leaving out the words to which the noble Earl objects, I would be the first to agree with him in the amendment to that purpose. I trust it is the object of us all explicitly to declare, that we will never compromise nor surrender the just claims of England, that we will never seek for peace by sacrifices that are inconsistent with our true safety. But, my Lords, not thinking that the spirit of the declaration is weakened, by manifesting a desire for peace upon honourable and just principles, I must object to the motion of the noble Earl, and vote for the address as it has been so ably proposed.

The Marquis of LANSDOWN. My Lords, I do not rise to offer my feeble opposition to the address that has been proposed. I know how illusory and how vain it would be for me to flatter myself with the presumption, that any thing which I can offer would avail in this most perilous and most awful moment? When I see the House deserted by all those noble Peers whose just influence is supported by great ability and by powerful eloquence, I cannot hope that any thing coming from abilities like mine can have weight upon you; but, my Lords, however weak my voice, however feeble my talents, I conceive it to be my duty to exert them in the way which I think may the best conduce to the object which I have in view, that of arresting you in a career that leads to death. In the short interval between life and death, brought as we are to the brink of that most dreadful precipice, which noble Lords have so justly deplored, I yet think it right, single as I am, to raise my warning voice, and to save you if possible from the abyss. The absence of the noble Lords, though it has not surprised me, afflicts my heart: I am not surprized, my Lord, because I do not know whether it is not even a wise, a salutary and a patriotic measure; far be it from me to arraign them, it is a measure upon which I have often contemplated myself with seriousness, and which I have more than once thought of adopting. For what, my Lords, avails it, for a few men, unsupported by public opinion, to spend their breath here against a system which is not to be assailed by wisdom nor moved by patriotism; which reposes itself on other bases than discussion, experience and truth? I have no doubt, therefore, but that these noble persons have declined their attendance upon considerations, strong and weighty, upon principles of conscience and rectitude, and that their absence may do more to awaken you to seriousness and to reflection, than all they could have done by fine harangues and by declamation, however lofty, and however impressive. My Lords,

if I come down thus single, it is not from any motive of self-conceit, it is not, I repeat it, because I think that any thing which I have to say, will work upon your minds, but because I think the times themselves demand from every man exertion in every way in which it is possible, demand from yourselves the surrender of those prejudices which have hitherto made you deaf to the danger that surrounds, and demand from all parties the forgetfulness of what is past, that we may now come to contemplate with serious minds the peril of our situation. It is this, my Lords, that induces me yet to trouble you with my faint, perhaps my unavailing voice. The declaration, and what a declaration! has made a most serious impression upon me; unaccompanied as it is with the documents, I read it with a perfect confidence in the main facts which it states. If one quarter of those facts be true, and that they are I have not the slightest inclination to disbelieve, what do they prove? That the French Directory have no intention to make peace with you; not merely that they have no intention to make peace with you, but they are alienated and hostile to the Government of this country? My Lords, this is a most serious and a most important matter, for then comes the great question, what are we to do in such a predicament? The noble Earl says, continue the war! I ask you, how are you to continue it? I leave all that has been said about Geneva, and Genoa, and the other states who have suffered from the conduct of France, to men better acquainted with the circumstances. We have nothing to do with these details. Our case is not parallel. Great Britain is not to be put on a footing with the petty states which the drunkenness of the French Revolution has disturbed, and we ought not to be diverted from the contemplation of our own case by such references. I leave them, along with all the books and speeches of prediction about the impossibility of the French continuing their system, which have so long and so fatally deluded your Lordships. We are come now to that point, when we are doomed to act by ourselves, and I need not tell your Lordships, that through the whole of this business it has been the invariable principle of those who have carried on the war, that we could not make any effectual impression on France without a Continental ally. If this be true, what shall we now do when the French have made a Jacobin of the Emperor? can we go on without an ally for any purpose of offence? We cannot hope to recover the King of Prussia as an ally; there is little chance of rekindling in his breast the flame of romance that has now burned in us for five years; he long ago had wisdom to quit the scene, and now we find, that even the Emperor has withdrawn. I hope, however, that we shall find him

a man of honour in his engagements, and that the money which was advanced in this country, which our Ministers have constantly declared was not a subsidy, but a solemn loan, will be paid with punctuality and honour. The surmises that I have heard, I must therefore disregard. But, my Lords, what I in particular desire to press on your consideration is, that you are now called upon to persevere in the contest, without the means which have so frequently been stated as essential to its success. It is for your Lordships to stop and inquire with what wisdom you are now to open this new career. The noble Lord says, that our means are flourishing in consequence of our increased trade. Are they so? Is the noble Lord furnished with authentic documents of this fact? I shall be really rejoiced to hear that this lofty assertion, which I see also makes a part of the speech, can be proved; I have not had opportunity to see any papers that can satisfy me on the subject. What I have seen are directly the reverse. The papers that I have seen respecting the state of the trade with Portugal, and the wine trade, give me proofs of a most lamentable decay; it is not merely that they are not productive, which is a loose and unqualified expression, but they are extremely deficient. It is not then, because our sailors have conquered, and because we have most gloriously demonstrated to all the world the character of our natural strength, that therefore we are provided with the means of carrying on an offensive war against France without a Continental ally. Our sailors indeed have maintained the glory of our maritime empire; they have shown the true *vis animæ* of the British marine, which like the natural strength of youth, in a casual sickness, resists all the blunders of his physician; but great and glorious as our naval exploits have been, what can it do for us in such a contest? They make us masters of the sea indeed, but where shall we land? We have the seas of Europe, and France has its ports? It is necessary to the circuit of commerce, that not merely the seas should be open but the markets. What then is our relative situation?—we have ships that traverse and command the ocean, the French have armies that traverse and command the shores. From Paris to Hamburgh on the one side, from Paris to Lisbon on the other, they occupy, and they will occupy, every point of contact with the main land of Europe. A Duncan and a St. Vincent may sweep them from the seas, and achieve for their country and their own names immortal honour; but what will all this avail us towards offensive war? Are we to have new revolutions; are we to look to new schemes of descent; are we so little chastised in the school of adversity as yet to cherish the hopes of invasion of France? How are we to do it? Is it by balloons? I

have heard of no recent invention which is honoured with the approbation of the War-Office for the conquest of France. But, my Lords, do we yet talk of a counter-revolution after all the experience that we have had; are we yet weak enough to cherish this puerile expectation? If you are, I would refer your Lordships to a most able pamphlet written by a late Comptroller General of France. The authority of this writer, speaking contrary to his wishes, ought to have weight. He states admirably well the situation into which you have driven France, and he exposes and ridicules the nonsense with which we have been so long duped and deluded about their inability to continue the struggle. All the nonsense about assignats and mandates, with which my ears have been stunned in this House, for I profess to God, my Lords, that I have frequently gone from this House so stunned and dumb-founded with assignats and mandates, that I have not been able to return to my repose. But Monsieur de Calonne says, with truth, that all our driving produced the contrary effect to what we intended; that it is quite ridiculous to talk about the property of a nation where all its property is afloat. Its very paper, which we idly looked up to as the pregnant source of its ruin, was not merely a genuine source for the time that it lasted, but by our attacks upon it became the principle of salvation to France. It worked out its own cure; and France, from having more paper than all the world put together, has now less than this country. Such is the declaration of this ingenious man, and such is his confession of former error. My Lords, I am not come here to give my opinion in the spirit of a Frenchman! I am no Frenchman! I am no Jacobin! But in this most dreadful crisis, if I could suggest any means that might tend to correct the folly of our system and to check the fatality of our career, I feel it my duty to do so. I profess to God I know but one means and one chance for safety. I see but one powerful resource left to the nation, *and it is a change of Ministers*. I yet have confidence that this resource will be tried. His Majesty has now reigned over us thirty-seven years; no man has a greater knowledge of the character of the people of England than His Majesty. In the Chief Magistrate of such a Government as ours it is not great talents are required so much as that plain integrity and humane attention to the good of his people which rejects all considerations of a personal kind, and seeks only for their happiness and safety. In this view I cannot despair of the public weal, since, if His Majesty will enter into the serious inquiry of the most likely means to restore to his kingdoms the blessings of peace, he must see, and every honest man whom he consults will tell him, that a change of his Ministers is the most likely means of accomplishing that de-

firable object. For, let us suppose how the Directory of France must argue with respect to the present Ministers of England. It is a principle with me, and I know that it is fit and prudent for all men to do the same, whenever I have a dispute to settle with a person, I endeavour to put myself into his situation, and to argue the case as it is likely that he will argue it. By this means I am likely to correct my own views of the subject, to subdue my own passions, and to discuss the question with fairness and impartiality. In this manner let us suppose what must be the train of reasoning in the mind of the Directory of France. Must they not speak in something like this strain? "We have succeeded in convincing all the powers on the Continent of Europe of the folly of the crusade they undertook against us; we have added more to the empire of France than ever the mind of Cardinal Richelieu conceived; we have magnified the power of our country upon the basis which gave occasion to the war; we are young in the enjoyment of our liberties, and all the means of a youthful Government are in our hands; but what remains? One power only under hot-headed councils persists in its attack upon us, and sends forth declarations against us, charging us with every species of atrocity, and denouncing us to all the world as the authors of the war that has so long deluged it in blood. We, who only wanted liberty, have conquered the powers who wanted plunder, and have aggrandized ourselves at the expence of our assailants. One only of the confederacy, continues obstinately bent on our ruin, and though she has failed in stirring up others against us, still rails at our Government in paper declarations. And this power that thus perseveres against us is brought by this very obstinacy to embarrassments which it can neither palliate nor conceal. It stands on a tottering base. The very shadow of a descent upon Ireland convulsed its Bank, and at the very moment that it thus threatens to pour forth its vengeance upon us, it is ready to sink under the efforts it has already made. What then, after having freed ourselves from those powers at our door, who could really attack us, shall we yield to this insulated foe that has no armies with which it can wound us? Are we tamely to submit to their repeated imputations, and are their menaces of starvation and extermination to disturb our march? They mean our overthrow, and this is the true motive of their conduct. Even in asking for peace, they mean hostility. They seek only for a peace that shall be an armistice, in which they are to take breath, and attack us to more advantage again. No! they are insincere. They are our only enemy, and the present is the moment for us to save France from their designs!" It is possible, my Lords, that a Member of the Directory may in-

dulge himself in language so vehement as this, and which though it cannot be justified, has unfortunately too much truth on its side. If His Majesty should converse with any plain, sensible and honest men upon the subject, what must be their advice? That to say no worse, his servants had been hot-headed and intemperate; that their resolutions had been unsteady, their conduct equivocal, their measures contradictory, their cause without principle, their proceeding without plan; that they had never been able to satisfy the thinking part of the nation as to the wisdom, the necessity, or the justice of the war; nor had they been able to satisfy even those who approved of the motive of the war, with the vigour, the prudence, or the economy of its conduct; they would say that the French Directory had too much reason for their suspicions of our sincerity, even in our professions of peace. In all the instances where Commissioners had been appointed to negotiate, a dark underhand game was played, which contradicted the public profession of the British Cabinet. Thus when a Commissioner was sent to Switzerland, and that Mr. Wickham opened a correspondence with the French, they discovered that it was only for the purpose of negotiating a loan. Again, when my Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris, they discovered that while we were thus making professions of peace in Paris, we were negotiating a hostile treaty with Russia; and last of all, our negotiation at Lisie was accompanied by that counter-revolutionary insurrection in the interior of France, which produced the convulsion of the 4th of September, and in which they affect to say, that they discovered the insidious hand of the English Minister. My Lords, I do not presume to speak from any personal knowledge on this subject; but, he must be wilfully blind who does not see that the French charge our Ministers with the fact, and that our declaration is studiously shy of disproving the charge. Yet you cannot avoid observing that up to the 4th of September, the negotiation continued; but on the bursting of that volcano, the conferences broke up. What then would an honest adviser of His Majesty say? but, that Ministers who had thus conducted themselves, and who had thus exasperated the enemy, were less likely than other men to procure peace for the country. They would advise him at least to try the expedient, they would deprive the enemy of the advantage which they now possess, of asserting with a colour of probability, that the war is continued only because the Ministers of His Britannic Majesty are insidious and insincere.

If I am asked upon what line and basis a peace ought to be concluded, I can only say, that provided it is concluded in the spirit of peace, I would not be very anxious to specify the conditions.

I do not think that mere colonies, either East Indian or West Indian, a sufficient argument for the continuance of war, not even Trincomale itself. As to our West-India settlements, the events that have recently happened, have materially changed our policy with regard to them. When we enjoyed all their consumption, it was very different; but now that is, in a great measure, transferred to America, and when the enlightened spirit of humanity has done so much towards the emancipation of the negro slaves, and that the French Revolution has introduced the principles of insubordination into those islands, I would not contend for a single day about any object in the West Indies: the value of those colonies is very much lessened, indeed, to England. As to the Cape of Good Hope, about which so many lofty expectations were formed, on that also our ideas are corrected; the whole is found to be a dream. I have reason to know, that the men who are the most ardent in their expectations about the Cape, are now convinced that it would be not only useless but inconvenient to keep it. The whole, then, is reduced to Trincomale; and though I own that Trincomale is of enormous value to the defence of our East-Indian empire, and that it is a thing which we ought to negotiate for, and to get, if we can; yet it surely is not worth the continuance of a war. We gained our empire in the East without Trincomale; we have taken Trincomale before now, and given it up; and I am not for incurring another campaign that will cost us thirty millions, for the sake of this settlement. This is my opinion, and I throw it forth without hesitation. Let us come to our senses; our system ought to be purely defensive; a defensive war is not a great evil to this country, compared with that which we have been doomed to endure. But let us above all regain the opinion of Europe; we have lost it by our intemperance, our pride, and our rapacity. Let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations; we shall be forced to do it, and that with an ill grace; the present is the moment favourable to conciliation. If thus we recognize the commercial freedom of the world, we shall be the first to profit from the grand and generous system. Our means for a defensive system are, indeed, large; these our nautical skill, and our nautical capital, if I may be allowed the phrase, would maintain to us the true sovereignty of the seas, for it would secure to us the empire of its commerce. To this I would suggest the important duty of a thorough examination of our expences through all their details, and of our abuses through all their gradations: there are other things that must also enter into this plan, and which will naturally suggest themselves to every mind. We have not merely Europe to conciliate, we have also to conciliate at

home; we must satisfy the minds of the people. I need not tell you, my Lords, that parts of this empire are convulsed to the heart; you will naturally feel that I turn my eye to the state of Ireland, from which all public information is barred; but you must not shut your minds against it, it presses too forcibly upon you for resistance. I have seen letters from a noble person worthy of the highest consideration which give this emphatical description of the present state of Ireland:—"Ireland is quiet indeed; but it is the quiet which reigns on board of a tender under the management of a press-gang." I have seen also a letter in an evening print, *The Courier*, which loudly calls upon your Lordships' attention. It gives such a description of the horrors that reign in Ireland, as, if true, ought instantly to call for redress. I am convinced that, if this subject is not immediately taken up, that we shall have but one alternative, a federal union, or a separation. My Lords, the case is imminent. I speak as no party man on the subject; secure to me my property and my quiet. The people who are to be governed have a right to both; and I see no means of restoring the people to the security of property, and the satisfaction of repose, but by making peace with that mighty people, who, to the enthusiasm of liberty, have all the resources of a nation yet before them. They are not exhausted as we are; they have not run through all the classes of taxation; the combat is unequal, and I dread the event. Peace is necessary to our deliverance, by that we may lessen our expences, not, as it is vainly held out in the speech; for so long as the war lasts, the enemy is the arbiter of your expence—but by a well-constructed and a solid peace, you may pave the way for the amelioration of your internal state. You may satisfy the people that their representation is substantial and efficacious to its purpose, not by giving to them the bubble of universal suffrage, a thing which no man that uses the term has ever been able justly to define, much less to reconcile with common sense and practice, but to satisfy them by gradual reforms growing out of the Constitution itself. I say gradual reforms, for God forbid that any other but gradual reform should ever be countenanced in England. My Lords, I have done. I had some intentions of putting some words into the shape of an amendment, but I knew it was useless. I see no good that can be obtained in that way. I have now, for forty years, seen the fate of them in the two Houses of Parliament. I look to another quarter for our remedy. We have a Prince of experience on the Throne; he has friends who are capable of giving him sound and serious advice. It is, perhaps, come to the critical minute when acting on their counsel, he may yet rescue us from the

fate that impends over our heads. May God grant that we shall still owe to his paternal care the national safety.

Lord MULGRAVE said, that notwithstanding a very patient, and he did hope an impartial attention to the speech, and the topics contained in the speech of the last noble speaker, he yet found himself not prepared to concur with him in any one of his arguments, nor in the conclusions he had drawn from them. Noble Lords had that night heard much said of the impossibility of carrying on the present war without an ally, and the noble Marquis, Lansdown, urged the declarations of His Majesty's Ministers formerly as auxiliary proofs of the truth of the political dogma. But he (Lord Mulgrave) thought otherwise. It was, indeed, true, that originally and early in the contest, the varied and prodigious efforts of the common enemy; their publicly declared hostility to the religion, the governments, the crowns, and the venerable establishments of Europe, had necessarily provoked an extensive, gigantic coalition against them, but time had softened those passions which had given birth to these enormities, and the coalition against them gradually vanished. The necessity that existed then for our carrying on war without some ally, had now, however ceased, and we were to seek in the dignity, the courage, and the resources of the country, the means of repelling, or treating with the common enemy. He would ask—"Are we independent or not?" If independent, it surely could not well accommodate itself to the feelings of noble Lords, to the distinguished Peers of a mighty empire, to be now reduced, with their country, to a state of vassalage. Such would be the condition of a country, whose inhabitants could only defend themselves in conjunction with an ally. For to be unable to defend themselves without one, would be to depend wholly on an ally for protection. But, continued his Lordship, we have in our extending and flourishing commerce, in our vast and triumphant navy—the means of security and ultimate triumph over our inveterate enemies. On our commerce, on our navy, on the brave men who conduct our fleets to victory, we have to rely, and not on any ally, however powerful and well disposed to sustain that august character. The noble Marquis (Lansdown) has, however, contended most strenuously, that we cannot proceed in the war in which we are engaged, with any prospect or well-founded hope of success, without an ally; and he has founded this his assertion on what he has been pleased to denominate an accurate laborious research into the state of the financial resources of France, comparing the result of his researches with what he knew of the resources of our own country. But, continued his Lordship, if the noble Marquis had as accurately and laboriously examined the financial

affairs of France, as he seems to have done those of this country, he could not hereby have failed to discover that her resources are more limited, more precarious, and therefore less the subject of confident assertion, of prophetic declamation, than the more extensive, permanent, and productive resources of the British empire. The noble Marquis did not, however, seem at all times alike willing to turn his eyes to the enemy, and its difficulties, as to the fancied ruined state of this country. But, said Lord Mulgrave, I am far from considering England ruined: she is capable of vast and vigorous exertions, and noble Lords will do well not to abandon themselves to childish, ill-founded fears, in a crisis undoubtedly of difficulty, but not of danger. Still peace was desirable, and every exertion which wisdom could suggest, and that did not reproach our glory and honour as a nation, said his Lordship, ought to be employed in order to obtain it. The noble Marquis had dwelt at some length on the conduct of His Majesty's Ministers; he had asserted, that with them no peace could be procured, but that without them, it was probable the enemy would listen to such terms of peace as should not be disgraceful to us as a nation. Now, observed his Lordship, if any noble Lord, if the noble Marquis himself can prove, that by a change of Administration the enemy would alter its tone, and the nature and extent of its pretensions, he himself would readily vote for a change, and he should think, that if Ministers continued one hour in office after the production of such a proof, they would be undeserving the confidence of that House and of the Country. They would not for one moment enjoy his. But his Lordship was far from imagining that more talent, more virtue, or more wisdom, could be collected and formed into an Administration, from the most distinguished classes of society than were to be met with among the present Ministry. Even the noble Marquis himself, who undoubtedly possessed great and splendid talents, and was much experienced in official duties, appeared to him as incapable of producing the changes in the dispositions of the enemy, of which their Lordships had heard so much that night. [Here Lords Mulgrave and Lansdown entered into a short explanation. It was occasioned by Lord Mulgrave having said, that the noble Marquis, in the course of his speech, had asserted, that he not only spoke his own sentiments, but those of noble Lords who were absent—This Lord Lansdown considered a misstatement of his words.] Lord Mulgrave proceeded: he said, that the noble Marquis had, in the course of his eloquent speech that night, favoured their Lordships with the manifesto of the Executive Directory of France. He had assumed to himself the high and mighty situation of a French Di-

rector, and been the self-created organ of such a character. In his new garb, the noble Marquis had—it was matter of course that he should have displayed some of the arrogance, and been, perhaps, accurate in his delineation of the part usually performed by a Merlin or a Barras. He had said, that, as a Member of that Directory, he would say to the Ministry of Great Britain, “You menace us with an offensive war, to be carried on against us with all the activity, and with all the zeal, which has ever distinguished your naval efforts. Be it so; but it will in our turn, be our only and constant care to present your fleets with a line of coast invulnerable to their most inveterate, persevering efforts. Ours shall be a system of defensive warfare; thus, while your cruisers and fleets are maimed, and baffled by the elements or unavailing expeditions, we shall possess entire command over our internal resources, and be able, in many instances, to import into our cities the varied productions of the globe. A defensive war will thus preserve our domestic tranquillity, but disturb and distract yours.” It was in words such as these that, continued Lord Mulgrave, the noble Marquis expressed himself in his new character. Such was the manifesto he had framed for the Executive Directory of France; and it could not be deemed an unwise one. For, said his Lordship, among men of my profession, a defensive war is ever considered as being pregnant with the means of destruction to those against whom it is waged. True, the converse of this proposition applies equally to all countries; and we ourselves, by adopting a war in its nature altogether defensive, may expect to succeed in the end more in humbling the enemy, than we could justly anticipate as the result of any other system. To this expectation might, indeed, be opposed, though not fairly, the terrible example of an offensive war, the most tremendously vigorous that ever nations waged against any individual power. It might be urged, that as we failed of success while yet allied with some of the most warlike and valiant nations of Europe, no defensive war could ever humble a people who had so broken and so dissipated that league formed to destroy them. Into this subject, however, his Lordship said he would not then go more at large. Still he was satisfied that the only means of bringing the enemy within the scale of reason were to be found in a defensive war. When the noble Marquis said that the Cape of Good Hope, Trincomale, and Ceylon, were unimportant possessions, productive only of national distress, inasmuch as they were national burdens; when, said Lord Mulgrave, these points were agitated, I felt myself, your Lordships best know whether naturally, somewhat warmed, and ready to dissent from the proposition. If it were true that those

possessions are of no importance to us, then might they be given to France ; but is it not strange that the Directory in their manifesto, insist upon their restoration as valuable colonies, not as the terms of peace, but as the price of negotiation ? Every view which I am at this moment able to take of the relative situations of the two countries ; of the French, haughty, insolent, and, as foes, inveterate and insatiable ; qualities which even the noble Marquis himself seems at length to have discovered in them ; obliges me to recommend the prosecution of the war with renewed vigour ; and if noble Lords who now hear me, if the country, be jealous of its rights, and desire sincerely to preserve and defend the Constitution, they will not, in a conjuncture like the present, withhold their confidence and support from Ministers.

The question being put on Lord Fitzwilliam's motion, it was negatived.

The Duke of NORFOLK said, that he would not have attended the House that night, had not his hereditary situation (Earl Marshal) imposed it upon him as a duty ; yet as this had been the case, he could not resist a wish which had entered his mind, of making one or two remarks on what had fallen from the noble Lord (Mulgrave). That noble Lord had said, that he considered his Majesty's present Ministers as able, as virtuous, and worthy of confidence as any set of men that could be collected from the classes of which society was composed. " As for myself," said the noble Duke, " I give them no credit either for great talents or great virtues." They tell us, that they have used all consistent and honourable endeavours to procure peace, yet, after a victory the most brilliant, but desperate, that ever adorned our annals, Ministers seem not to possess the calm and settled passions of lovers of peace, but the stormy, turbulent passions of minds projecting war. The noble Duke regretted, that after crippling the fleet of one enemy, and leaving their commerce in an almost unprotected state, the ardour for negotiation should have ceased, and war alone make the theme of Ministerial declamation. But it had long been unusual with his Grace to regard their professions as those of men sincere in their wishes. " Nevertheless," said the noble Duke, " I am ready to allow, that from the declaration which Government recently published, a paper in which some strong and well-expressed arguments would be found,—the French in their conduct during the negotiation at Lisle, had well merited the epithet, applied to them in that state paper, and that they were in the wrong. But (said his Grace), while Ministers were proving that the enemy were wrong, it was incumbent upon them to prove also that they were themselves in

the right. In the declaration his Grace had met with one passage which conveyed to his mind the boldest and most explicit statement of topics in themselves truly interesting, yet unaccompanied by the documents which are always necessary to sustain facts."

Here his Grace read from the declaration as follows :

"He" [His Majesty] "directed his Minister to repair to France, furnished with the most ample powers, and instructed to communicate at once, an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace, reduced into the shape of a regular treaty, just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extended to every subject connected with the restoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very first conference, was accompanied by such explanations as fully stated and detailed the utmost extent of His Majesty's views, and at the same time gave ample room for the examination of every disputed point, for mutual arrangement and concession, and for reciprocal facilities arising out of the progress of fair discussion." These, continued his Grace, are documents, the want of which disqualifies me from judging of the conduct of Ministers. Their production will enable noble Lords to say, whether, while France was in the wrong, His Majesty's Ministers were in the right. A proposal and plan of peace so formed, and that embraced such principles, cannot but abound in proofs of the sincerity of Ministers; and therefore, said his Grace, we may expect that they will hasten to lay it before your Lordships. But it is not this paper alone, there are also other papers referred to in His Majesty's speech that Ministers have failed to communicate to the House. "In censuring Ministers for their inattention to the duty they owe to your Lordships, and their apparent contempt of the rules and regulations of Parliament, I wish (said his Grace) to employ the mildest expressions. Perhaps that censure is sufficiently severe, which arises from the just indignation of individual bosoms on the development of conduct so unparliamentary; and that so emphatically expresses how little His Majesty's Ministers regard their obligations of duty to your Lordships." His Grace concluded with moving, as an amendment to the address, "That His Majesty would be graciously pleased to order the papers referred to in His Majesty's speech, and in the declaration published on the 28th ult. to be laid before that House."

Lord GRENVILLE in reply observed, that as the address had been agreed to, it would be informal then to move for an amendment. And he had no doubt but the noble Duke would therefore agree to withdraw his motion.

The Duke of NORFOLK rose merely to state, that while he

willingly concurred in maintaining the rules of the House, by withdrawing his motion, he could not but express his disapprobation of the conduct of Ministers, in their total disregard of all order, of the dignity and privileges of that House, and of their duty to their country.

Lord GRENVILLE rose in reply, and said—"I cannot, my Lords, dissemble the indignation I feel at being accused, in common with the rest of His Majesty's servants, of a disregard of all order, of the dignity and privileges of this House, and of our duty to our country—accusations which are not more general than they are ill-founded. My Lords, it was not possible for me, nor, indeed, is it customary, to lay before your Lordships papers referred to in His Majesty's speech, on the evening of the day when it is communicated to your Lordships from the Throne; and were it even practicable, the submitting such papers so hastily to the consideration of your Lordships might, instead of assisting us in the debate, rather tend to embarrass our discussions. On occasions like the present, only His Majesty's speech can properly occupy our attention: and papers connected with it being always laid in due time upon your table, regularly form the topics of subsequent discussion. Thus much, then, I trust I have successfully repelled the violent, impassioned attack made upon myself and my colleagues by the noble Duke. With respect to the accusation founded on my supposed neglect of the forms and regulations of this House, the noble Duke need not to be told that his motion violated decorum, and was made in a state of profound ignorance of those regulations; for the right observance of which he evinced such zeal." His Lordship concluded with assuring the House, that he should tomorrow lay before them such of the papers referred to in His Majesty's speech, as His Majesty might deem it prudent to communicate.

The question was then put upon the original address (of which the following is a copy), and it was carried.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the Throne; and to express to your Majesty the just sense which we entertain of your Majesty's paternal anxiety for the welfare of your subjects, manifested in the earnest desire expressed by your Majesty for the restoration of peace on secure and honourable terms.

“ We return your Majesty our humble thanks for the communications which you have directed to be laid before us ; and we assure your Majesty, that we shall proceed, without delay, to the consideration of those measures which the circumstances of the present crisis require ; and that, while we participate with your Majesty in the concern which your Majesty feels at the failure of your earnest endeavours to procure for your people the blessings of peace, we are fully confident, from the uniform tenour of your Majesty’s conduct, that every step has been taken by your Majesty which could tend to accelerate that object ; and that it is to the unwarrantable pretensions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms, that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be ascribed.

“ We intreat your Majesty to believe that, impressed as we are with the necessity and the magnitude of the contest in which we are engaged, as well as of the value of the interests which we have at stake, no exertions will be wanting on our part to enable your Majesty to prosecute the war with vigour, until a more just and pacific spirit shall prevail on the part of the enemy ; and to employ, in the defence of every thing that is dearest to us, those means and resources which the present situation of our country holds out.

“ We assure your Majesty that we reflect with peculiar satisfaction on the public spirit which has been displayed by your Majesty’s subjects, and on the conduct by which your Majesty’s troops, of every description, have acquired fresh claims to our esteem and admiration.

“ We are particularly desirous of embracing the earliest opportunity to offer to your Majesty our warm and heartfelt congratulations on that signal and decisive victory which has crowned the series of splendid successes obtained by your Majesty’s fleets over all our different enemies in the course of the present war ; a victory no less important in its consequences, than glorious in the circumstances by which it is distinguished.

“ We are deeply sensible of the manner in which your Majesty is pleased to express your gracious acceptance of our best endeavours to testify by our conduct our anxious regard for the interests of our country, and our invariable attachment to your Majesty’s person and government.

“ Sensible of the blessings which, under your Majesty’s paternal care, are derived to us from our civil and religious establishments, and which distinguish us from among all the nations of Europe ; and persuaded that these blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, and

by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity,—it shall be the first object of our attention to contribute, by every means in our power, to the maintenance of that happy Constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, and on which the security and happiness of every class of your Majesty's subjects essentially depend."

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this loyal, dutiful, and affectionate address.

In a crisis of so much importance to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that you entertain a just sense of the nature, magnitude, and necessity of the contest in which we are engaged; and that I may rely with confidence on your support in my fixed and unalterable determination to maintain to the utmost the laws, liberties, and religion of my people, and the dignity, honour, and independance of my kingdoms.

Earl SPENCER said, that where he to follow the impulse of his own feelings, he should move instantly the thanks of the House to Admiral Lord Duncan, and the officers and men under his command, for the glorious victory obtained over the enemy; but as it was more agreeable with the usage of Parliament, and more consonant to the dignity of the subject, to appoint a day for its discussion, he therefore now gave notice that to-morrow he should move the thanks of the House as he had stated. He then moved that the Lords be summoned for to-morrow.—Ordered.

Adjourned.

Friday, November 3.

Earl SPENCER rose, pursuant to his notice of last night, to fulfil, he said, his duty, in bringing forward a motion; respecting the propriety of which, there could not exist two opinions, not only in that House, but in the country at large. It was to move for the honour of your Lordships' thanks to the noble Admiral, Lord Viscount Duncan, for his most able, gallant, and meritorious conduct on the occasion of the signal and decisive victory obtained by the fleet under his Lordship's command, over that of the Dutch, on the 11th of October last. Respecting this great event, it was unnecessary that he should take up their Lordships' time in expatiating; the brilliant and splendid circumstances that attended

it, were such as spoke most forcibly for themselves: no eloquence could enhance its value—no panegyric increase its importance. Some particular circumstances, however, he could not avoid mentioning; the uncommon skill and bravery displayed on the occasion by the noble Admiral—the zeal and alacrity with which he seized the transient opportunity of attacking the enemy—the peculiar situation of the contending fleets, on the verge of the enemy's coast—the completeness of the victory—the proportion of ships captured, and the salutary and decisive consequences which it involved. All these were circumstances which pointed out the achievement of Lord Duncan as incomparable: and this great and signal stroke, being preceded by a long series of arduous and painful watchings of the enemy's motions, certainly enhanced the merit, and redounded to the immortal honour of the noble Admiral.

His Lordship then moved, that the thanks of this House be given to Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, for his very able and gallant conduct in the occasion of the brilliant and decisive victory over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of October last, &c.

The latter part of the vote of thanks went to allude generally to the situation of circumstances of the British fleet under Lord Duncan's command at the time of the action, and also to the long services performed by it previous to that period, all which the noble Earl conceived as increasing the *eclat* of the victory.

Lord Viscount HOOD, in seconding the motion, paid some professional compliments to the noble Admiral. He stated one or two points in which great skill and activity were displayed. As to Lord Duncan's general merit on the occasion, no panegyric of his could illustrate it. After what had been so ably stated by the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty, he thought the conduct of the officers and men under the noble Admiral's command on that memorable day, was deserving of the highest applause.

His Royal Highness the Duke of CLARENCE observed, that he should not take up the time of their Lordships on the present occasion, when they were just about to fulfil an important duty; indeed, did time allow, it would be unnecessary that he should deliver his sentiments—they exactly coincided with those expressed by the noble Earl. What fell from him perfectly coincided with his own ideas of the affair; he should not then have risen, were it not that a professional Peer had thought it necessary to say a few words; he also as a professional man, was happy to express his entire approbation of the conduct, bravery, and skill displayed by the noble Admiral, on the signal and glorious event in question.

The motion was then put, and the thanks of the House were

voted to Lord Duncan, who contributed to the success of the 11th ult. *nem. diff.*

Earl SPENCER prefaced his motion for the thanks of their Lordships to Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. and to the other officers acting under the command of Lord Duncan, with a few panegyrical observations on their very meritorious conduct.

These were unanimously voted by the House, as the foregoing.

Their Lordships' thanks were then voted to the seamen and marines on board the fleet, for their very deserving conduct on the above occasion; and the Lord Chancellor was ordered to communicate their Lordships' several votes of thanks to the above persons in the usual manner, and to request, that the Officers do communicate their Lordships' thanks to the Seamen and Marines on board their respective ships.

Earl Spencer added, that as he understood that Admiral Viscount Duncan intended to be introduced into the House on Wednesday next, he would move that their Lordships be summoned for that day, in order that they might be witnesses of their thanks being communicated personally to Viscount Duncan.

He then moved, That the House be summoned for Wednesday, which was ordered accordingly.

Lord GRENVILLE stated, that he had it in command from His Majesty to lay before their Lordships a copy of his Royal Declaration; and also a variety of papers relative to the negotiation with France.

[For which, see the Proceedings of the House of Commons.]

His Lordship then presented the papers, and after their titles were read by the clerk, moved that they be printed for the use of their Lordships, and taken into consideration on Wednesday next; and that the House be summoned on that day.

Ordered accordingly.

PROTEST of Earl FITZWILLIAM, on the rejection of his Amendment to the Address.

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because the amendment which has been rejected appeared to me necessary to save the honour of this House from being implicated in approving a negotiation, of which we know little more than that it has drawn down new calamities and indignities, new injuries and outrages on His Majesty and his People. Of these, indeed, too much is already known. His Majesty has been advised to set forth a detailed account of them to France, to Europe, and to the World, as if the late abrupt conclusion of the negotiation by the French Directory, and the insulting dismissal of our Ambassador were not the notorious and immediate consequence of

the public voice of France having been overruled by force and terror, and as if all Europe (however in great part subdued also by force and terror) and America, the only part of the world out of Europe, which is directly connected with the system of Europe, were not too well acquainted before with the disposition and principles of the common enemy. On his side we are told, that there was a studied accumulation of every thing that could offend and irritate a high-minded people, such as the people of England once was; a wanton violation of all the mutually respectful forms which long usage has established in the intercourse of free nations, and a final demand (to which, from the moment of our first pacific overtures, that arrogant power has constantly recurred) of a direct surrender of our independence, by taking his laws and treaties for the basis of negotiation, and, indeed, for a preliminary to all discussion. On our side, it is avowed, that there was a departure from all the rules of common prudence, by disclosing all our objects before we could learn any one definitive pretension of the enemy, as the price of peace; and a patience, that it is too much to be feared, that France, Europe, and the world, to which it is declared, may mistake for pusillanimity. The circumstances which could warrant such a conduct, so contrary to all common policy, ought, indeed, to be weighty and grave, if not imperious and irresistible. Under our present circumstances, to take any step, which may seem, however distantly, to approve that conduct, can only tend to deceive His Majesty's Ministers as to the sentiments of this House, and induce still greater humiliation, which must terminate in ruin as well as in dishonour. No country can be safe which is not respected: no country can hope to be respected that does not first respect itself.

2. Because, having recorded my sentiments on the Journals of this House, when this train of measures was new, and the result of the first experiment yet in suspense, I have now the affliction of finding, that whatever I had apprehended from it, has been very much exceeded by its effects, in raising the insolence and audacity of the enemy, and in breaking down that spirit and energy of government, which can alone work out our safety in this awful juncture, or give dignity and glory to our fall.

3. Because the sacrifices which His Majesty has lately been advised to offer, and still to declare himself ready to make, cannot now have the same object, which the same or similar offers had on a former occasion. We were then anxious, by the cession of our own acquisitions, to redeem the most important part of the antient established system of Europe, in which a breach had been made, and which was menaced with still greater danger. In different treaties of peace, sometimes England, sometimes France, sometimes other States, according to the circumstances of the juncture, have surrendered more or less of their actual conquests, for the purpose of restoring the general balance of power for the general safety. In such a peace, we should have had some apparent security, though slender indeed, against the ambition and principles of Republican France. But our last proposed sacrifices were offered merely to obtain peace. For that, and for that alone, we were prepared to give up possessions, which, under the laws of war, had become our own, whilst the enemy had invariably insisted on keeping every thing which his arms had conquered from the other great powers of Europe. Every thing that may be necessary to give rational security to an enemy, shewing a true pacific disposition, would be well surrendered without any compensation; but a proposal to purchase peace, as a valuable consideration in itself, is a distinct admission of inferiority, or a proof of pusillanimity, never honourable, and therefore never

safe to a great nation, especially in the face of an enemy, who measures all right by power and audacity; and against whom, it was admitted in debate by His Majesty's Ministers, "that no security could be found in peace, without uncommon caution, and an uncommon degree of war-like preparation." A treaty formed on this principle, may be complimented with the name of peace, but it will be in effect only a suspension of active hostility, without any of the advantages of peace, and subject to all the expences and dangers of war.

4. Because the whole conduct, as well as declarations of the enemy since the opening of the last session, had been particularly pointed against this country, so as to leave no rational ground of expecting any event from negotiation but that which has happened, of unavailing humiliation. The original treaty of France with America was most unjustly infringed, and avowedly, because the latter country would not insist on our granting nominally to her, but really to France, exceptions and immunities derogating from the general maritime law respecting neutral nations. While no one word of conciliation was ever used towards us, our ally, the Emperor, was, by turns, menaced and caressed to induce him to listen to a separate peace; and in the very outset of our late negotiation, His Majesty has declared that "Modes were insisted upon, the most inconsistent with the enemy's own conduct in every other instance." What has never yet been demanded by that insolent government from any other great state of Europe, was exacted from us, that we should become accessaries in violating all the antient usages, invented and received, to guard the independency and dignity even of the weakest powers. No tolerably secure and honourable peace could have come, or ever can come, from a negotiation commenced and continued in that spirit.

5. Because while His Majesty persisted in a disposition to treat, and when he again offered in his public declaration to ratify the terms before proposed by him, the whole ground had failed on which alone His Majesty had been induced on the 8th of December, 1795, to declare for the first time a desire of meeting any disposition which the enemy might manifest to negotiate a general peace, on just and suitable terms. That ground, as it was previously explained to us by His Majesty's speech on the opening of that session, and, as all His Majesty's Ministers constantly argued in debate, was the establishment in France "of an order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded." Such an order of things was benevolently hoped by His Majesty to have been established in the third new Constitution, made in the fourth year of the French Republic. In the interim between our two negotiations, at Paris and Lisle, the first election, not immediately controlled by an armed force, came on under that Constitution. The true voice of the majority of France was for the first time heard, and heard against the actual Government of that wretched country. The armies were called in to stifle that voice. The principal leaders of the two Legislative Councils were seized and transported without any form of trial, a new and unheard of thing, even in the history of their injustice; nearly two thirds of France were disfranchised; the press silenced; the clergy again proscribed, and the most arbitrary and ferocious measures threatened, as well as some absolutely taken, against all that remains of the nobility, gentry, and magistracy of the ancient monarchy. The power now established is notoriously the very same in character, in maxims, and conduct, as well as, for the most part, exercised or supported by the same men,

with the government which existed at, and soon after the commencement of the war, and which was truly described in His Majesty's declaration of the 29th of October, 1793, as a "state of things that could not exist in France without involving all the surrounding powers in one common danger, without giving them the right, without imposing it upon them as a duty, to stop the progress of an evil which existed only by the successive violation of all law and all property, and which attacked the fundamental principles by which mankind are united in the bonds of civil society." It was against that Government "that His Majesty then called on the people of France to join the standard of an Hereditary Monarchy," "in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion;" the continuance of the same sort of Government, changing never as to its fundamental principles, though fluctuating perpetually as to the persons of the usurpers, who occasionally tyrannize over the enslaved people, has confirmed me more than ever in my full assent to the wisdom of His Majesty's declaration then made.

6. Because though the most absolute and over-ruling necessity could hardly palliate, much less justify, the sacrifice which the late negotiation would have made of our dignity, honour, and independence, together with our acquisitions, yet we have the satisfaction of knowing now, and when His Majesty's Ministers advised him in his declaration to repeat his offer of peace, they also knew that nothing in any degree approaching to such necessity exists. The relative situation of this kingdom with regard to France is much improved since last year. We have lost nothing. We have gained something. The extension of the enemy's dominion under the name of protection, in the interior of Italy, gives him little additional means of immediately annoying us. The marine of those allies, through whom alone he hoped to act against us, has been crippled by our glorious victories. We are secure from him, and he is left open to the undisputed superiority of our navy, to our attacks, if His Majesty shall be advised to call forth the spirit and energy of his people, and to carry succour and assistance to the majority of that nation groaning under the tyranny of the usurpation, and manifesting on every occasion sentiments of disaffection and hostility towards the establishment, deceitfully and cruelly imposed on them as a mild and beneficent constitution. This is a state of things not the result of any speculation, but derived from the admission of the usurpers themselves. It is by them brought forward in their late declaration as their justification, and as the imperious and irresistible motive for violently disfranchising so large a majority of the nation of those rights and privileges upon which, as upon an unalterable basis, the pretended liberties of their Republic were built and established. The pecuniary distress and embarrassments of the enemy have increased, so as to have been a pretence for some of the late violent proceedings in France, while on the contrary the inquiries of our Committees have long since prepared the House to anticipate the pleasing assurance of His Majesty, "that we possess means and resources proportionate to the objects which are at stake, that our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has surpassed its former limits."

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, November 6.

Mr. SPEAKER reported to the House, That the House attended His Majesty upon Saturday last, with their address; to which His Majesty was pleased to give this most gracious answer:

Gentlemen,

I return you my warmest thanks for this loyal and dutiful address, and for the expressions of your affectionate attachment to my person and government. The assurances of your firm determination to resist, to the utmost, the unwarrantable pretensions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, afford me the highest satisfaction at this important conjuncture. They justify the reliance which I have uniformly placed on the vigour and wisdom of your councils, and leave me no room to doubt that the strength and resources of these kingdoms will be effectually employed in supporting our dearest interests, maintaining our happy constitution, and vindicating the honour and independence of the country.

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House, that he had received, from Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, the following letter, in return to the thanks of this House, signified to him by Mr. Speaker, in obedience to their commands of Friday last:

Sir,

London, 5th Nov. 1797.

I am honoured with your letter of the 3d instant, conveying to me the resolutions by which the House of Commons, on that day, manifested its unanimous sense of the services which myself, Sir Richard Onslow, and the several Captains, Officers, and Men, under my command, rendered their country on the 11th of October last, which I shall not fail to communicate to them; and if, in fulfilling the duties of my station, I have been fortunate in rendering service to my country, I am most truly gratified, and feel the highest satisfaction, not only in the sense the House of Commons is pleased to entertain of my conduct, but in the very flattering manner in which you have done me the favour to communicate the same.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and faithful humble servant,

*The Right Honourable Henry
Addington, &c. &c. &c.*

DUNCAN.

The order of the day being read, to consider of a supply to be voted to His Majesty, the House resolved itself into a Committee, Mr. Hobart in the chair,

Mr. PITT moved, that a supply be granted to His Majesty, which was agreed to.

He then gave notice, that he should on that day fortnight submit to the House some important propositions for raising the supplies for the service of the present year.

The House was then resumed, and immediately adjourned.

Tuesday, November 7.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply, which was read a first and second time; and on the Speaker putting the question, That the resolution contained in it be agreed to,

Mr. LONG proposed that it should be expressed *nemine contradicente*.

Mr. TIERNEY objected to it, and said, that while he had a voice it should not be allowed to pass so. Were it a matter of mere form, and that the usual way of passing the resolution, he, perhaps, would not object to it; but he was determined to give his negative, not only to this, but to every other act of the present Administration. He assured the House, that he had a *general retainer* for the whole session.

The resolution then passed, and Wednesday next was appointed for considering of a supply.

A variety of estimates for the ensuing year were laid before the House by Ministers.

On motion being made, the following accounts were ordered to be laid before the House?

“ That an account of services incurred, and not provided for by Parliament, be laid before this House.

“ That there be laid before this House, an account, shewing how the monies given for the service of the year 1797 have been disposed of, distinguished under their several heads.

“ That there be laid before this House, an estimate of the debt of His Majesty's navy, on the 30th September, 1797.

“ That there be laid before this House, an account of all the advances made by the Bank of England to Government, from the 25th day of February last, to the 1st day of this instant November,

inclusive, distinguishing the dates when, and the heads under which such were made, and also all such payments as have been made to the Bank by Government, during the above-mentioned period; distinguishing the dates, and stating the balance (inclusive of interest) due to the Bank by Government, on the said 1st day of November.

“ That there be laid before this House, an account of bills registered on the course of the Navy, Victualling, and Transport Offices, between the 31st of December, 1796, to the 1st of November, 1797; distinguishing the amount of bills registered in each month, and specifying which of them have been paid off.

“ That there be laid before this House, an account of the total amount of mortgaged actions of the Bank of Vienna deposited in the Bank of England, in terms of the 5th article of the Convention between His Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Germany, signed Vienna, May 4th, 1795.

“ That there be laid before this House, copies of all communications relative to the measures taken by his Imperial Majesty in terms of the 4th article of the Convention with his Britannic Majesty, (signed Vienna, May 4th, 1795,) to give full and legal effect and validity to the Loan guaranteed by the Parliament of Great Britain, as well as to the engagements for the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends which will fall due in consequence thereof.

“ That there be laid before this House, an account of the amount of Imperial stock, purchased by such persons as his Imperial Majesty has appointed (under the eighth article of the first Octroi, dated Vienna, 8th of May, 1794) to lay out annually the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling; and also, the interest accruing from the stock which shall have been successively bought, for the purpose of keeping up an annual sinking fund, for the redemption of the said annuities.”

Mr. TIERNEY, being called upon by the Speaker, rose, and said—Sir, I rise pursuant to the notice which I gave last Friday, to state why I think the right honourable Secretary (Dundas) holding a seat in this House a most indecent, unlawful and offensive proceeding. Sir, it is impossible but the House must recollect, that the charge which I hope to be able this day to bring home to the right honourable Secretary was once before made against him, and was baffled by the defence then set up; but, if my memory serves me right, I may with security predict, that the defence set up by the right honourable gentleman on that day will not be the defence he will

stand upon now. The reason, Sir, why I speak upon this occasion in a style of apparent asperity, is not, I assure you, that I feel any personal dislike or private animosity to the right honourable gentleman, but that I think the whole transaction of which I complain a most corrupt job—a job, not avowed, but detected—a job that never would have been brought to light if it could have been kept in concealment, and which was at last brought to light only by the labours of the Committee, to whose Report I mean to refer for evidence of the facts on which I ground my charge. In that Report, the transaction to which I allude is completely decyphered*; and when that shall be substantiated, it will become matter of deliberation and opinion for you, whether it is not an aggravation of the offence that the right honourable gentleman, after having been, in the manner I have already stated, reminded of the doubts that arose, and thereby supplied with materials to judge of the law, and to correct his error, if it was in error he offended, has yet presumed, after such a warning, and with the letter of the law, as it were, placed under his eyes, to hold his seat in this House, in direct violation of that law?—Sir, many of the gentlemen who now hold seats in this House, were Members of it in the year 1782, when a speech was made by a right honourable gentleman, now no more—

* *Extract from the 16th Rep. Sel. Com. page 14.*

“ THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT WAS FIRST ESTABLISHED ON THE 11TH OF JULY 1794; the whole business of the War Department having, from the commencement of the war in 1793 down to that period, been transacted by Mr. DUNDAS, in addition to the ordinary business of the Home Department.—The necessity of a SEPARATE *Establishment for managing the affairs of War* EXCLUSIVELY, was soon felt, and produced the present ADDITIONAL OFFICE of Secretary of State for the War Department.”

Appendix to 16th Rep. Sel. Com. (A. 6.)

“ The office of Secretary of State for the War Department exists since the 11th of July, 1794.”

(Signed)

“ W. HUSKISSON.”

Parliament Street, 19th March, 1797.

Appendix to 16th Rep. Sel. Com. (B. 3.)

“ Secretary of State's Office, War Department.

“ An account of the Salaries, &c. in the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the War Department.

“ HENRY DUNDAS, *Principal Secretary of State*, 2,000*l.*

(Signed)

“ JAS. CHAPMAN, Chief Clerk.”

for whose talents, when living, and for whose memory, now he is dead, I feel, as every one must feel, great respect and admiration—I mean Mr. Burke. In that speech, which was itself sufficient to establish his fame, and which he made when he brought in a bill for introducing a system of economy in the public Administration, and for abolishing all useless places, that great man declared, that the measure he proposed was not merely intended by him to diminish the public expenditure, but had a more extensive view for the public benefit, namely, that of preserving as much as possible the independence of Parliament. I state this circumstance, Sir, for the purpose of shewing what I hope the House and the right honourable gentleman would, without my stating it, give me credit for, that there is nothing personal in this motion, and of apprising the House what the provisions are which the law has, in this instance, made for the independence of Parliament. Sir, if you refer to that speech (and as it has been since published by Mr. Burke himself, I may with greater freedom allude to it here), you will find that Mr. Burke has treated in it the office of third Secretary of State as an office perfectly unnecessary, and instituted for no other purpose than that of creating new patronage for the Crown. Taking this, then, as the principle upon which the abolition of that office was then grounded, nothing can be pleaded in justification of its revival but the most urgent necessity. Now, Sir, if I shew you that this very office of third Secretary of State has been revived, will it not be incumbent on His Majesty's Ministers to shew the House some circumstances that made its revival necessary, and to prove that it was not, as I contend, a job? Reverting to that speech, you will find Mr. Burke, after stating that Lord Suffolk and Lord Weymouth were the two Secretaries of State for the Northern and Southern Departments, goes on as follows: "Lord Suffolk was dead to the State long before he was dead to nature." [See Burke's speech and extract down to "compost heap of corrupt influence."]

In the year 1783, the object of Mr. Burke was effected, and the office of Third Secretary of State abolished. Now, see what has happened since, on the 11th of July, 1794—a third Secretary of State, with a new establishment of not less than 13,000*l.* a year is created. When, in the year 1768, the office of third Secretary, abolished by Mr. Burke's bill, was established, the pretext was the increase of business on the continent of America: at that time, however, three Secretaries were at least sufficient; but, having contrived to lose the American colonies which furnished the pretext, Ministers could not very well insist on the continuance of the office, nor deny that there was no occasion for more than two, who went

under the name of Secretaries for the Northern and Southern Departments. In the year 1786, Commissioners were appointed, to report the nature of the offices of Government, and the amount of their salaries; they made an ample report, [*vide* Reports on the Fees and Perquisites of Office, printed uniformly to bind with these Debates,] with a view to farther retrenchment; but nothing farther was done in it. In that Report, the two Secretaries were stated to receive net incomes, the one of 4,766l., the other of 5,334l. Now, Sir, if the labour, in consequence of the abolition of the third Secretary, had become so extremely burdensome to the two which remained, would they not have been entitled to more salary? But so far was the Chancellor of the Exchequer from being of that opinion, that in 1783 he proposed to reduce their salaries to 4,500l. each. Nay, Sir, did not the right honourable gentleman in that very year evince, that so far from sinking under the weight of his office of Secretary, he was able to carry a little more?—With his usual purity and disinterestedness, taking upon himself the office of President of the Board of Control without fee or reward, and deprecating the idea of refusing to serve *gratis*: and yet, Sir, with this additional labour, the business of all the offices went on, and we heard no complaint of their being too laborious. Sir, the Committee which, as I have already stated, was appointed in 1786, reported, that one Under Secretary in each office was fully sufficient, and that the clerks already employed were too many; but that, as there might one day or other be occasion for them, it would be advisable to keep them idle in the offices, in order to be ready, if circumstances should occur to render their assistance necessary. Nothing, however, was done, touching the objects of the Report, till 1795, when Ministers thought proper to advise His Majesty to counteract all that was promised; and, when the new establishment was proposed, those who were called upon for advice were the Secretaries themselves—and an odd quarter, indeed, from which to take advice on such an occasion! Sir, the right honourable gentleman has been heard to complain, that the weight of business which fell to his share was more than he could bear, and that he had no rest or respite, night or day; and yet, Sir, in his appointment in 1791, so far from taking even 4500l. (for I really wish to give the right honourable gentleman all the credit he deserves) he only took 3600l. Then, Sir, came the war in 1793; and although the quantity of business was considerably increased by that event, the right honourable gentleman never looked for a third Secretary, but did the whole, with much credit to himself, for a year and a half; and, so far from not being able to discharge the duties of that office,

he, in bringing in his India bill, took 2000*l.* a year as president of the Board of Control—assuming to himself, deliberately, the whole additional weight of that arduous employment; and I am not willing to suppose that the right honourable gentleman would have asked for a salary for an office, the duties of which he had not leisure to perform. But this is not all, Sir—With the whole weight of the Home Department, he took upon him also that of war; so far was he from thinking a third Secretary necessary. Under these circumstances, then, I wish to know, what is it that creates the necessity? It cannot be that which was made the pretext for it in 1768—for the colonies are lost: neither can it be inability, because it appears that the business has been done with dispatch, facility, and effect, by two. Hence, Sir, I am at a loss to guess why, in 1794, there should be a new division of the business, and, instead of the old establishment of two Secretaries and Offices at an expence of 29,000*l.*, there should be three at an expence of above 40,000*l.* I know, Sir, that in the Report before us, the gentlemen have stated (what, probably, appeared to them to be the truth,) that the accumulation of the affairs of war, with those of the other departments of State, rendered an enlargement necessary, and pointed out the expediency of a separate establishment for war: but when we look into the evidence upon which that assumption is grounded, we find that the first clerk of that office was the only person examined touching that point before the Committee; and so far from saying any thing to justify that conclusion, he has said nothing but what leads to a belief, that, with the help of four additional clerks, they might go on as well as ever; and the House will find on examination, that there is nothing in the Appendix to bear out the assertions of the Committee in the body of the Report. Sir, I think that I can hardly have failed to satisfy the House, that the office of third Secretary of State is unnecessary, and that the additional business occasioned by the war, which is made the pretext for creating it, might be with equal effect and advantage discharged by four clerks, supplemental to those already employed; but this mode would not answer the purpose of Ministers—No, Sir; an increase of the patronage of the Crown was their object, and a new establishment, with enormous additional salaries, was the only thing which would serve their turn. When the necessity of forming a new establishment was discovered, many difficulties occurred in making the arrangement; and it might be an amusing subject of speculation to conjecture how they were at last surmounted, as nothing can be conceived more difficult than to reconcile the jarring interests and sanguine expectations of the several

candidates for emolument. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), who is so fond of mutual compensation in negotiation, probably interfered, and made *mutual compensation* the basis of the treaty; and "in the progress of fair discussion, have given rise to reciprocal facilities." It was only saying—"I am Secretary at War, and you are War Secretary," and so the difficulty was at an end; and on that day out starts an arrangement, giving to the right honourable gentleman the office of Secretary of the War Department, with a most enormous establishment. Now, Sir, shall I not be justified in saying that this is a job? Is not the distinction warranted by the fact? I am at a loss to comprehend how such a palpable job can be defended, or how Ministers will be able to justify the creating such an office as that of War Secretary. The present Commander in Chief, I am happy to say, is allowed, without contradiction, to be most accurate, active and industrious; and I am sure I mean no disrespect to Lord Amherst when I attribute wholly to age his insufficiency: and Lord Cornwallis has made no less improvement in the Ordnance Department: added to this, the Secretary at War is in himself a host. And yet, with these advantages, the office of Secretary of the War Department was thought necessary for the right honourable gentleman! Sir, I do not find it so much as stated that the Duke of Portland could not do the duty of Both; and the Duke's department, instead of being reduced, has had four clerks added to it; one, a *Precis*, as it is called—that is to say, an abridger; another, a law clerk, which was abolished in 1774, and now revived; a third, a clerk for felons and convicts; and the fourth, a gentleman (Mr. Baldwin), who left his profession, and is so good as to give his opinion when a case is sent with the usual compliment (*the fee*) marked on the back of it—Besides which, there is an active Magistrate employed, who transacts the office business with the various Magistrates, and takes the whole weight of that trouble off his Grace's shoulders. Sir, my knowledge of the Duke of Portland enables me to state that he is a man of business; and he being so, it is extremely wrong to proclaim him thus to the world as a man not fit for the management and discharge of the duties of his office. So far, Sir, I have confined myself to the ground of necessity; I will now, Sir, apply to the other point I assume on this occasion—I mean the illegality of the office. Mr. Burke's bill provided, that the office "commonly called the office of third Secretary of State, or Secretary for the colonies (as it was then called), should be suppressed, abolished, and taken away; and that two only should remain—those for the Northern and Southern Departments; and that if any office of the same name, nature or

description, should thereafter be established, the same should be taken as a new office." Now, Sir, I ask any gentleman of the law now present, whether words could be found to comprehend a more large, distinct and plain explanation of the intention of that provision? Lord George Germaine, who held the office of third Secretary, was more cautious than the right honourable gentleman; for he never gave any specific name to the office he held, but held it generally by the title of *One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State*: and Mr. Burke was driven thereby to describe it in the manner he had done—that is to say, that there shall be only two Secretaries; and that if a third be made, of the same name, nature and description with that abolished, the person who receives the same shall be incapable to sit in the House of Commons. Now, Sir, I will demonstrate beyond the possibility of refutation, that the office held by the right honourable gentleman is of that nature and description: that it is of the same name, I cannot say; but it is for the same purposes, and I defy any one to get over it; it is for transacting the same sort of business as that which was called Secretary for the Colonies; it is not only new, but, by the description of it in the Report, may be said to grow out of that of Lord George Germaine, and, like it, is created upon the pretence that the business of the Home Department is too heavy. Let gentlemen only look to the Report, and they will find the three offices distinctly recognised by the authenticated signatures of the respective Secretaries—In Appendix, B. 1, they will find the signature PORTLAND as *Principal Secretary of the Home Department*; in B. 2, they will find GRENVILLE, *Principal Secretary for the Foreign Department*; and then they will come to the strayed sheep, HENRY DUNDAS, *Principal War Secretary*! For my part, I cannot comprehend where a doubt upon the subject can arise. It evidently appears there are three Secretaries; one of them is in the War Department, and that is the right honourable gentleman. Perhaps gentlemen will endeavour to shelter him by saying, that it is the Duke of Portland that is the new Secretary; for certainly they cannot say it is Lord Grenville. But the House must see it cannot be shuffled off in that manner; if it can, Mr. Burke's bill is but a farce from one end of it to the other. The Report states the necessity of a *separate* establishment, and of an *additional* office of Secretary of the War Department—and that office the right honourable gentleman is avowed to hold. No doubt, then, can possibly arise on the subject. Gentlemen may say, that the right honourable Secretary has the same seal he had before; but that will make no difference, inasmuch as the seal constitutes a part of the nature of the office. But, Sir,

the right honourable gentleman has not only a distinct office, but for that office a distinct house in Parliament-street, the lease of which he has bought for the purpose. Perhaps it will be said, that this is only a new division of the Secretary's office; but even that Mr. Burke's bill is against: or it may be said, that the right honourable gentleman, being a Commoner, possessed the office, and, cutting it into two parts, gave half of it to a Peer, and doing so, has not forfeited his seat—as if the Master of the Mint was to give generally the office to a Peer, and reserve to himself, being a Commoner, only the coining of sixpences—Would he not hold a new office, though he might still call himself a Master of the Mint?

Sir, I have only one word more. In the statement I have delivered, it is satisfactorily made out, that no necessity for creating this office has been proved, and that, if the necessity was proved, still under the law it is impossible that the right honourable gentleman can retain his seat. Sir, I assure you, in making this motion, I am not actuated by a desire to interfere with His Majesty's service, or to throw difficulties in the way of the public proceedings, but by an anxious desire to vindicate the honour and character of the House, by prevailing on them to shew that they wish to preserve inviolate the law; the more so, as the King's speech recommends so strongly to them to enforce obedience to the laws. And I recommend it to the right honourable gentleman, if he wants a new arrangement, to look to his friend on the right (Mr. Windham), who is at the head of an establishment of no less than *Forty-two thousand pounds* a year, and to divide with him, rather than lay new exactions on the Public. [*A laugh from the other side!*]—Sir, I cannot see that it is a reasonable provocation to laughter to be told, and truly told, that one man possesses an establishment of 42,000*l.* a year, or that another sits in this House who by law has no right to sit in it, and is called upon to shew cause for his doing so. Gentlemen should not chuse this night for laughter: discretion should point out to them a conduct more becoming the time and their own situations. A gentleman on the opposite side, the other night, lamented that there was not a fuller attendance on this side of the House; and it would be well if, before they indulge in unseemly, ill-timed levity, gentlemen would consider whether laughter is the mode that should be taken to induce the attendance of absent Members. Sir, I have done; I shall now make my motion, first begging that the act I allude to (Mr. Burke's bill) may be read.

The act being read, he moved,

“ That the office of Secretary of State for the War Depart-

ment was in addition to the offices of Secretary of State for the Home and for the Foreign Departments, established on the 11th of July, 1794.

“ That the right honourable Henry Dundas, having accepted the office of Secretary of State for the War Department, was incapable of being elected to serve in Parliament, and ought not to sit in this House.”

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS—The honourable gentleman, in the manner in which he introduced the present motion, so particularly alluded to me, that it may be expected I should say something in reply ; and I conceive that I cannot better refute the objections he has stated, or better demonstrate the impropriety of the measure he has proposed, than by giving an accurate statement of the circumstances to which he has directed the attention of the House. In the year 1791, His Majesty was pleased to call upon me to undertake the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department. At this period the duty attached to the situation comprehended the internal correspondence with the different parts of the country, with Ireland, the colonies, and in general every thing relative to the Executive Administration. When the war broke out, the military correspondence was likewise conducted by this department, and there continued till it was thought proper to form a new arrangement. I shall not enter into the consideration, whether the place of third Secretary of State was rightly abolished, or whether it was rightly restored : I shall not now discuss, whether the extensive concerns which come under the administration of the offices alluded to, can best be conducted by two, or by three : this subject forms no part of the present consideration ; and as to the personal topics which the honourable gentleman urged so variously and so often, I shall pass them over without particular notice. Still, however, I should deem it unmanly, were I not to embrace this opportunity to state distinctly, as a mere matter of opinion be it understood, that the business of that office which is the subject of consideration, is more than would be proper to commit to any individual, be his talents and his assiduity what they may. The increase of business arising out of the war, the new and strange scenes which were acted in various parts of the country, the frantic and dangerous designs which were prosecuted with such perseverance and activity to disturb the public tranquillity and to overthrow our happy Constitution, called for an additional portion of industry, and additional means of carrying on the business of the State with new vigilance and undivided attention. On this point, however, I merely throw out my personal opinion ; it does not belong to the

present discussion. The question for the deliberation of the House, and the only subject on which they have to decide, is, Whether I am a third Secretary of State in terms of Mr. Burke's act? In reply to the arguments which the honourable gentleman has urged in support of the affirmative, I shall boldly state the fact:—In the year 1791, I received from His Majesty the seals of the Home Department, and at the same time I was custodier of those which had belonged to Lord George Germaine. A new arrangement having taken place, I carried the seals of which I had been the custodier to His Majesty, who delivered them to the Duke of Portland. I was then ordered by His Majesty to continue the military correspondence, and to conduct the business of Secretary of State so far as related to this object. How then can I in any respect be considered the third Secretary of State? I continued to perform a considerable part of the duty which had devolved upon me when I accepted the appointment in 1791. If two known and established Secretaries of State existed, and another is added, by what kind of argument is it to be proved, that the person who discharged one of these offices is to be considered either as the new or the third Secretary of State? It so happens, however, that none of the business which belongs to the office of third Secretary, abolished by Mr. Burke's bill, is attached to the office which I now hold; the business which it comprehends is quite distinct from that for which a third Secretary of State was deemed unnecessary, and is posterior to Mr. Burke's bill. In the situation which I received in 1791, I have stood since; and I now only am in possession of a part of that business which was then wholly under my care. The evidence upon which the Report of the Select Committee is made, does not prove who is, or who is not, third Secretary of State. The persons examined by that Committee explain the nature of the business transacted in the different offices, but do not attempt to distinguish who is first, second, or third Secretary of State. The military branch, and the matters connected with it, are carried on in my department; but I cannot conceive how this at all serves to establish, that I, who performed that duty before, must be the new Secretary of State, or that I come under the incapacities which Mr. Burke's bill enacts. The name by which the office may be distinguished is of no consequence; it does not in any manner support the point which the honourable gentleman endeavours to prove. Does the fact justify the conclusions which he draws? Did I receive any new patent from His Majesty for the office which I hold? did I receive any new salary?—Certainly not. In no respect were the emoluments I enjoyed either increased or diminished; they stand precisely as they did before the

new arrangement took place. I was then, and still am, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, while there are three to whom this character belongs, without its being at all specified with what particular department they are entrusted. But with regard to the operation of the bill upon which this motion is founded, it likewise ought to be considered what is its spirit and object. It was intended to guard against the increase of public offices, in so far as those who occupied them were, or were not, to be Members of this House. But because it suited the state of the civil list at the period when it was passed, does it follow that it must be applicable to the present times? It does not enact that a third Secretary of State shall not be appointed; but its effect is, that this third Secretary of State shall not be a Member of the House of Commons. Before any change took place, I sat in this House; and now I claim the right, both on my own account, and from a regard for the privileges of my constituents, to exercise my legislative capacity. No change has taken place in any situation since I was first chosen after being appointed in 1791; but that part of the duty which I performed, is now executed by the Duke of Portland. Upon what ground, then, is the honourable gentleman to satisfy the House that I have forfeited my right to a seat here? The friends of the honourable gentleman have likewise some reason to complain of him, that he seems desirous to effect what their ingenuity and talents had never discovered to be attainable. Although the honourable gentleman's abilities may be very conspicuous, yet the question was agitated by an honourable friend of his with no less ingenuity, and with no less skill; but it was admitted that no incapacity to sit in this House arose from the circumstances to which the attention of the House was called. After the discussion which the subject had already undergone, I cannot but think, too, that my constituents would not be fairly dealt with, were they to see their representative declared to have incurred an incapacity by an act on which discussion had already taken place, and the opinion of the House had been pronounced. Having thus stated the facts upon which the discussion of the present question must proceed, I shall trouble the House no longer, and shall therefore give my negative to the motion.

Mr. MARTIN said, that whether the right honourable gentleman, by holding his present office of Secretary of State, had violated the letter of Mr. Burke's bill, in his opinion the spirit of it had been disregarded. Its object was, to guard against the influence of the Crown, and to secure the independence of Parliament; which, by the proceeding in question, would be defeated.

Mr. TIERNEY—The present is a subject upon which I should

have expected that the Crown Lawyers would have favoured the House with their lights, and that a question which turns upon the interpretation of an act of Parliament would have called forth some legal knowledge. On such a question, it certainly is unpleasant to me to find the discussion wholly devolved upon myself. I could have wished that some of the learned gentlemen, and a learned Judge whom I now see in his place, who are generally ready to assist their friends upon the other side with their legal abilities, would have now come forward. I was desirous to have exercised the right which I have to close the debate. [The Speaker informed Mr. Tierney, that it was matter of indulgence, not of right, for the opener of a question to close the debate.] If not a matter of right, it certainly is an indulgence which in few instances has been refused. Of this indulgence, then, I was desirous to avail myself, as the last speaker, to reply to such arguments as might have been urged. Perhaps it is in vain to press these learned gentlemen to enter the field; they have so repeatedly failed in the legal arguments which they were called upon to maintain, that they are cautious of exposing themselves to a second failure. In this situation, then, I am compelled to support the arguments I have advanced with no other countenance but that of the House: even of this, indeed, I seem to be deprived, if I can judge from the merriment with which the proposition was received. Even the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), who is not backward to speak, seems to decline: if, however, he does come forward, I hope he will confine himself to matter of fact, and not indulge himself in extraneous argument, because he knows, that as I have no right to speak a third time, I cannot answer him. He, too, is implicated in one of the most wanton, unnecessary, and insulting jobs, by which this country was ever disgraced! The right honourable gentleman, however, says, that he is not third Secretary of State, because he was Secretary of State before: thus he argues, that, having once been in that capacity, he must ever retain the character as long as he is employed in public affairs, and lingers about any of the offices of State.

If it is true that the right honourable gentleman only has a part of the duty, is he not, in fact, no more than an officer of the Duke of Portland's, and disqualified equally to sit in Parliament, as coming under the exceptions of the 15th of George the Second? By that act, one Under Secretary in each department, and no more, is allowed to sit in Parliament. The right honourable gentleman certainly does not act in the character of Under Secretary for the Home Department; what difference, then, does there exist between him and any other person out of the Duke of Portland's office? In

adopting this mode of defence, the right honourable gentleman seems to have been off his guard ; and had he advised with his learned friends, they probably would have dissuaded him from committing himself by such a mode of argument. But, it is said, the subject was formerly discussed : now, however, circumstances are altered, and the question comes forward in a different point of view ; here the job, which formerly was imperfectly known, is *detected*. It was not then known that the right honourable gentleman held the office which is now distinguished by the title of *the War Department*, hitherto unknown. In answer to the charge of thus holding the office of third Secretary of State, a poor joke is again repeated ; and we are asked, whether those who were in, or he who joins, is to be justly deemed the *new* Secretary ? But what does this prove ? When the new arrangement was adopted, a break took place somewhere—when the Duke of Portland was introduced into the situation which the right honourable gentleman held, and was entrusted, at least, with part of the business which he previously performed. The Duke of Portland now occupies the Home Department : the description given of that department in the Report of the Committee in 1786, is precisely that which is given by Mr. King, the Under Secretary of State of that department at the present moment, excepting the business of the East Indies. A new division, however, it seems, has taken place. Doubtless His Majesty may divide the office into as many parts as he pleases, if he does not call upon this House for the payment of those who are employed. I call upon the House, however, to say, what control they are to exercise upon this prerogative ? The House can say to His Majesty, “ You can make Placemen, but you cannot give places to Members of Parliament.” His Majesty cannot, by extending the number of Principal Secretaries, increase the number of Under Secretaries qualified to sit in the House of Commons. By the new arrangements, however, two Members are made. It is said, indeed, that the Under Secretary takes no salary. Without any disrespect for that gentleman, however, he might change his mind, or others in his situation might differ from him. The statute of Queen Anne creates an incapacity, whether the salary be received or not ; and this point I should be glad to argue with any lawyer, from the Lord Chancellor to the youngest Student, were the point to be denied. No matter by what motive the honourable gentleman may be actuated ; the incapacity is legally declared. Whether he is pleased to perform for nothing the business of the right honourable gentleman in the morning, to have the pleasure of hearing his eloquence in the evening, or whether he follows virtue for its own

fake, is all one ; it is against law, and that is enough. It is against the admission of the principle that I now contend ; it is not from personal motives to attack the seats of any honourable gentlemen, but it is to have an opportunity to bring to proof what is meant by the Constitution, what is meant by enforcing *abedience* to the laws, that I urge the present question. I call on the House to do what they pledge themselves to do in the address on the King's speech ; and how is the proposition received ? with a laugh ! Do gentlemen really think that the people of this country are so sunk in apathy that they can endure this mockery ? Do you think that the people without doors will be satisfied, when this debate goes abroad, with the juggle with which the serious charge I have made has been advanced ? When it is asserted and proved by the evidence of a Select Committee, and when it is demonstrated by an act of Parliament, that an honourable gentleman sits in this House who is disqualified by law, do you think it will do to say, that it is not proved whether he be the first, second, or third Secretary ? The right honourable gentleman says he will inquire whether the arrangement be necessary or not ; but does he think the country will be satisfied with this ? Will they not see the gross insult which they have received in the juggle with which it is attempted to impose upon their understandings ? Such a defence as this will never convince the Public that new offices have not been created to extend the influence of the Crown, and to corrupt the independence of Parliament ; it will not convince them that men are not thus introduced into Parliament, who by law are disqualified. At a moment so perilous as the present, it ought to be our business, not to outrage, but to conciliate the public opinion : we ought not to endeavour, by a quibble, to evade the execution of law. The People are entitled to something on their side ; some liberality ought to be shewn to their claims. I am not very apt to despond. I believe that the energy of the country is great—that its resources are extensive ; but they are not the resources of abundance ; they can only be called forth by a House of Commons possessing the confidence and good opinion of the People. If you show them that you are more disposed to curry favour with the King, if you show yourselves more disposed to employ a vigour beyond the law against the People, and a vigour less than the law in the vindication of their rights, you may vote grants, but they will be barren ; you may impose taxes, but they will be unproductive. If, indeed, you show a determination to enforce the laws equally against high and against low, then you will find in the People energies inexhaustible, and resources without end. The right honourable gentleman, however,

says, " Prove me to be third Secretary of State: I went with the seals, and delivered them to the Duke of Portland." Thus he endeavours to escape by a juggle: " Handy dandy ! which is the justice, " and which the thief ? " The facts on which I rest this charge, however, are founded upon no quibble. The two departments for Home and Foreign Affairs are known. Since 1794, there has been a Secretary for the War Department. The whole matter, then, is reduced to a quibble, whether Mr. Dundas or the Duke of Portland be the new Secretary ; and because the Duke came last into office, it must be inferred, forsooth, that he is the new Secretary. But the law does not ask who is the officer ; it looks at the office ; and if the new officer is found in the old department, and the former Secretary in an office hitherto unknown, it cannot be difficult to decide which of them is to be held as the *new Secretary of State*. The 6th of Anne is expressly against any person holding a new office ; and the question here is, not whether Mr. Dundas is an old officer, but whether his office is a new office ? That the point is one which admits, at least, of doubt against them, Ministers cannot but admit. If it be an object of discussion, why not get the matter decided and explained by an act of Parliament ? This was done in regard to bounty-money when a doubt arose on Mr. Burke's bill. This, at least, would shield the House from the disgrace of sanctioning a gross violation of law. The defence now attempted is at once injurious to the rights, and insulting to the understandings of the People ; a miserable juggle to defeat an act of Parliament intended to control the influence of the Crown, and to secure the independence of the House of Commons.

Whatever may be the fate of this motion, I have done my duty. Gentlemen may vote as they think proper ; I have exculpated myself from the consequences. If it shall be carried, I shall have the satisfaction of having contributed something to defend the rights of the People, and to secure the purity of this House. If it be rejected, I shall have the consolation of knowing that I have exerted myself to show to the People what is really meant by the Constitution of which gentlemen boast so much, and those laws which they pledge themselves to enforce ; at least it will shew to the constituents of the right honourable gentleman, to the people of Scotland, to the survivors of those who fell at Tranent, the consequences which attach to the same conduct in different circumstances : it will shew them, that while one set of men, for their opposition to the law, are doomed to the horrors of military execution, others can protect themselves, by a pitiful juggle, from the penalties of the violation of which they have been guilty.

Mr. Chancellor PITT—Whenever the honourable gentleman shall think fit again to allude to the affair of Tranent, I hope he will do so in a manner that will connect it a little better with the subject in discussion. The honourable gentleman maintains that he has a right to speak last, because he is the mover of the question before the House. That, indeed, has been usual and customary, from the indulgence of the House; but I know of no right that any Member has to insist upon it; so far is it from being so understood, that I have known many instances in which the mover has made what is generally termed a reply, and others have spoken after him. The honourable gentleman has already made two speeches, and, perhaps, he may speak a third time; but I deny the right he has to demand a third hearing upon one question. He complains, however, that nobody has chosen to answer him but my right honourable friend. It does not seem to me difficult to account for the silence of which the honourable gentleman complains: those who might at first think that the honourable gentleman's speech required an answer, thought the statement afterwards made by my right honourable friend was sufficiently convincing to the House without another word being uttered upon the subject; for little, indeed, need be said, as the honourable gentleman, although he indulged himself considerably in the display of a digressive eloquence, it applied to any thing but the subject in debate, especially in his last speech; he called, in a pressing, taunting manner, for a reply, although he claimed the right of speaking last. He seemed also to lay it down as a rule, that Members of Parliament ought to wait for the opinion of lawyers upon the present question; and seemed to be pretty confident of his own legal knowledge, although he is not a lawyer. True it is, indeed, that he passed part of his early days in one of the Inns of Court; but I do not know that such of us who are not lawyers should be silent in his presence upon such a point as this; nor do I understand by what rule or principle it is that a Member of Parliament, who is not a lawyer, is not to judge, and, if he pleases, to deliver his opinion upon the statutes of this realm, because we have among us a learned Judge, and many gentlemen of the long robe, and great and eminent Crown Lawyers. I should be happy to hear any of those professional gentlemen upon any legal question. I have as sincere a respect for their authority as the honourable gentleman who now wishes to hear no other; but, as a Member of Parliament, I am not bound by their authority: I must judge for myself. Why, then, having settled the question of right to judge and speak for myself, I am come to the construction of

the statute to which the honourable gentleman refers ; and here let me observe, by the way, to the honourable gentleman who speaks so vauntingly that we have not the opinion of any lawyer in our favour, there is not the opinion of any lawyer against us. I, therefore, an unlearned man, am left to form my opinion as well as I can. Indeed, the honourable gentleman's consistency is a little doubtful, for by one part of his speech he calls upon us to give opinions, and in another he directs us to wait for the opinion of lawyers. He talks a good deal too of a laugh, which seemed to be very offensive to him, and which I did not see ; to be disconcerted by such a trifle, does not seem to me to be very consistent with that state of nerves which the honourable gentleman seemed to be in while he was making pretty bold assertions. He seemed also to insinuate that this practice of laughter will keep other Members of this House from coming among us to do their duty ; to which I can only answer, that I hope they have a better reason for staying away than the fear of being laughed at if they return. The statement of my right honourable friend is not fairly liable to the observations which the honourable gentleman was pleased to make, by way of anticipation upon it. My right honourable friend says " Here are three Secretaries of State, two of them existed before ; another is added. Who is the third, either of the former two, or the one who is added to them ? " This is precisely the case which we are now debating ; nor is it possible fairly to state it otherwise, unless it could be proved that each office of Secretary of State has, not by custom and convenience for practical purposes, but by law, a particular designation, department and division. I say the office of Secretary of State has no such department, designation, or division by law, but is, in the legal sense, independent of any such distinction. The office of Secretary of State, in the legal sense, depends upon the grant and the delivery of the seals ; the title of the office is, " One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. " By that grant, and the delivery of the seals, every one of these persons becomes a legal organ to countersign any act of state, and he is placed afterwards in that department of business, which His Majesty in his wisdom thinks fit to allot for him. This is the real state of the case, and has been uniformly the practice, nor is there any limitation of the number of Secretaries of State ; they have frequently been of different numbers, as may be seen in different periods of your history. In that case, we stand now as we originally stood. But the honourable gentleman has made one concession in his speech for which I am obliged to him. He said it would be arrogant in him to bring this matter forward after what had been so ably said upon it when it was

before the House a considerable time ago, unless he could prove that something had appeared since to add to and cast new light upon it; and then he refers to the Report of the Committee, and upon it he repeats the old witticism, if so it can be called, "That now we have a Secretary at War and a War Secretary." Perhaps I ought to be ashamed of having now in my ear these words which were uttered three years ago; I cannot, however, help observing, that they were uttered by gentlemen who were at least as much masters of pleasantry as the honourable gentleman; and yet these gentlemen, it seems, with all their faculties to provoke laughter, are now themselves afraid of returning to their duty for fear of being laughed at. The honourable gentleman relies much upon the language of the last Report of the Committee upon offices, and triumphantly concludes from thence that my right honourable friend is a third Secretary of State. To which I answer, that the language of the Report, and that of the clerks who gave their evidence before the Committee, is taken merely from popular acceptance in the common stile of business, and has no reference whatever to the real and legal definition of the office. How is this office of Secretary constituted? By the grant by His Majesty and the delivery of the seals. Has my right honourable friend, Mr. Dundas, any new grant as Secretary of State since the year 1791? No. Have any new seals been delivered to him? No. He has now the old seals and the old grant. I say then that according to the spirit of the act of the 6th of Anne, my right honourable friend has not forfeited his right to sit in this House, and if the honourable gentleman had a right to speak a third time he would hardly be able to persuade this House that holding the old grant and the old seals constitute a new Secretary of State, merely because he happens to have less duty now in the office than he had in the year 1791; and I leave, after this, the question to be decided, on which side the quibbling lies in this case. Indeed, the honourable gentleman had one more reason to support his proposition — The act of Parliament brought forward by Mr. Burke stated, that the office of a third Secretary of State, or of Secretary to the colonies, should be deemed a new office. My right honourable friend had nothing whatever to do with the colonies, and therefore the honourable gentleman might conclude that he should be deemed Secretary to the colonies. But, after all, what is the spirit of Mr. Burke's bill? I am not arguing with gentlemen what in their opinion the spirit of that bill ought to be, but what actually is. It is not a bill to restrain the creation of offices generally — not to prevent His Majesty even from having a third Secretary of State by name: but it states, that if a third Secretary of State, or

Secretary of the plantations, be added—what is the result? that such an appointment is against law? nothing like it, for it only provides that such a Secretary shall not sit in the House of Commons. Now, who is the person who is the third Secretary of State? A Member of the House of Lords Gentlemen may say, that the act of Parliament to which I am alluding was passed with a view to prevent His Majesty's influence being extended in the Council of the nation, and that the third Secretary of State ought to have no seat in the House of Lords any more than in the House of Commons: To which I answer again, that we must look at what the law is, not what some gentlemen may think it ought to be. The other part of the honourable gentleman's speech was a mixture of liberality and pleasantness. He takes great merit to himself for not moving against those Members of this House who hold employments in the office of my right honourable friend. I do not know how much they feel themselves obliged to him, and I leave it to himself to shew how that is consistent in a gentleman who assures us he is actuated only by a sense of public duty. As to the idea thrown out by the honourable gentleman, that Mr. Dundas may be considered as a sort of Secretary to the Duke of Portland, I must observe again that he cannot be so considered, that the whole is matter of arrangement to transact the public business more conveniently than it was transacted before, and that my right honourable friend holds the same office as he did formerly, but transacts now only part of what he did before the new arrangement. In a word, I think this a case in which there is no doubt; and, if the honourable gentleman thinks it would have been arrogant in him to have brought this subject forward without some new ground to support it, the sentence is one which he has pronounced on himself, and which otherwise I should not have thought of pronouncing on him.

Mr. TIERNEY. If any language of mine has appeared to be harsh in this discussion, the fault is not mine; it arose out of the subject. I said, this was a job; I say so still, because I think so. I said also, that I should have been arrogant if I brought this matter forward without some new ground to support me: that new ground I had, and I have laid it before this House; it is in the disclosure made by the Report of the Committee to which I have referred. That Report states, that the office of Secretary of the War Department existed since the 11th of July, 1794. I say this justifies me in the statement I made. I know I have no right to reply; but I am contented to let my arguments, poor as they are, go out to the Public, and opposed to the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his right honourable friend. The

right honourable gentleman says, that I said I thought my friends would be afraid of being laughed at if they returned to this House. I said no such thing; and, now that I am upon this subject, I think it right that I should declare, that I have acted in concert with no one upon this subject; and it is but justice to others to take to myself exclusively whatever of disgrace or absurdity may attach to the present motion. I believe my friends, to whom the right honourable gentleman alludes, have ceased to give that constant attendance to which they were accustomed, from the despair of being able to render any service to their Countey in this House—I should not think that what has passed this evening would afford any great inducement to them to return; but whether they will return or not—when, where, or on what occasion, I beg to be distinctly understood as not pretending to have any information of, or to offer any opinion whatever upon. I certainly have no authority so to do.

Lord HAWESBURY rose, he said, in consequence of what had fallen from the honourable gentleman, Mr. Tierney, respecting the melancholy affair of Tranent, and with a view to caution the House against the gross calumnies and malevolent misrepresentations which had been industriously circulated with regard to that business. Should an inquiry be ever made into it by the House, he pledged himself to prove to their fullest satisfaction, that the troops employed on that unfortunate occasion, so far from deserving to be branded with any epithets of reproach, would, on the contrary, he trusted, have the satisfaction of hearing that their conduct had received its unanimous approbation; and, indeed, their behaviour was so far from being marked with wantonness and cruelty, that he had in possession abundant evidence to shew that they evinced the greatest patience and forbearance, and that it was in every respect very little calculated to draw on them the abuse and condemnation which, from certain quarters, they had so liberally received.

Mr. TIERNEY begged that he might not be understood to have delivered any opinion on the conduct of the military, or to have pronounced that, on the occasion alluded to, it was just or otherwise. He had only observed generally, that the laws which were favourable to the views of Government were executed with alacrity and vigour, and even backed, if necessary, by military execution; while those that protected the liberties of the people, seemed to be enforced with reluctance, or entirely overlooked. With respect to the challenge of the noble Lord to go into an inquiry, of the affair at Tranent, he must be allowed to say, that after what have passed

this evening, he had no great encouragement again to trouble the House. If, however, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, instead of suppressing evidence under the pretence that the witnesses were bribed, would allow the truth to come to light, he should have no objection to meet the noble Lord's discussion whenever he chose.

Mr. BURDON said, he always felt anxious that the House should know the grounds upon which he gave his vote on this, as well as on every other occasion. He rose, however, at present, merely to justify the proceedings of the Committee of Finance, of which he had the honour to be a Member, and on which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had built the principal arguments of his speech. These arguments were principally taken from the Appendix to this Report; and for his own part, he could say that he saw nothing in it that warranted the inference that was drawn from it by the honourable gentleman---by the Members of that Committee the appointments under discussion were viewed only in the general light of State Offices, nor was there ever hinted any thing respecting a legal view of the respective situations in which the Secretaries of State were placed. Nothing could, therefore, be deduced from the Report of the Committee to disentangle the litigated point, or to prove that the situation now held by Mr. Dundas was a new office, or that that right honourable gentleman was the third Secretary of State. The honourable gentleman who made the present motion complained that he was discouraged in the performance of his duty from not receiving the countenance of what he called independent Members. For his part, he had long since made up his mind respecting the tendency of the financial reports; nor was he induced to alter it by any thing that had fallen from the honourable gentleman. He had said thus much to shew that there was no contradiction in the vote he was about to give against the present motion, as he would give it on the principle which directed his conduct in the Committee of Finance.

Mr. H. ADDINGTON rose to give additional information in corroboration of what was advanced by Lord Hawkesbury respecting the affair at Tranent. He was in Scotland after that unfortunate business had taken place; he was acquainted with the Magistrates who had acted on it, and had heard from them that nothing could be more temperate and forbearing than the conduct of the officer who commanded the troops; he could not therefore but reprobate the mischievous misrepresentations and gross calumnies that were heaped upon their conduct in some of the newspapers, and he trusted it would be fully investigated, when it would appear that their

behaviour had been such as would entitle them to the approbation of the House, and to the gratitude of their country.

Sir WILLIAM GEARY said, that it was evident from the Report of the Secret Committee that there existed three distinct appointments to the offices of Secretary of State, and that these appointments were acknowledged under the absolute signature of the persons who held them. At the head of the office of the War Department appeared Mr. Dundas ; and if he appeared in this new department, he must naturally be looked on as the new Secretary of State ; but he did preside in this new office, and consequently, in point of fact and in common sense, he must be regarded as the new Secretary of State. As to the transaction being denominated a job, that was a question not now before the House, though he would not hesitate to style it such, if the place was proved to be unnecessary. This was the light in which he viewed the business, and his conscience directed him to vote for the motion.

Mr. TIERNEY explained again, and repeated, that the laws that favoured Government were enforced by military execution. He had said nothing to criminate any officer concerned in the affair of Tranent, having no evidence to support such a charge ; but he had reason to believe that the soldiers had some of them been guilty of the most wanton cruelty.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG thought a parallel case to that now under discussion had taken place with regard to a noble friend of his who had passed from the Home to the Foreign Department. When that noble Lord was removed from one office of Secretary of State to another, there was certainly no idea that this change could be regarded as a creation of a new office. In like manner the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had removed from one office to another, but this he denied to be a creation of a new office. On this ground he would oppose the motion.

The question was now called for, and the House divided on Mr. Tierney's motion. Ayes, 8 ; Noes, 139.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, November 8.

The order of the day being read for the Lords to be summoned, and the Lord Viscount Duncan being in his place, the Lord Chancellor, in pursuance of the order of the House of Friday last, gave his Lordship the thanks of the House as follow, viz.

“ Lord Viscount Duncan,

“ I am commanded by the Lords to give your Lordship the thanks of this House, for your able and gallant conduct in the brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the Dutch fleet on the eleventh day of October last; as well as for the zeal, courage, and perseverance, which you have uniformly manifested during the arduous period in which you have commanded His Majesty's fleet in the North Sea.

“ At the same time that this vote passed unanimously, their Lordships were pleased to order, that all the Peers should be summoned to attend the House on the occasion: a distinction unprecedented, but called for by the general admiration your conduct has inspired, and strongly expressive of that peculiar satisfaction which the Peers must feel upon your Lordship's promotion to a distinguished seat in this House.

“ Splendid in all its circumstances as the victory obtained by His Majesty's fleet under your command has been, important as it must prove in its consequences to the security of all His Majesty's dominions, and, under the divine blessing, to the favourable issue of the arduous contest in which they are engaged; the magnitude and lustre of these considerations have not so occupied the observation of the Lords as to make them unmindful of the constant vigilance with which your Lordship had, in the whole course of your command for three successive seasons, watched and frustrated every design of the enemy; nor the manly fortitude with which you had sustained the temporary defection of the greater part of your force; nor, above all, that undaunted resolution with which, at so momentous a crisis, you proceeded to check and to control the presumptuous hopes of the enemy.

“ These are merits in which fortune can claim no share; they spring from that energy of mind and that ardent love of your country which has directed your own conduct, and animated the

officers and men under your command, to those exertions which are entitled to every testimony of public gratitude and applause."

Then the Lord Viscount Duncan replied as follows :

" My Lords,

" Not accustomed to speak in public, though my feelings are great, my words must be few.

" Deeply impressed as I am with the high honour this right honourable House has been pleased to confer on me, I shall only say, that I acknowledge it with the most profound respect, and feel much gratified by it.

" To you, my Lord, my best thanks are due for the very flattering and polite manner you have been pleased to convey to me the resolutions of this House."

His Royal Highness the DUKE OF CLARENCE then moved, That the of the Lord Chancellor to address Lord Viscount Duncan, on communicating to him the thanks of that House, together with his Lordship's reply, be entered upon the journals, which was ordered accordingly.

The order of the day for taking into consideration the papers relative to the negotiation at Lisle being read,

LORD GRENVILLE. I am persuaded, my Lords, that the consideration of the papers, which by His Majesty's directions have been laid before the House, can inspire but one sentiment in every breast. I am persuaded that every man must feel that the honour and the safety of the country admit but of one line of conduct. We are not called upon now to bear our testimony to any merits, however high, nor to bestow respect and attention where respect and attention are most due. We are called upon to discharge a duty of a more extensive kind, and of more general importance. We are called upon to perform a most solemn act of deliberation, and to follow it up with a pledge of most sacred obligation. I hope that before any noble Lord gives his assent to this pledge, he will weigh maturely the consequences to which it leads, and the ties which it imposes. I trust that no man in this House will consider it as a light and trivial act which he performs ; I trust that no man will incur the obligation who does not intend to discharge it with fidelity and to maintain it at every risk. I am convinced that such is the light in which the measure I am about to propose will be viewed by every man within these walls, and that the impression which the perusal of these papers has left in my mind are indelibly fixed in every heart. If there are any noble Lords who have absented themselves

upon this occasion, I am convinced that they cannot have remained singular in the opinion they have formed upon the transactions to which these documents allude, and that if they have withdrawn themselves, it is because they are unwilling to acknowledge what they no longer have the confidence to deny.

Such being my conviction of the temper and sentiments of the House, it will not be necessary for me to detain your Lordships long with any remarks upon the papers on your table, or with much argument to enforce the propriety of the address which I shall propose. It will not be necessary for me to follow the documents through all their details, to point out the inferences which they naturally present. In truth, every one of your Lordships must feel that there is something in the general aspect more convincing than even the certain conclusion of the whole details. It is not from the particular character of every individual act, from the uniform impression which every single document leaves behind it, that we are to derive that general conviction on which our opinion is to rest, and by which our conduct is to be directed. The general complexion of the enemy's conduct, the undisguised views which they entertain, speak more strongly than any collection of insulated facts. Upon that survey I should be contented to rest the justification of past measures and the propriety of our future system, although the minute details were less convincing and less satisfactory than they will be found.

In calling your attention, therefore, to the papers before your Lordships, I shall not trouble you with minute detail. I shall not dwell upon the conduct of the enemy, even in the very commencement of the late negotiation. Although by the preliminaries of peace solemnly agreed upon between them and the Emperor, both parties obliged themselves to invite their respective allies to meet in a general congress to settle a preliminary peace, this agreement was openly violated. In the passport which was sent over for the person whom His Majesty was to send to treat, the form was a direct and intentional departure from positive agreement, from all decency and established custom. It expressly guarded against the idea of a preliminary peace, and without any purpose but that of a perfidious determination to throw every obstacle in the way of peace, limited the object of the negotiation to a defensive peace. I shall pass over with equal contempt the base and unworthy insinuation which, in the early part of the correspondence of the French Government was thrown out against the character of the person whom His Majesty had chosen to conduct the negotiation. That noble Lord has shown that if any proof were wanting, if any pledge were required of his

talents and his fitness for managing the great concerns which were confided to his care, no man could be found who could better support the dignity of his own character and protect the interests of his country. His conduct in the whole of the arduous and unprecedented task which devolved upon him; his whole life, spent with honour in a public situation, evince at once the merit of the choice, and the malignant motives of the accusation. But even from this pitiful insinuation may be gathered the temper which the enemy brought into the negotiation, and the catastrophe which they were desirous to produce. Eager to rake up every article of former difference, every point of former contest, they gave proof at once of the new difficulties which they would raise, and the new grounds of animosity which they would excite.

I come now, however, to more important topics, to the negotiation itself. I will not dwell on the unexampled liberality of the conduct of His Majesty in directing almost in the first interview between the Plenipotentiaries, a full and detailed plan to be given in of the terms upon which he was willing to conclude peace. The paper is upon your table, read and determine for yourselves on its nature and its character. Examine and compare it with the representation given of it by the enemy in a paper from high authority, and published in an official paper*.

* FROM THE REDACTEUR.

*Letter from Lord Malmesbury to Lord * * *, forgot at Lisle, translated from the English.*

* I am about to leave France, my Lord, and before I can account to the King, my master, and to the minister of my King, of the honourable mission which I have just discharged at Lisle, I feel myself impelled to deposit in confidence with you a number of details which could not form part of an official account. It is necessary that, before my arrival, you should prepare in my favour the opinion of the public, which prejudice might mislead. For this purpose I must lose no time in telling you what I have done, what I meant to do, and what I conceive still remains to be done. After so great an event in my political life, I must also unveil to you still farther, that soul of your friend whom you have known so long, but who, I will venture to say, must gain in proportion as he is known. I have no occasion, as a preliminary point, to ask your forgiveness for some reflections flattering to myself, which necessarily will fall from me in the course of this recital. Yet how can I speak of my negotiation at Lisle without talking of my own glory? this in the eye of envy might be deemed pride; but it is only a candid avowal in the estimation of friendship. It is very true that the result of the negotiation is not very well calculated to impress this conclusion on the minds of the vulgar; but you who know that Turenne acquired greater glory by his retreats than by his victories, and the temporising

Fabius by what he did not do, than so many illustrious generals by what they have done, will not judge of me like the vulgar.

Here, perhaps, it is proper to revert to my first journey to Paris, for with this the whole is connected; it forms one great scheme. At this period no great pains were employed to prove to the English nation, that a serious desire of peace was entertained. Upon the last occasion a little more sincerity was displayed without a greater portion being felt—You know all this as well as me.

At both the periods to which I have alluded it was important, however, to the English Government, that its pacific intentions should in England be considered as real.—The people, who cannot help seeing that it is in some measure for their cause that the French fight; the merchants, who are inclined to be much more affected by the interests of their commerce than those of the French Nobles and their noble pretender; all those ardent friends of liberty, the number of which, according to Burke, who was extremely conversant in this subject, amounted to 80,000 in the city of London alone*; all the enemies of arbitrary power, both those who wish for another Constitution, and those who are satisfied with the present, but who wish that Mr. Pitt would be satisfied with it likewise, and who would be very glad that the *Habeas Corpus* Act formed an essential part of it; those Irishmen incorrigible in their love for independence; the Scots always gloomy; in a word all that innumerable multitude which can never comprehend why the British Government has interfered with the disputes of France, and by what right it still continues to interfere in them at the expence of the blood and treasure of England; so many complaints, so many discontents; above all, the necessity of procuring money to support the war they wished to prolong; all these considerations were of sufficient weight to induce Ministers to make peace, or rather to make some attempts to conclude a peace which they did not wish to obtain.

Thus to have the appearance of desiring peace without wishing to obtain it, of detesting war while he desired it sincerely, such was the problem which it was necessary for Mr. Pitt to solve before the eyes of the people of England. I was pitched upon to facilitate the solution.

All the world agreed that the choice was happy; my long diplomatic labours in Prussia and in Holland; the gravity of my carriage which never betrayed what passed in my mind; my invincible habit of concealing what I thought, and of thinking only as I was taught, seemed to promise the success which was expected: I arrived at Paris with a splendid train, there I found men's minds in an excellent disposition. The Journalists seemed to be perfect. I only found that they were too liberal in their panegyrics upon me. I intimated to them with *acknowledgements* that I preferred deserving to obtaining their praises, and entreated them to be more moderate in future; some of them obeyed reluctantly; the greater number could not prevail upon themselves to comply with my request.

The grand point, as you know, was to put the negotiation in train, for those who seriously wished for peace, might entertain hopes of what might be its result. Those who did not wish for it, knew well what means would be employed to prevent its accomplishment. In the mean time, however, it was easy to obtain money by virtue of the old adage

* This is a mistake of Lord M. This number Mr. Burke states in the country in general.

of Governments—that, in order to negotiate peace with advantage, it was necessary to prepare for war.

Unfortunately the negotiation, the secret of which was entrusted to me, was of such a nature as would have been terminated in 24 hours; for I was instructed to make demands incompatible with the French Constitution, and I had no real powers even for that. But, to open a negotiation and put an end to it the same moment, was at once a ridiculous thing and contrary to the object which Mr. Pitt proposed:—a stroke of genius extricated me from this dilemma. I was aware that the masterpiece of art was here to open the negotiation without beginning it (*entamer sans la commencer*), and for this purpose to propose a question which could not be answered, and by this means provoke another to which I should not reply. What think you I proposed in writing to the French negotiator as the principle of compensation?—And in the name of whom I received for answer, “By what powers do you speak of the principle of compensation?” I replied, “I on my side wish to know what is your principle, and then I will tell you what are my powers.” To which it was replied: “First shew us your power to propose such a question, and then we will acquaint you with our principle to resolve it.”

It is clear that, according to such a mode of argumentation, there was no reason on earth for ever coming to a conclusion; for there was none even for ever beginning. Nothing could be better than this! Nevertheless it was to be apprehended, lest the impatience, natural to Frenchmen, should put an end in one day to a game so puerile. It was necessary to gain time; and for this purpose the true way was to *take* time. Of this expedient I availed myself with rare sagacity. I declared that, from the nature of my instructions, and also, in order to proceed with greater discretion, I was obliged, on every answer, and on every question, of the French negotiator, to send a courier to my court;—in the interval every thing was suspended.

It was this circumstance which gave rise to the caricature, to say the truth, rather too ludicrous, in which I was represented receiving a visit from M. Delacroix, who politely asks me, “My Lord, how do you do?” and to which I answer, still preserving the expression of my acknowledgements, “I am sensible of the honour done me by your Grace, but be so good as wait, I entreat you, till I know the intentions of my court on that head.” I smiled at the epigram; it did not disconcert my plan; and I even ought to confess to the honour of the French, that I was very sufficiently revenged. It is inconceivable how many writers among a people who pass for being so witty, undertook to prove very seriously that nothing could be more to the purpose than all I said, and that unquestionably there was nothing to be laughed at in the whole matter.

You know what followed. The French negotiator, tired of these delays, which I prolonged with a great deal of address, at last consented to quit the position he had taken—He declared that from a love of peace he was about to answer a question which was obstinately forced upon him contrary to all principle. He said, in fact, that the French Government would willingly admit the principle of compensation, but I was pressed to declare in my turn what were the compensations I had to present.

I was afflicted beyond measure I confess, at the rapid turn which the negotiation had then been constrained to take. I devised means, however, to mend it still; and by the assistance of my notes, which were

very insignificant, and my couriers, which were very slow in returning with their answers, which truly were very frivolous, I protracted the definitive moment. It then became necessary to answer, that I demanded by way of compensation in the name of the Emperor, from whom I had no powers, what he would not have ventured to ask for himself, the restitution of what France had taken from him, and what the French Constitution did not permit to be restored.

This answer produced a decision against me. I received orders to depart; but I had seemed to negotiate for three months. I entertained hopes of being able to persuade the people of England in my turn, that it was to France alone that the continuance of the war could be imputed. At last, however, not to mention the sincere regret of Meot and the dancers of the opera, I had the consolation on quitting Paris to see, that some Frenchmen (who could believe it!) and a multitude of new converts to the Catholic Religion, accompanied with their vows, their prayers, and almost, with their tears, the English Negotiator returning to his heretical country.—Ah! exclaimed I, if it is without reason, it is not without pretext that the King, my master, persists in always styling himself King of France, since he has so many subjects in the French Republic.

All the world knows what happened at London, the efforts of Mr. Pitt to persuade the country that all the fault was on the side of the French; the sublime replies of Fox, the energetic and humorous replies of Sheridan, the eloquent replies of Erskine, and the humorous replies of Grey, and the artifices employed to represent as an excellent bargain a loan which was so dear, and to hold out as sufficient a loan which was inadequate for one half of the public necessities; and the still increasing public discontent, and the clamours on account of the wretched state of the national representation; the fermentation of the Catholics; the expedition against Ireland, which was happily disconcerted only by the unfavourable weather, did not fail, however, to spread less dismay all over Great Britain. From all these causes combined, it was quickly perceived that it would be necessary anew to hold out hopes of peace, however firmly determined it might be to continue the war.

In this view the negotiations again became the topic of discussion, and it was decided that I again should be the person who should discharge the functions, or rather *play* the *part* of negotiator. I say the *part*—in reality it was such, and a difficult one too. You will see that I am a good actor.

I at once saw, that in order to induce a belief in the sincerity with which peace was pursued, a far more important matter than to conclude it, nothing could be better imagined than to pitch upon me a second time. How, indeed, could men bring themselves to think that Ministers could wish to send me to France again, to be again driven out of it, and that I would accept this mission with the certainty of terminating it in this manner? this was quite incredible; and it was this very circumstance which pointed me out as the object of choice.

I likewise knew what had caused the failure of my first negotiation, that is to say, what had prevented me from prolonging it to an infinite duration. The moment was come when my powers were called for—I had none. I stipulated for our allies—I was not authorized by them to do so. In a word, the system I had adopted was false; it was not in my power to persevere in it longer.

Upon the present attempt there was no occasion to introduce the interests of Allies, who in the interval had taken upon themselves the task of managing their own affairs. The only point was to have full powers to act for ourselves, and I was the bearer of them.

Your Lordship, perhaps, is not sufficiently aware what, in diplomatic language is the precise meaning of *full powers*. There is in it something of metaphysics, or rather of theology, which it will be proper to explain. You will see how very convenient this term is, and the advantage which a man of address may derive from it.

You will recollect those ingenious and eloquent letters of Pascal, in which he lashes with irresistible ridicule so many idle subtleties and theological puerilities. You will recollect the *power* which has no *power*, that *sufficing* grace which does not *suffice*, and all those contradictions of the schools which are exposed with such exquisite humour. Why! all this nonsense you find here almost literally. You shall see.

The place of the second negotiation being fixed at Lisle, I repaired thither with *full powers*, that is to say, with an ostensible paper, which fully authorised me to *treat, conclude, and sign*. I had nothing else to do but treat for England, and the *powers* were delivered to me by the King. Every thing then was perfectly regular. But along with these *powers* I received instructions which strangely reduced their *plenitude*. Thus I had *powers* without the *faculty* of exercising them. Ostensibly I could do every thing. In reality I could do almost nothing. Here, my Lord, you will find a great deal of nonsense, but it is necessary that you should accustom yourself to it.

Placed between these two contradictory authorities, I was obliged to preserve a good attitude. This was by no means easy. To be brief, the secret part of my instruction, the only one really essential, was to procrastinate the business more than ever; to negotiate always, and bring nothing to a conclusion; and my powers combined with my instructions furnished me with powerful resources for this purpose. What a multitude of other considerations likewise prompted me to pursue this course!

I saw France a prey to intestine dissensions; a Directory greatly divided, and in which I had valuable correspondents; a Legislative Body, of which a great number of deputies were members, than whom I myself could not have chosen men more to our purpose; public opinion greatly agitated, and become almost quite counter-revolutionary; the newspapers excellent; the press quite devoted to us; the priests, the emigrants, greatly in our favour; judges very complaisant; administrators very royalist; the patriots greatly persecuted: in a word, a Republic where a man was no longer in safety, who dared to call himself a Republican.

All this was very advantageous, and you may well believe, that had I possessed powers ever so extensive, I should have taken good care not to employ them in concluding any peace whatever. However hardened I might be against ridicule, I was extremely solicitous not to incur that which in England would never have been pardoned—concluding peace with a power which seemed not to have a month to live.

Observe, my Lord, whether I conducted myself properly to effect my object, and judge whether any man ever attained greater excellence in the sublime art of doing nothing.

After the first customary delays—after going backwards and forwards

a long time upon the *Considering*; in a word, over every thing I resolved to present a *projet*. This *projet* was a rare composition, as you may judge, for I will not only repeat it to you, but even paint it.

This *projet* of a treaty began with the glorious title of the most serene and most puissant Prince George III. by the grace of God (*as every body knows*), King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. nay, and besides, Arch-Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire!—It recited then and ratified, as far as necessary, the ten treaties of peace, from that of Nimeguen, in 1678, to that of Versailles, in 1783.—And in a word, after having laid down in principle the *status quo ante bellum* to serve as the basis of the new treaty, it was stated, I copy the *projet* literally,

“ 1mo. The two parties agree to except from the principle of reciprocal restitutions

“ which shall remain to His Britannic Majesty in full property.

“ 2do. His Britannic Majesty binds himself to conclude a definitive treaty of peace with his Catholic Majesty on the footing of the *Status quo ante bellum*, with the exception of

“ which shall remain in full property to his Britannic Majesty, and of

“ which shall be ceded to his Britannic Majesty in exchange for

“

You will perceive, my Lord, in these lucky blanks, the spaces of which indicated no trifling filling-up matter, and on which I entreat you for a moment to fix your attention, a fertile and almost inexhaustible source of delay. For in a word, two modes presented themselves to the French Negotiators: First, to demand that these blanks should be filled. The second, to oppose to it a *Contre-projet*, all consisting of blanks too, and which might have been reduced to this single article:

“ The Contracting Parties agree to admit as the basis of a definitive Treaty, the *status quo ante bellum*, with the exception of

“ which shall be ceded in full property to the French Republic.”

It must be acknowledged, my Lord, that this last mode would have been very pleasant, and that a negotiation of gaps against gaps, and blank paper against blank paper, would have presented a very novel particularity in diplomatic history. It is true that the reply would have been more lively than the attack, and that the laughers would naturally have been found on the side of the French. But if the French had the laughers in their favour, we should have had time for us; and once more I repeat, it was time that we wanted here.—Who can say, indeed, how long these blanks might have remained in opposition to each other, and as it were, marshalled in battle array? How was this kind of dispute to be terminated? It is capable of proof that one argument is better than another argument which is opposed to it; but how are you to prove that one blank is better than another blank; that nothing is better than nothing! The French negotiators might have told me “Fill up your blank,” I should not have failed to answer—“Fill up yours first.”—“No; it is your business to begin.” “No; it is not my business.” And who is to decide in this conflict?

Thus the French, who without having lost their ancient gaiety, have learnt, however, to treat seriously those matters that are the most serious in the world, and who do not believe that every thing ought to end

with a song or a witticism, waving this kind of recriminatory answer, adhered to the first method, that of demanding what were the exceptions of which England claimed a reservation?

Here, my Lord, admire what was my answer. The question appeared to me very simple, and in some respects favourable to us. Nevertheless I gave some weight to my compliance. It was not, I told them, an *official paper* which I was about to present; it was a *confidential communication*. I entreated them likewise to consider it *as verbal*, although it was entirely written! but I took upon me the danger of such a communication, in order to give a solemn testimony of my desire to accelerate peace. In a word, I resolved to answer and fill up my blanks with an air of the utmost moderation and even of sacrifice. England, said I to the French Plenipotentiaries, will consent to the *status quo ante bellum* with Spain, with the exception of Trinidada, which shall remain in full property to his B. M. She will consent also to the *status quo ante bellum* with the Batavian Republic, with the exception of the City, Fort, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Possessions which belonged to the Dutch before the war, in the City and Fort of Ceylon, and the City and Fort of Cochin, with its Dependencies, which shall belong to his B. M. in exchange for the City of Negapatnam and its Dependencies.

In this manner I filled up my two blanks. But you know, my Lord, that Trinidada is the only Spanish possession which has passed during the war into the hands of the English. Thus for Spain I acknowledged the *status quo ante bellum*, with the exception of just all she had lost during the war. I make the same observation respecting the Dutch possessions, of which I claimed an exception. They are also the only ones the Dutch have lost in the course of the war. I could not entirely dissemble to my own mind that they had not been taken in very fair game; that they had come into our hands by a little treachery, since they were obtained by the connivance of an authority which no longer existed in Holland; it was not rights, however, with which we had to do, but pretensions. I found these possessions excellent, and well worth keeping; and I not only pretended that they were ours, but I wished also by a juggle equally dextrous, that this state of things for the Dutch should likewise be called the *status quo ante bellum*.

I was charmed, I confess, at this moment, that the French had not thought of presenting us with a contre-projet in blanks; for perhaps in a *confidential communication* they might have amused themselves with introducing, by way of exception, Bengal, Newfoundland, Jamaica and Gibraltar, as rightly belonging to them; and perhaps too they might have required us to consider this as the *status quo ante bellum*. But happily the just application of these Latin words belongs to me alone. It will for ever confer upon my name the character of genius, and transmit to future ages the distinguished testimony of the moderation of England.

I frankly confess, my Lord, that my project, especially followed by the *confidential communication*, was calculated extremely to offend a Republic which filled the universe with the splendour of her victories; and that it was by no means very probable that she would abandon Allies, to whom by formal treaties she had guaranteed the integrity of their possessions. But this Republic, so flourishing without, was now only a vain name within, or seemed to live only in the hearts of a few Frenchmen. The Directory, assailed by internal enemies, was unable to display its strength; and I, quite naturally, raised my tone, because

I considered the Government feeble and almost overthrown. Still, however, I ought to declare that, even at the moment when it was most occupied in the securing its existence, it yielded to none of my demands:—it did not recede from a single point of its engagements with its Allies; it only permitted them to make that kind of proposals which they deemed useful in the circumstances in which they were placed. The Batavians, sensible of such good faith, in fact shewed themselves disposed to cede Cochin, and some Factories on the coast of Coromandel; they refused Negapatnam which was offered. They consented to wave their claim to restitution of the ships and cargoes taken by treachery at the commencement of the war, (an object equal to two millions sterling), &c. &c.

In this stage was the negotiation, when all of a sudden the rumour of the event of the 18th Fructidor reached Lisle, an event which I know not in what terms to qualify, which it must be confessed, however, struck terror into the heart of every man who was an enemy to France. For my part I was filled with consternation; it was an event which I had not foreseen, and indeed how could any man have foreseen it?

I then plainly perceived that the negotiation was about to take another turn, or rather that there was no other turn for it to take. I felt that I was out of my element. Two new negotiators arrived, and a day was fixed for the first conference. There I was asked whether I was furnished with sufficient powers to consent to such restitutions as the laws and the treaties which bind the Republic might render indispensable; whether, in a word, I was furnished with the power *fully* to avail myself of my *full* powers? I might have said, *Yes*. By the help of a theological explanation of the words, *full powers*, there was nothing indeed which I might not have said; and in the course of the negotiation I would have placed my individual opposition in room of that which my instructions enjoined; for I cannot forget that I was not asked whether I consented to the restitution; I was simply asked whether I had the power of consenting to it; whereby a field was left open to more than one proposition; but I was carried away by the force of truth, and this I dare say, my Lord, is the only occasion on which I have exposed myself to this reproach. Unless I returned a positive answer, I was to set out within twenty-four hours; I therefore leave this to-morrow, but I was desirous that this letter should precede my arrival.

P. S. You must be sensible, my Lord, that the essential point for us is to persuade the nation that *we* only were anxious for peace. In order to impress that belief, make use of every thing contained in this letter, and do not forget to remind Lord Grenville that he must furnish all the arguments which he has urged these five years past, in order to shew that the French only were the aggressors, even at the moment when we dismissed their ambassador. The same strain of reasoning is equally good at present, in order to prove that it is the French who are unwilling to make peace. Above all, let him not be dispirited by the replies of Lord Guilford, of the Marquis of Lansdowne, of the Duke of Bedford. But, after all, truth must necessarily prevail.

Neither must you forget to induce Lord Liverpool strongly to advise his son to prepare a speech to prove that the commerce of England must gain exceedingly by the continuation of the war.

As for Canning, I have nothing to say to him.—Let him be present.

in the House, and repeat his speech on the immorality of the French Revolution.

Another P. S. It is with grief I learn that the negotiators still remain at *Lisle*—that is rather embarrassing for our position.

Lisle, 17th September, 1797.

I shall not make any remarks upon the indecency of the mode which the enemy adopted to make known to the world what they wished to be considered as a statement of the terms and conduct of the negotiation. It showed, however, the contempt which they entertained for their country and for the negotiation, and every appearance of decorum, when they could think it sufficient to treat such a subject with levity. Judge then, whether His Majesty has thought proper to sport thus with the interests, with the anxiety, and with the feelings of the country. Judge if he has thus attempted to withhold the satisfaction which it was natural for the public to expect upon an event of such importance; His Majesty has laid before the public the whole of the documents, and on these he desires you to judge. Read the papers on the table, and say, whether the *projet* they contain be a *projet in blanks*, or whether it be a full and fair statement of the terms to which His Majesty was willing to agree as the basis of the negotiation? This *projet*, however, being delivered, the French Government found itself placed in a situation of considerable embarrassment. No answer was returned, however, because this would have disappointed the schemes which the Directory then pursued. Had they been serious in their wishes to facilitate the conclusion of peace, would they have brought forward the topics which they brought into discussion; Would they, without any purpose, have started the points of His Majesty's title as King of France—the restoration of, or a compensation for, the ships taken at Toulon—or a renunciation of the mortgages of this country upon the Netherlands? Without dwelling upon these topics, which sufficiently display the temper of the enemy, I now come to the great point on which the failure of the negotiation turned. Although at the beginning of the negotiation this demand had been abandoned, they again renewed the proposal which had been declared inadmissible, the complete renunciation of every thing which had been taken during the war from them or their allies. They would not enter into any discussion of the *projet* delivered by Lord Malmesbury, nor did they want to see whether the terms proposed by this country would admit of any modification by mutual facilities and mutual compensations. I will not now deliver any opinion how far this was admissible, or to what extent it would have been wise. At this moment the House must see how improper it

would be to enter into that question. The enemy, however, did not stop for any information of this kind ; they demanded, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to ask, and to declare all that we were ready to concede. In such a stage, and upon such a demand, it would not merely have been folly in any man to have acceded to the proposal. Nay more, I do not hesitate to assert, that it would have been direct treason in any Minister to have complied with a demand so derogatory to the honour, and so fatal to the interests of his country.

The motives by which the majority of the Directory was actuated in the course which they pursued, it will not be difficult to explain. It will easily be recollected in what circumstances, amidst what violence the French Constitution of 1795, overthrown by the revolution of the 4th September, was established. It will be recollected under what military violence the first elections were conducted. In no sense was any freedom of election permitted till about the month of April last, when a very considerable change in the temper of the councils, as well as in the people at large, was observed. A majority in the legislative bodies seemed disposed to put an end to the miseries under which the country groaned, to remove the evils of which some of them had been the authors, and to cancel the crimes of which many of them had been guilty. They wished to restore some degree of public order and tranquillity to the unhappy people of France ; for their former happiness, alas ! they could not restore. They wished to oppose the progress of that revolutionary principle which the Directory endeavoured with too much success to spread over Europe. They wished to check the ravage and devastation which the war nourished and protracted. They were desirous to enjoy happiness in peace. These views, however, ill suited with the schemes of the Majority of the Directory. They wished to spread confusion over Europe, to prolong the miseries of their own country on Jacobin principles and by Jacobin means. Had the majority of the Directory then, by whose influence the whole of the proceedings at Lisle were conducted, chosen to break off the negotiation upon the terms which this country offered, they would have put the councils upon their guard, they would have made all France and Europe the judges of their conduct, and they would have anticipated that event which they were preparing. Again, had they brought forward another *projet* of their own, they must have disappointed the object they had in view—that of breaking off the negotiation without specifying any terms. At the very moment, however, when they were practising every evasion, creating delay, constantly refusing to deliver

in a counter-project, they held a language directly opposite in their messages to the councils. In these they threw the charge of delay upon the coalesced powers, and to whom could this insinuation apply, but to this country in conjunction with its ally? At this very moment their Plenipotentiaries were daily apologising for the extraordinary delays which took place. In these circumstances does it not most plainly appear, that delay was their object, that they wished to gain time till their plot was ready to be executed, and till it would be safe to throw off the mask? In their views they unhappily succeeded by the weakness of their enemies, and the frail fabric of the Constitution of 1795 was overturned. Had they broke off the negotiation abruptly before this period, they would have defeated their own object. It was clear to every man who watched the progress of events, and of opinion in France, that it was not at Lisle, but at Paris that the result of the conferences would be determined. It was obvious that it must depend upon the result of the disputes which agitated the councils of the government. It depended upon the decision of the struggle, and if the majority of the Directory succeeded every man was prepared for what followed. Perhaps, indeed, this forms the only excuse which His Majesty's Ministers could urge for having so long submitted to the delays and evasions of the enemy. They could only be justified by their desire to wait an event which might promise a favourable result to the negotiation and facilitate the attainment of peace. This consideration alone shields them from the reproach of having so long endured the trifling and the evasion of the enemy, and contributed to aid the fatal deception which the Directory wished to pass upon the people of France, by keeping up the appearance of negotiation and cherishing the hope of peace.

When at last the fourth Revolution of September arrived, the Directory immediately changed their system and avowed their objects. They immediately recalled the men whom they had formerly instructed to support their views, and whom they had authorized to make professions which they no longer meant to perform. Every thing which had been done was retracted, and demands required which two months before had been abandoned. But it is needless to enter into a detailed exposition of their conduct. Their present avowed objects explain their former chicanery. They now show without concealment the purposes for which the disguise had been assumed. They now declare that it is our constitution, our laws, our religion, with which they war; that it is the whole system of our public glory and of our private happiness that they wish to overthrow. They avow that the government of this country and

that of France cannot be co-existent. They wish not peace with this country but the utter annihilation of our government, and the destruction of the whole scheme of our political existence.

With such avowals I confess I am at a loss to conceive in what manner the conduct of the enemy can now be palliated or excused. I well know, indeed, that every measure of the French Government in its relation to this country, finds much more able and ingenious apologists here than in France. I know that even what seems too flagrant for defence, too manifest for ingenuity to colour, is justified by much more plausible arguments, and placed in much more favourable lights, than the talents of the friends of the Directory on the other side of the water can produce. But truly, my Lords, aware as I am of this, I cannot divine from what sources their defence can now be drawn. I know not what new voluminous pamphlet will issue from the pen of any advocate to justify the proceeding of the enemy, and to censure Ministers for refusing to accept the proffered grace of the Directory. I know not upon what ground we shall be accused of maintaining the old and established forms of our government, and for disdaining to submit the people of England to the yoke of a savage and ferocious government, and to the brutality of a licentious and sanguinary army. I shall not detain you with anticipating any objections to the conduct which Ministers have observed, or to the measure which I am about to propose. I am convinced that it is the sentiment of every breast in this Assembly, that the terms to which the enemy would have reduced us were such as no Englishman could sanction. I am sure that every man who hears me is convinced that it is no moment of humiliation. Upon that day when the noble Lord whom I see in his place received the thanks of the House, I am sure that no man can think this the period when the dignity and honour of the nation ought to be sacrificed. I am sure that every man feels with conscious pride, while he looks back to the event which the presence of the noble Lord recalls, that this is not the moment to despair. The resources of this country are great and powerful; and hitherto there has been no pressure to call them in all their vigour into action. Every man must now see, however, that upon the issue of the present contest depends not only whether this country shall exist any longer as an independent nation, but even exist as a nation at all. Every man must see that public and private happiness, the honour, the dignity, every thing that is dear to individuals, even life itself, depend upon the issue of the struggle we have to maintain. Every man in this Assembly in particular knows, that his property and his

existence are at stake. But with the interest of the first class of men in the state, the happiness of the lowest is connected. * The horrors, the persecution, and the sufferings to which the first orders in France were doomed, were spread over all. I will venture to assert, and undertake to prove, that the calamities of the French Revolution has been the source of more calamity to the lower classes than even to the unhappy nobility, whom you every day see groaning under those evils which they so little deserve. This, too, I will venture to assert, is the sentiment with which the public at large is inspired. They are convinced that every thing they hold most dear depends upon the exertions which they make to defend the honour and the dignity of the country. They feel that not a transient but a vigorous and persevering effort is required to secure that permanent and honourable peace which can alone maintain the sources of their happiness; that there is no safety without resistance, no hope but in courage and magnanimity. I have the fullest confidence in the public spirit and the determined disposition of the people of this country. From you, my Lords, I only ask that you will persevere in the sentiments you have expressed and in the conduct you have pursued, I ask you to carry to the foot of the Throne the declaration of this resolution, and that you will give a solemn pledge of your determination to perform the obligation you incur. From those only, I again repeat, who have fully and maturely considered the nature and the consequences of the step they take, do I require this pledge. It is a solemn and important measure which involves too much and extends too far to be adopted without deliberation. Having said thus much, my Lords, I shall detain you no longer, but shall content myself with moving, "That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, assuring him that we have taken into our most serious consideration the papers which have been laid on the table relative to the negotiation for peace; that in the steps which have been taken we have recognized the pacific disposition evinced by His Majesty throughout the whole of its progress, and observed the inveterate hostility of the enemy; that while on the one hand His Majesty has given an example of the greatest moderation, the enemy on the other have abandoned every pacific disposition; that they entertain the most determined hatred and animosity to the Constitution, laws and liberties of this country; that the destruction of our Constitution and Government is the object at which they aim; that we are determined to defend, at every hazard, His Majesty's person and government; that we know that great exertions are necessary: but, that notwithstanding, we are prepared and re-

solved to stand or fall with the Constitution, laws and liberties, upon which the happiness of every class of the community essentially depends."

The Earl of DARNLEY began by paying a just tribute of applause to the conduct of his friend Lord Malmesbury in the late unsuccessful negotiation at Lisle, wherein, though placed in the most difficult and unprecedented situation, he had displayed such a combination of zeal and ability, of mild and dignified firmness and attention to the honour and interest of the great country which he represented, united with a patient and persevering spirit of conciliation, under the most discouraging circumstances, as fully entitled him to the approbation of the House and the Country, and justified the choice which His Majesty had been advised to make. Lord Darnley, after enlarging on this subject, and thanking Ministers for the very ample and satisfactory extracts of Lord Malmesbury's correspondence and papers which they had laid before the House, proceeded to state his conviction that there could be but one opinion among Englishmen on the present very extraordinary situation in which the country was placed, and that not only that House, but all degrees and ranks, who felt for its honour and interests, must unite in opposing the vain and arrogant pretensions of the enemy, and heartily concur in the proposed address. The Earl of Darnley took occasion to compliment Viscount Duncan, on his very brilliant and decisive victory, and on the consummate skill and judicious intrepidity which he had displayed: he stated his hope and conviction, that if ever this and the former successes, by which our navy had almost annihilated that of the enemy, should prove insufficient to secure this country from the effects of their arrogant threats, they would soon find the difficulty of making any impression by force, and the vanity of hoping that either the spirit or resources of Englishmen were exhausted.

The address being read by the Lord Chancellor, was then put and carried *nem. diss.*

Lord GRENVILLE then said, it was, in his opinion, essential to the interests of this country at this moment to give all possible energy to the address which their Lordships had just voted. It was proper, also, that it should be made as solemn an act as possible. He therefore wished that the address might be presented to His Majesty as the joint address of the two Houses of Parliament.

He therefore moved that a Committee be appointed to prepare a message, and desire a conference with the Commons.—Ordered.

Adjourned.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, November 8.

The House resolved, that no private petitions should be received after the 9th of February next.

Lord CHARLES SOMERSET appeared at the bar, and informed the House, that he had waited on His Majesty with their address, praying that certain papers and accounts relative to the Navy and Victualling Offices, and the Imperial Loan, might be laid on their table : and that His Majesty was graciously pleased to order the same.

Mr. ROSE moved that the order of the day be read.

The order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of Supply being accordingly read,

Mr. HOBART moved, that the said Committee be deferred till Friday.—Agreed to.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, November 9.

The House met at an earlier hour than usual, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Commons, in pursuance of their Lordships' resolution of yesterday ; but a considerable delay was occasioned by the non-attendance of the Masters in Chancery, whose office it was to wait on the Commons with the message.

Viscount SYDNEY suggested the necessity of some proceeding of the House to enforce a regular attendance of those officers in future, but forbore to make any specific motion for the purpose.

When the Masters in Chancery arrived, a message was sent to the Commons to desire a conference ; and a deputation, consisting of six Peers, headed by Earl Spencer, met the Commons in the Painted Chamber for that purpose, and managed the conference ; after which the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, November 9.

Two Masters in Chancery brought a message from the Lords, that their Lordships desired a conference with the Commons in the Painted Chamber.

The names of the following Members were then called over for the purpose, and waited on the Lords.

Sir Charles Morgan,	Mr. Lygon,
Mr. Long,	Sir G. A. Wynne,
Mr. Baker,	Mr. Joddrell,
Mr. Hawkins Browne,	Mr. H. Addington,
Mr. Wallace,	Mr. Churchill,
Mr. Rose,	Mr. Morgan,
Mr. P. Wyndham,	Lord Gower,
Mr. Burdon,	and
Mr. Abbott,	Mr. Granville.

Upon returning from the conference, Sir Charles Morgan informed the House, that the Lords desired the concurrence of the Commons with their address of yesterday to His Majesty; and he therefore moved, that the same be taken into consideration to-morrow, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, November 10.

The Lord Chancellor (LOUGHBOROUGH) came to the House soon after five o'clock, and, after waiting a considerable time for the Commons, Prayers were read, and their Lordships adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, November 10.

The order of the day being read for taking into consideration the papers which had been laid before the House by His Majesty's di-

rection relative to the late negotiation with the French Republic ; and the address of the House of Lords being read a second time,

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS moved, that this House do concur with their Lordships in that address.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said, he would wait until he heard the right honourable gentleman opposite to him deliver his sentiments, after which he would propose an amendment to the address.

The SPEAKER informed him, that if he meant to propose any amendment, the present was the stage in which it ought to be done.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR then rose. He began by stating, that the object for which he offered himself to the House was to move an amendment to the address : and the reasons that had induced him to make such motion, were not objections to the general tenor, but to the peculiar phrases and words which were to be found in that address. The object of it was a system of endless and perpetual warfare ; of warfare with a country with which the nation had been long at war, but with which they must at last be happy to be upon terms of amity and peace. Before, however, he submitted to the consideration of the House the amendment with which it was his intention to conclude, he begged leave to be indulged in some remarks upon the papers laid before the House, and upon the circumstances which had occasioned the final rupture of the negotiation. In entering into the consideration of the papers, he confessed himself perfectly astonished at the mean and degrading manner in which Ministers had carried on the negotiation. When the renewal of overtures for peace was first talked of, he had meant to move, that no plan should be delivered to the French Government until the latter should have prepared their counter-plan. That he had refrained from making that motion afforded him now much regret. He had declined it, however, from an idea that was entertained, that it might tend to impede the negotiation about to be undertaken. But what had been the consequence ? Ministers, being left to themselves, had carried it on in the most disgraceful manner. Would gentlemen refer to the Declaration, there they would find it acknowledged upon what principles the negotiation had been conducted ; they would be told that it was begun against the customs and usages established in the intercourses of different nations—they would be told, that it was carried on when every idea of moderation and justice on the part of the enemy had been abandoned. What must be the effect of this ? Must not such a mode of conduct tend to the debasement of the country ? and would

it be easy to revive the spirit of the nation after it had been so humbled? To the Declaration he objected, because it was full of rash and violent invective. Its object was to establish between the two countries inveterate and lasting animosity. To justify this inveteracy, indeed, Government had brought forward various charges against France, which they had by no means been able to make out. In perusing the papers upon the table, he found it complained of, that the French had adduced frivolous and offensive preliminaries. He found that the first of these preliminaries was, the abandonment on the part of His Majesty of the title of King of France; a point, surely, scarcely worth contending for; the second was one which Lord Malmesbury had said to be a very material one indeed—it was a demand of restitution of the ships taken at Toulon, or an equivalent for them; the third preliminary was, the abandonment of the mortgage upon the Low Countries. The House were also told as the foundation of this address, that the French had demanded terms which were absolutely inadmissible. Happy, indeed, should he be to agree with the address proposed, if in his conscience he could do so; but in the papers before the House, the country were told that the French Ministers had said, the requiring of powers to such an extent as they had mentioned did not necessarily imply that such powers were to be exercised. If, as it had been positively asserted, the French Government had really no desire of making peace, they surely, in his opinion, took a great deal of pains to act contrary to that desire. They received the British Minister with great willingness. They sent their own Ministers to wait for the English one; and even after the latter had withdrawn from Lisle, they still kept their Ministers there—[*A cry of, Hear! Hear!*] The House were also told, that it was the wish of the people of France to overturn the Government of this country. If, indeed, such were the disposition of the French people, he frankly confessed that he should give his hearty assent to the address. But the fact, he believed, was, that if the French were inveterate against this country, it was because this country had been inveterate against them. If they wished to overturn this Constitution, it was because Ministers had evinced a desire to overturn theirs. The French people, he really thought, would be glad to let us alone, and to be at amity and peace with us. On these grounds he rose to move an amendment, the object of which was to announce to France, and to the world, the firm resolution of the House to maintain the honour and dignity of the Crown, and the independence of the People; to avoid saying any thing which might imply inveterate and implacable animosity; and to declare, that when France would agree to peace

upon just and honourable terms, this country would immediately evince her readiness to treat, and to put an end to the contest. Sir John Sinclair then moved the following amended address :

“ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your gracious communication of the papers respecting the late negotiation entered into with the Government of France.

“ When we consider the various calamities to which nations in a state of hostility are necessarily exposed, we cannot but deplore the continuance of a war which has already occasioned such an expence of treasure and of blood to the powers engaged in it ; and we join most heartily in applauding your Majesty’s humane and beneficent exertions for bringing the same to a termination.

“ We trust that the two nations will see the wisdom and policy of speedily renewing a negotiation so favourable to the interests of humanity, and of concluding the war in terms just in themselves, and honourable to the parties interested, the only true foundation on which a lasting pacification can be expected. But if unfortunately such hopes should not be realized, and should the farther prosecution of the war become necessary, your Majesty may be assured of the firm and unalterable support of your faithful Commons in making every exertion that circumstances may render necessary for procuring a safe and honourable peace on terms consistent with the dignity of your Majesty’s crown and kingdoms, and the prosperity and essential interests of your people.”

Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS seconded the amendment.

Earl TEMPLE (son of the Marquis of Buckinghamshire), in his maiden speech, opposed it, and spoke to the following effect :— Mr. Speaker, every consideration making it not only impossible, but improper, for me to give a silent vote this evening on the subject before us, I shall beg the patience of the House for a very few moments.

I should have hoped that I should have been able this evening to have seen many gentlemen, who used to attend on the other side of this House, in their places. I should have hoped, that on an occasion like the present, on a subject like the one now before the House, involving the dearest interests of their country, that those gentlemen would for a moment have forgot that disgust which *they* say drove them from this House : I should have hoped that for once they would have done their duty, in spite of the laughter of which we are given to understand they stand so much in dread. Their country, Sir, has little to thank them for ; their constituents have still less to

thank them for, when they see their interests deserted by their representatives, and themselves insulted by a mockery of a representation. With respect to the address now laid before this House for our consideration, I do not hesitate to say, that I give it my most hearty assent ; and I give that assent, because the words of the address are so cautious and so guarded, as to allow me to give that assent consistently with those principles which I shall have the honour of laying before the House this evening: I give it my assent because I really think our warmest thanks are due to His Majesty and his Ministers, for the manly manner in which the negotiation has been concluded ; and every sentiment of attachment to His Majesty's royal person, and to our Constitution, and every sentiment that can pledge this House to support both the one and the other, shall ever meet with my warmest and most heartfelt concurrence. But, Sir, I do not scruple to say, that from the first moment of the first advances to negotiation, I looked with terror to the event of it ; and I really saw much more to dread in the probable event of peace at this moment, than in the continuance of the war. This, Sir, may be a bold opinion, but it is one which I trust is founded in truth. Every thinking mind that has watched the crooked policy which for some months has guided the Councils of France, could easily have foretold the probable event of any attempt on our part to negotiate. I do not mean to say by this, that the difficulty arose out of the actual existing Government in France ; every government capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity, is capable of being negotiated with by us, and I profess myself as only the friend to French Monarchy, as I think the blessings of peace could easier be obtained to this country under that government, just as I should be the friend of any government, even of the tyranny of the Grand Seignior, if I thought the Grand Seignior would sooner give peace to this country. To every man who has watched the progress of the French Revolution, it must have been evident that as long as the moderate party found themselves superior to Jacobinism and Terrorism, so long our hopes of peace were more sanguine ; but the moment that Jacobinism and Terrorism made head against the moderate party, all hopes of accommodation vanished. The same policy, whatever it was, that induced the then rulers of France to make war with this country, still holds its ground, and ever will hold its ground as long as Terror is the Order of the Day. Whoever for the moment holds the uncertain and blood-stained reins of power ; whether a Brissot, a Marat, or a Robespierre, whether one tyrant or five ; to every impartial man who has watched the progress of the events at Lisle, and has connected them with what

passed in Paris, it must plainly appear, that even from the very first beginning of the negotiation, the majority of the Executive Directory never for a moment intended that peace should be made with this country. That determination they did not chuse to avow whilst they felt themselves awed by the rising party, at the head of which Carnot and Barthelemy placed themselves ; but the moment their stars set, our prospects vanished. They proposed terms to us, which had once been offered and refused ; terms which they knew Lord Malmesbury had not powers, (for he communicated his powers to them) to close with ; terms which they knew no Englishman would submit to, and which only could be calculated to drive us to the wall, and make it appear to the eyes of all Europe, that we had put an end to a negotiation which France encouraged, and which France rendered it impossible for us to continue. If there had been, Sir, a heart so lost to every sense of national spirit and of national honour, as to have agreed to those concessions ; if there had been, Sir, a hand so dastardly, and I will also say, so hardy, as to have signed those concessions, we should then, Sir, have had the comfort of being told that those concessions, miserable and despicable as they are, are not the consequences, but the price of negotiation, and only went to make way for other demands doubly degrading perhaps, and doubly disgraceful. The first founders of the French Republic all acknowledged that one principle which has served as the basis of all their actions, that the suns of England and of France never can shine together in the same hemisphere. However the Constitution of that country has been changed, however the ambition of individuals and the axe of the guillotine have varied its systems and its leaders, the same spirit still holds its ground ; the same antipathy to England is still the watch-word of every party ; and the cry of the armies, of the Directory, of the Councils, and of the People, is still "*Delenda est Carthago.*" Look, Sir, at the latest proceedings of the French Directory. We see a deputation sent by Buonaparte, notifying the conclusion of peace between France and the Emperor. It was to be hoped that pacific as the object of that deputation was, its language would be equally pacific: not so ; the language of that deputation was of violent invective against the Government of this country, and of insult against the people of England. And this language, Sir, which directly stated the impossibility of England and France existing together, those sentiments which express the actual necessity of eternal warfare between the two countries, were received with the warmest and most rapturous applause, and rewarded with the most enthusiastic fraternal embrace of the rulers of that people who call themselves

friends to the human race ! There cannot, Sir, be a stronger proof of the assertion I have brought forward respecting the antipathy of France towards this country, than the late gasconading Arrêté of the French Directory, appointing on the coasts of France an army of near half a million of men, and dignifying it by a name which I trust it never will deserve, that of the Army of England. It is hardly possible to talk seriously on that subject. They appoint an army for invasion, and then lay up their fleet, as a preparatory step for invasion. How, therefore, that army is to put its objects into execution, remains a mystery : whether cork jackets or balloons are to be used as substitutes for their navy, remains as yet to be seen. Not, however, Sir, to treat that subject with greater levity than it deserves, the object of these preparations is the same, and I think my right honourable kinsman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ought to feel himself under the greatest obligations to the French Directory, for the decisive step they have taken to prove, if it were necessary, to all France, Europe, and the world, that their antipathy is solely directed against England, and that that antipathy is irreconcilable. The moment, Sir, that country can boast of a government it can support from one week to the other ; the moment that country can boast of a Constitution it can preserve from violation from one day to the next ; the moment it can boast of rulers who can save themselves from the scaffold from one hour to the other ; from that moment I shall say that a door is open to negotiation. But when I am told that we have been negotiating with a country which can sport with the most solemn treaties, which can overturn the most established rights of nations, and which, with all this, cannot guarantee its own existence even while that negotiation was pending, I indeed blush for England. To shew, Sir, that I am not bringing an unsupported charge against France, and that I am not exaggerating what indeed does not require any exaggeration, a very cursory retrospect to what has passed will very clearly prove. France, Sir, began her career by engaging that she would not interfere with the Government of any country. In the words of a report made to the National Convention in the year 1794, on the diplomatic principles which the French Republic ought to adopt : " Her project of aggrandizement and of conquest are, to respect the territory, the rights and blood of a people. Her diplomatic system is a policy which shall not sport with oaths, which shall not reduce the violation of treaties to a habit, which respects the limits that nature has placed, the laws which a people have established, and the transactions which public faith has rendered sacred."—*Vide Debrett's State Papers*, Vol. II.

Such, Sir, was the language of the French Republican of 1794: how does the Republican of 1797 keep those engagements? He keeps them by violating the territory of every country in which his arms or his arts could give him an influence: he keeps them by making over, as a free gift to a foreign power, by virtue of a solemn treaty, "the territory, the rights, the blood of a people," not the property of France to give: he keeps them by refusing to ratify the most solemn treaties, which have hitherto been considered as the basis of the balance of European power; and he gives as a reason for that refusal, that those treaties were inconsistent with the present Government of France, avowing by that means (what certainly did not require such avowal, for the actions of France speak for themselves) that the present Government of France exists directly in the teeth of every constituted power in Europe:—he keeps them by opening his arms to the dissatisfied of every country, and to the dissatisfied of this, who, by assassinating their Sovereign, by annihilating their Parliament, and by overturning their Constitution, would render themselves worthy of French fraternity. Thus France keeps her engagements. She maintains her power by sitting quietly by, whilst her representatives are seized by the strong hand of power in the seat of Government, in the midst of their official duties, and unheard, untried, sent into banishment. She sits by whilst the rights of election are snatched from her people. She sits by whilst the Liberty of the Press is at once destroyed.

We read the last proceedings of the Council of Five Hundred, a petition from a printer who is imprisoned by the Police for abusing the War Minister—I would ask, if I saw him to-night in his place, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney), who amused this House very much the other night with some very trite observations and well-conceived witticisms on the War Minister here, if the editors of those newspapers who the next day retailed to the world those witticisms and those observations, had been taken up for it, what his opinion would have been of that transaction, and whether he would have conceived it to have been an act of vigour beyond the law or not? Whatever might have been his opinion, such was the fact, and such the boasted effects of French justice, of French liberty, and of French equality. And yet with this country we have negotiated; and again I congratulate the country most sincerely on the event of this negotiation. With respect to the project delivered in by Lord Malmesbury, I shall not enter into the discussion of it: there are so many in this House much more capable than myself to discuss it, that I will leave it to them, and wave it; but this I will say, that if that peace had been concluded, what-

ever might have been its object, whatever might have been its terms, it could not have remained valid for an instant ; and I defy my right honourable kinsman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to deny that whatever peace might have been made on the 3d of September, would not have been broken on the 4th. How much better, Sir, is our situation now—We know our danger, we know our resources are equal to it, and what is better, we know the spirit of the country to be such as to give those resources their proper force and their full power of action. Not to take up the time of the House any longer—The broad basis and the principles on which I go are, that whilst the Government of France (of whatever nature that Government may be), remains in this unsettled state, I object to the idea of negotiating in toto ; but I applaud and approve of those measures which have been taken when we were in the scrape, to extricate us from it. I have every apology to make to the House, for taking up so much of its time ; but called upon as I am by a large county, to support its interests, and from my connections and situation, having every thing to risque in the contest in which we are engaged, I should have thought myself wrong if I had not stated my opinions. I promised my constituents when they elected me, that my vote should be that of an independent and an unbiassed mind. Whatever may be my connections of blood, whatever may be my connections of partiality, I stand forward, neither blindly bowing to the dictates of any Minister, nor do I insult the House by telling them that I have a general retainer for the session, to object to every thing which Ministers may bring forward. I stand forward a plain independent country gentleman, professing those principles which I think best become at this moment a Member of this House ; and to the indulgence of this House I commit myself. With respect to the amendment, I decidedly oppose it. The honourable Baronet who brings it forward, asserts every thing, and proves nothing ; and I think that if it passes this House, the country will be sunk to a lower pitch of degradation than ever.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then rose, and spoke as follows :—Sir, having come to this House with the firm persuasion, that there never existed an occasion, when the unanimous concurrence of this House might be more justly expected than on a proposal, to agree in the sentiments contained in the address which has been read, I must confess myself considerably disappointed, in some degree, even by the speech of my noble relation, (much as I rejoice in the testimony which he has given of his talents and abilities,) and still more by the speech of the honourable Baronet, and by the

amendment which he has moved. I cannot agree with the noble Lord in the extent to which he has stated his sentiments, that we ought to rejoice that peace was not made; much less, Sir, can I feel desirous to accept, on the part of myself or my colleagues, either from my noble kinsman, or any other person, the approbation which he was pleased to express, of the manner in which we have concluded the negotiation—*We have not concluded the negotiation*—the negotiation has been concluded by others; we have not been suffered to continue it; our claim to merit, if we have any, our claim to the approbation of our country is, that we persisted in every attempt to conduct that negotiation to a pacific termination, as long as our enemies left us not the prospect but the chance or possibility of doing so, consistent with our honour, our dignity, and our safety. We lament and deplore the disappointment of the sincere wishes which we felt, and of the earnest endeavours which we employed; yet we are far from suffering those sentiments to induce us to adopt the unmanly line of conduct that has been recommended by the honourable Baronet; this is not the moment to dwell only on our disappointment, to suppress our indignation, or to let our courage, our constancy, and our determination, be buried in the expressions of unmanly fear, or unavailing regret. Between these two extremes, it is, that I trust our conduct is directed; and in calling upon the House to join in sentiments between those extremes, I do trust, that if we cannot have the unanimous opinion, we shall have the general and ready concurrence both of the House and of the Country.

Sir, before I trouble the House, which I am not desirous of doing at length, with a few points which I wish to recapitulate, let me first call to your minds the general nature of the amendment which the honourable Baronet has, under these circumstances, thought fit to propose, and the general nature of the observations by which he introduced it; he began with deploring the calamities of war, on the general topic, that all war is calamitous. Do I object to this sentiment? No; but is it our business at a moment when we feel that the continuance of that war is owing to the animosity, the implacable animosity of our enemy, to the inveterate and insatiable ambition of the present frantic Government of France, not of the people of France, as the honourable Baronet unjustly stated it; is it our business at that moment to content ourselves with merely lamenting in common-place terms the calamities of war, and forgetting that it is part of the duty which, as representatives of the people, we owe to our Government and our Country, to state that

the continuance of those evils upon ourselves, and upon France too, is the fruit only of the conduct of the enemy, that it is to be imputed to them, and not to us.

Sir, the papers which were ordered to be laid on the table have been in every gentleman's hand, and on the materials which they furnish we must be prepared to decide. Can there be a doubt, that all the evils of war, whatever may be their consequences, are to be imputed solely to His Majesty's enemies? Is there any man here prepared to deny, that the delay in every stage of the negotiation, and its final rupture, are proved to be owing to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, the inordinate ambition, and the implacable animosity of the enemy? I will shortly state what are the points, though it is hardly necessary that I should state them, for they speak loudly for themselves, on which I would rest that proposition; but if there is any man who doubts it, is it the honourable Baronet? Is it he who makes this amendment, leaving out every thing that is honourable to the character of his own country, and seeming to court some new complaisance on the part of the French Directory? The honourable Baronet, who, as soon as he has stated the nature of his amendment, makes the first part of his speech a charge against His Majesty's Ministers; for even having commenced the negotiation in the manner, and under the circumstances in which they did commence it—who makes his next charge their having persevered in it, when violations of form and practice were insisted upon in the earliest stage of it? Does he discover that the French Government, whom we have accused with insincerity, have been sincere from the beginning to the end of the negotiation? Or, after having accused His Majesty's Ministers for commencing and persevering in it, is the honourable Baronet so afraid of being misconstrued into an idea of animosity against the people of France, that he must disguise the truth, must do injustice to the character and cause of his own country, and leave unexplained the cause of the continuance of this great contest? Let us be prepared to probe that question to the bottom, to form our opinion upon it, and to render our conduct conformable to that opinion. This, I conceive, to be a manly conduct, and, especially at such a moment, to be the indispensable duty of the House. But let not the honourable Baronet imagine there is any ground for his apprehension, that by adopting the language of the address, which ascribes the continuance of the war to the ambition of the enemy, we shall declare a system of endless animosity between the nations of Great Britain and France; I say directly the contrary: he who scruples to declare, that in the present moment the Government of France are acting as much in

contradiction to the known wishes of the French nation, as to the just pretensions and anxious wishes of the people of Great Britain—he who scruples to declare them the authors of this calamity, deprives us of the consolatory hope which we are inclined to cherish, of some future change of circumstances more favourable to our wishes.

It is a melancholy spectacle, indeed, to see in any country, and on the ruin of any pretence of liberty, however nominal, shallow, or delusive, a system of tyranny erected, the most galling, the most horrible, the most undisguised in all its parts and attributes that has stained the page of history, or disgraced the annals of the world; but it would be much more unfortunate, if when we see that the same cause carries desolation through France, which extends disquiet and fermentation through Europe; it would be worse, indeed, if we attributed to the nation of France that which is to be attributed only to the unwarranted and usurped authority which involves them in misery, and would, if unresisted, involve Europe with them in one common ruin and destruction. Do we state this to be animosity on the part of the people of France? Do we state this in order to raise up an implacable spirit of animosity against that country? Where is one word to that effect in the Declaration to which the honourable gentleman has alluded? He complains much of this Declaration, because it tends to perpetuate animosity between two nations which one day or other must be at peace—God grant that day may be soon! But what does that Declaration express upon the subject? Does it express, that because the present existing Government of France has acted as it has acted, we forego the wish or renounce the hope that some new situation may lead to happier consequences? On the contrary, His Majesty's language is distinctly this: “While this determination continues to prevail on the
“part of his enemies, His Majesty's earnest wishes and endeavours
“to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless; but his sentiments remain unaltered; he looks with anxious expectation to
“the moment when the Government of France may shew a temper and spirit in any degree corresponding with his own.” I wish to know whether words can be found in the English language which more expressly state the contrary sentiment to that which the honourable Baronet imputes; they not only disclaim animosity against the people of France in consequence of the conduct of its rulers, but do not go the length of declaring, that after all this provocation, even with the present rulers, all treaty is impracticable. Whether it is probable, that acting on the principles upon which they have acquired their power, and while that power continues,

they will listen to any system of moderation or justice at home or abroad, it is not now necessary to discuss; but for one, I desire to express my cordial concurrence in the sentiment, so pointedly expressed in that passage of the declaration in which His Majesty, notwithstanding all the provocation he has received, and even after the recent successes, which by the blessing of Providence have attended his arms, declares his readiness to adhere to the same moderate terms and principles which he proposed at the time of our greatest difficulties, and to conclude peace on that ground, if it can now be obtained, even with this very Government.

I am sensible, that while I am endeavouring to vindicate His Majesty's servants against the charges of the honourable Baronet, which are sufficiently, however, refuted by the early part of his own speech, I am incurring, in some degree, the censure of the noble Lord to whom I before alluded. According to his principles and opinions, and of some few others in this country, it is matter of charge against us that we even harbour in our minds at this moment, a wish to conclude peace upon the terms which we think admissible with the present rulers of France. I am not one of those who can or will join in that sentiment. I have no difficulty in repeating what I stated before, that in their present spirit, after what they have said, and still more, after what they have done, I can entertain little hope of so desirable an event. I have no hesitation in avowing, for it would be idleness and hypocrisy to conceal it, that for the sake of mankind in general, and to gratify those sentiments which can never be eradicated from the human heart, I should see with pleasure and satisfaction the termination of a Government whose conduct, and whose origin is such as we have seen that of the Government of France; but that is not the object—that ought not to be the principle of the war, whatever wish I may entertain in my own heart; and whatever opinion I may think it fair or manly to avow, I have no difficulty in stating, that violent and odious as is the character of that Government, I verily believe, in the present state of Europe, that if we are not wanting to ourselves, if, by the blessing of Providence, our perseverance, and our resources, should enable us to make peace with France upon terms in which we taint not our character, in which we do not abandon the sources of our wealth, the means of our strength, the defence of what we already possess; if we maintain our equal pretensions, and assert that rank which we are entitled to hold among nations, the moment peace can be obtained on such terms, be the form of government in France what it may, peace is desirable, peace is then anxiously to be sought; but unless it is attained on

such terms, there is no extremity of war, there is no extremity of honourable contest, that is not preferable to the name and pretence of peace, which must be in reality a disgraceful capitulation, a base, an abject surrender of every thing that constitutes the pride, the safety, and happiness of England.

These, Sir, are the sentiments of my mind on this leading point, and with these sentiments I shape my conduct between the contending opinions of the noble Lord and of the honourable Baronet; but there is one observation on the honourable baronet on which I must now more particularly remark—He has discovered that we state the Directory of France to have been all along insincere, and yet take merit for having commenced a negotiation, which we ought never to have commenced without being persuaded of their sincerity. This supposed contradiction requires but a few words to explain it. I believe that those who constitute the *present* Government of France never were sincere for a moment in the negotiation: from all the information I have obtained, and from every conjecture I could form, I for one never was so duped as to believe them sincere; but I did believe, and I thought I knew, that there was a general prevailing wish for peace, and a predominant sense of its necessity growing and confirming itself in France, and founded on the most obvious and most pressing motives. I did see a spirit of reviving moderation gradually gaining ground, and opening a way to the happiest alterations in the general system of that country: I did believe that the violence of that portion of the Executive Government which, by the late strange Revolution of France, unhappily for France itself and for the world, has gained the ascendancy, would have been restrained within some bounds; that ambition must give way to reason; that even phrenzy itself must be controlled and governed by necessity. These were the hopes and expectations I entertained. I did, notwithstanding, feel, that even from the outset, and in every step of that negotiation, those who happily had not yet the full power to cut it short in the beginning, who dared not trust the public eye with the whole of their designs, who could not avow all their principles, unfortunately, nevertheless, did retain from the beginning power enough to control those who had a better disposition, to mix in every part of the negotiation, which they could not then abruptly break off, whatever could impede, embarrass, and perplex, in order to throw upon us, if possible, the odium of its failure.

Sir, the system of France is explained by the very objections that are made against our conduct. The violent party could not, as I have stated, at once break off the treaty on their part, but they wished

to drive England to the rupture ; they had not strength enough to reject all negotiation, they had strength enough to mix in every step those degradations and insults, those inconsistent and unwarranted pretensions in points even of subordinate importance, which reduced Ministers to that opinion which I have described ; but which they decided in a way that has exposed them to the censure of the honourable Baronet ; they chose rather to incur the blame of sacrificing punctilios (at some times essential) rather than afford the enemy an opportunity of evading this plain question—Is there any ground, and, if any, what, upon which you are ready to conclude ? To that point it was our duty to drive them ; we have driven them to that point ; they would tell us no terms, however exorbitant and unwarrantable, upon which they would be ready to make peace. What would have been the honourable Baronet's expedient to avoid this embarrassment ? It would have been, as he has this day informed us, an address which he had thought of moving in the last session, and which, indeed, I should have been less surprised had he moved, than if the House had concurred in it ; he would have moved that no *projet* should be given in till the enemy were prepared to present a *contre projet* ; if it was a great misfortune that that address was not moved, I am afraid some of the guilt belongs to me, because the honourable Baronet did suggest such an idea ; and I did with great sincerity and frankness tell him, that if he was really a friend to peace, there was no motion he could make so little calculated to promote that object ; and I did prevail upon the honourable Baronet to give up the intention. If I am right in the supposition I have stated ; if I am right in thinking that our great object was to press France to this point, and to put the question—if you have any terms to offer, what are they?—was there any one way by which we could make it so difficult for them to retain any pretence of a desire of peace, as to speak out ourselves, and call upon them either for agreement, or for modification, or for some other plan in their turn ? By not adopting the honourable Baronet's plan, we have put the question beyond dispute, whether peace was attainable at last, and whether our advances would or would not be met on the part of France ; and I shall, to the latest hour of my life, rejoice that we were fortunate enough to place this question in the light which defies the powers of misrepresentation, in which no man can attempt to perplex it, and in which it presents itself this day for the decision of the House and of the Nation, and calls upon every individual who has at stake the public happiness and his own, to

determine for himself, whether this is or is not a crisis which requires his best exertions in the defence of his country.

To shew which, I shall now proceed, notwithstanding the reproach which has been thrown on our line of conduct, to shew the system even of obstinate forbearance, with which we endeavoured to overcome preliminary difficulties, the determined resolution on our part to overlook all minor obstacles, and to come to the real essence of discussion upon the terms of peace. To shew this, it is not necessary to do more than to call to the recollection of the House the leading parts of the Declaration of His Majesty—I mean to leave that part of the subject also without the possibility of doubt, or difference of opinion. It is certainly true, that, even previous to any of the circumstances that related to the preliminary forms of the negotiation, the prior conduct of France had offered to any Government that was not sincerely and most anxiously bent upon peace, sufficient ground for the continuance of hostilities; it is true that, in the former negotiation at Paris, Lord Malmesbury was finally sent away, not upon a question of terms of peace, not upon a question of the cession of European or Colonial possessions, but upon the haughty demand of a previous preliminary, which should give up every thing on the part of the allies, and which should leave them afterwards every thing to ask, or rather to require. It is true it closed in nearly the same insulting manner as the second mission; it is true, too, that, subsequent to that period, in the preliminaries concluded between the Emperor and France, it was agreed to invite the allies of each party to a congress, which, however, was never carried into execution. It was under these circumstances that His Majesty, in the earnest desire of availing himself of that spirit of moderation which had begun to shew itself in France, determined to renew those proposals which had been before slighted and rejected; but when this step was taken, what was the conduct of those who have gained the ascendancy in France? On the first application to know on what ground they were disposed to negotiate, wantonly, as will be shown by the sequel, and for no purpose but to prevent even the opening of the conferences, they insisted upon a mode of negotiation very contrary to general usage and convenience, contrary to the mode in which they had terminated war with any of the Belligerent Powers, and directly contrary to any mode which they themselves afterwards persisted in following in this very negotiation with us. They began by saying, they would receive no proposals for preliminaries, but that conferences should be held for the purpose of concluding at once a definitive treaty.

His Majesty's answer was, that it was his desire to adopt that mode only which was most likely to accelerate the object in view, and the powers of his Plenipotentiary would apply to either object, either preliminary or definitive. They appeared content with his answer : but what was the next step ? In the simple form of granting a passport for the Minister, at the moment they were saying they preferred a definitive peace, because it was the most expeditious ; in that very passport, which in all former times has only described the character of the Minister, without entering into any thing relating to the terms or mode of negotiating, they insert a condition relative to his powers, and that inconsistent with what His Majesty had explained to be the nature of the powers he had intended to give, and with which they had apparently been satisfied ; they made it a passport not for a Minister coming to conclude peace generally, but applicable only to a definitive and *separate* peace.

This proceeding was in itself liable to the most obvious objection ; but it is more important, as an instance to show how, in the simplest part of the transaction, the untractable spirit of France discovered itself ; it throws light upon the subsequent part of the transaction, and shews the inconsistencies and contradictions of their successive pretensions. As to the condition then made in the passport for the first time, that the negotiation should be for a separate peace, His Majesty declared that he had no choice between a definitive and a preliminary treaty, but as to a separate peace, his honour and good faith, with regard to his ally the Queen of Portugal, would not permit it : he therefore stated his unalterable determination to agree to no treaty in which Portugal should not be included, expressing at the same time, his readiness that France should treat on the part of Holland and Spain.

On this occasion, the good faith of this country prevailed ; the system of violence and despotism was not then ripe, and therefore His Majesty's demand to treat for Portugal was acquiesced in by the Directory. They, at the same time, undertook to treat on their part for their allies, Holland and Spain, as well as for themselves, though in the subsequent course of the negotiation they pretended to be without sufficient power to treat for either.

I must here entreat the attention of the House to the next circumstance which occurred. When the firmness of His Majesty, his anxious and sincere desire to terminate the horrors of war, and his uniform moderation overcame the violence and defeated the designs of the Members of the Executive Government of France, they had recourse to another expedient—the most absurd, as well as the most unjustifiable : they adverted to the rupture of the former negotiation,

as if that rupture was to be imputed to His Majesty—and this insinuation was accompanied with a personal reflection upon the Minister who was sent by His Majesty to treat on the part of this country. His Majesty, looking anxiously as he did to the conclusion of peace, disdained to reply otherwise, than by observing, that this was not a fit topic to be agitated at the moment of renewing a negotiation, and that the circumstances of the transaction were well enough known to Europe and to the world. And the result of this negotiation has confirmed what the former had sufficiently proved, that His Majesty could not have selected, in the ample field of talents which his dominions furnish, any person better qualified to do justice to his sincere and benevolent desire, to promote the restoration of peace, and his firm and unalterable determination to maintain the dignity and honour of his kingdoms.

In spite of these obstacles, and others more minute, the British Plenipotentiary at length arrived at Lisle; the full powers were transmitted to the respective Governments, and were found unexceptionable, though the supposed defect of these full powers is three months after alledged as a cause for the rupture of the negotiation; and what is more remarkable, it did so happen, that the French full powers were on the face of them, much more limited than ours, for they only enabled the Commissioners of the Directory to act according to the instructions they were to receive from time to time. On this point it is not necessary now to dwell, but I desire the House to treasure it in their memory, when we come to the question of pretence for the rupture of the negotiation.

Then, Sir, I come to the point in which we have incurred the censure of the honourable Baronet, for delivering in on our part a project. To his opinion, I do not subscribe, for the reasons that I stated before. But can there be a stronger proof of His Majesty's sincerity, than his waving so many points important in themselves, rather than suffer the negotiation to be broken off. What was our situation? We were to treat with a Government, that had in the outset expressed, that they would treat only definitively; and from every part of their conduct which preceded the meeting of our Plenipotentiary, and their Commissioners, we might have expected that they would have been prepared to answer our project almost in twenty-four hours after it was delivered. We stood with respect to France in this predicament, we had nothing to ask of them; the question only was, how much we were to give of that which the valour of His Majesty's arms had acquired from them, and from their allies. In this situation, surely, we might have expected, that, before we offered the price of peace, they would at least have conde-

scended to say what were the sacrifices which they expected us to make. But, Sir, in this situation, what species of project was it that was presented by His Majesty's Minister? A project the most distinct, the most particular, the most conciliatory and moderate, that ever constituted the first words spoken by any negotiator; and yet of this project what have we heard in the language of the French Government? What have we seen dispersed through all Europe by that press in France which knows no sentiments but what French Policy dictates? What have we seen dispersed by that English press which knows no other use of English liberty, but servilely to retail and transcribe French opinions? We have been told, that it was a project that refused to embrace the terms of negotiation. Gentlemen have read the papers—how does that fact stand? In the original project we agreed to give up the conquests we had made from France and her allies, with certain exceptions. For those exceptions a blank was left, in order to ascertain whether France was desirous that the exceptions should be divided between her and her allies, or whether she continued to insist upon a complete compensation, and left England to look for compensation only to her allies. France, zealous as she pretends to be for her allies, had no difficulty in authorizing her Ministers to declare, that she must retain every thing for herself. This blank was then filled up, and it was then distinctly stated, how little, out of what we had, we demanded to keep; in one sense, it remains a blank still, we did not attempt to preclude France from any other mode of filling it up; but while we stated the utmost extent of our own views, we left open to full explanation whatever points the Government of France could desire. We called upon them, and repeatedly solicited them, to state something as to the nature of the terms which they proposed, if they objected to ours. It was thus left open to modification, alteration, or concession: but this is not the place, this is not the time, in which I am to discuss, whether those terms, in all given circumstances, or in the circumstances of that moment, were or were not the ultimate terms upon which peace ought to be accepted or rejected; if it were once brought to the point when an ultimatum could be judged of, I will not argue whether some great concession might not have been made with the certainty of peace, or whether the terms proposed constituted an offer of peace upon more favourable grounds for the enemy than His Majesty's Ministers could justify. I argue not the one question or the other; it would be inconsistent with the public interest and our duty, that we should here state or discuss it; all that I have to discuss, is, whether the terms, upon the face of them, appear honourable, open, frank, distinct, sincere, and a pledge of

moderation ; and I leave it to the good sense of the House, whether there can exist a difference of opinion upon this point.

Sir, What was it we offered to renounce to France ? In one word, all that we had taken from them. What did this consist of ? the valuable, and almost, under all circumstances, the impregnable island of Martinique, various other West-India possessions, St. Lucia, Tobago, the French part of St. Domingo, the settlements of Pondicherry and Chandernagore ; all the French factories and means of Trade in the East-Indies ; and the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon ; and for what were these renunciations to be made ? For peace, and for peace only. And to whom ? To a nation which had obtained from His Majesty's dominions in Europe nothing in the course of the war, which had never met our fleets but to add to the catalogue of our victories, and to swell the melancholy lists of their own captures and defeats. To a power which had never separately met the arms of this country by land, but to carry the glory and prowess of the British name to a higher pitch, and to a country whose commerce is unheard of, whose navy is annihilated, whose distress, confessed by themselves, (however it may be attempted to be dissembled by their panegyrists in this or any other country,) is acknowledged by the sighs and groans of the people of France, and proved by the expostulations and remonstrances occasioned by the violent measures of its Executive Government—such was the situation in which we stood—such the situation of the enemy when we offered to make these important concessions, as the price of peace. What was the situation of the allies of France ? From Spain, who, from the moment she had deserted our cause and enlisted on the part of the enemy, only added to the number of our conquests, and to her own indelible disgrace, we made claim of one island, the island of Trinidad, a claim not resting on the mere naked title of possession, to counterbalance the general European aggrandizement of France, but as the price of something that we had to give by making good the title to the Spanish part of Saint Domingo, which Spain had ceded without right, and which cession could not be made without our guarantee.

To Holland, having in our hands the whole means of their commerce, the whole source of their wealth, we offered to return almost all that was valuable and lucrative to them, in the mere consideration of commerce ; we desired in return to keep what to them, in a pecuniary view, would be only a burden, in a political view worse than useless, because they had not the means to keep it ; what, had we granted it, would have been a sacrifice, not to them, but to France ; what would in future have enabled her to carry on her

plan of subjugation against the Eastern possessions of Holland itself, as well as against those of Great Britain. All that we asked, was not indemnification for what we had suffered, but the means of preserving our own possessions, and the strength of our naval empire; we did this at a time when our enemy was feeling the pressure of war—and who looks at the question of peace without some regard to the relative situation of the country with which you are contending? Look then at their trade; look at their means; look at the posture of their affairs: look at what we hold, and at the means we have of defending ourselves, and our enemy of resisting us, and tell me, whether this offer was or was not a proof of sincerity, and a pledge of moderation. Sir, I should be ashamed of arguing it, I confess; I am apprehensive we may have gone too far in the first proposals we made, rather than shewn any backwardness in the negotiation; but it is unnecessary to argue this point.

Our proposal was received and allowed by the French Plenipotentiaries, and transmitted for the consideration of the Directory; months had elapsed in sending couriers weekly and daily from Paris to Lisle, and from Lisle to Paris; they taught us to expect, from time to time, a consideration of this subject, and an explicit answer to our project. But the first attempt of the Directory to negotiate, after having received our project, is worthy of remark; they required that we, whom they had summoned to a definitive treaty, should stop and discuss preliminary points, which were to be settled without knowing whether, when we had agreed to them all, we had advanced one inch; we were to discuss, whether His Majesty would renounce the title of King of France, a harmless feather, at most, in the Crown of England; we were to discuss, whether we would restore those ships taken at Toulon, the acquisition of valour, and which we were entitled upon every ground to hold; we were to discuss, whether we would renounce the mortgage which we might possess on the Netherlands, and which engaged much of the honourable Baronet's attention: but it does so happen, that what the honourable Baronet considered as so important, was of no importance at all. For a mortgage on the Netherlands, we have none, and consequently we have none to renounce; therefore, upon that condition, which they had no right to ask, and we had no means of granting, we told them the true state of the case, and that it was not worth talking about.

The next point which occurred, is of a nature which is difficult to dwell upon without indignation: we were waiting the fulfilment of a promise which had been made repeatedly, of delivering to our Ambassador a counter-project: when they who had desired

us to come for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty, propose that we should subscribe as a *sine qua non preliminary*, that we were ready, in the first instance, to consent to give up all that we had taken, and then to hear what they had farther to ask. Is it possible to suppose that such a thing could be listened to by any country that was not prepared to prostrate itself at the feet of France, and in that abject posture to adore its conqueror, to solicit new insults, to submit to demands still more degrading and ignominious, and to cancel at once the honour of the British name? His Majesty had no hesitation in refusing to comply with such insolent and unwarrantable demands; here again the House will see, that the spirit of the violent part of the French Government which had the insolence to advance this proposition, had not acquired power and strength in that state of the Negotiation to adhere to it; His Majesty's explanations and remonstrances for a time prevailed, and an interval ensued, in which we had a hope, that we were advancing to a pacification. His Majesty's refusal of this demand was received by the French Plenipotentiaries with assurances of a pacific disposition, was transmitted to their Government, and was seconded by a continued and repeated repetition of promises, that a counter-project should be presented, pretending that they were under the necessity of sending to their allies an account of what passed: and that they were endeavouring to prevail on them to accede to proposals for putting an end to the calamities of war—to terminate the calamities of that war into which those allies were forced, in which they were retained by France alone, and in which they purchased nothing but sacrifices to France, and misery to themselves. We were told, indeed, in a conference that followed, that they had obtained an answer, but that not being sufficiently satisfactory, it was sent back to be considered. This continued, during the whole period, until that dreadful catastrophe of the 4th of September; even after that event, the same pretence was held out: they peremptorily promised the counter-project in four days; the same pacific professions were renewed, and our Minister was assured, that the change of circumstances in France should not be a bar to the pacification. Such was the uniform language of the Plenipotentiaries in the name of the Government—how it is proved by their actions I have already stated to the House. After this series of professions, what was the first step taken to go on with the Negotiation in this spirit of conciliation? Sir, the first step was to renew, as His Majesty's declaration has well stated, in a shape still more offensive, the former inadmissible and rejected demand; the rejection of which had been acquiesced in by themselves two months before, and during al

which time, we had been impatiently waiting for the performance of their promises. That demand was the same that I have already stated in substance, that Lord Malmesbury should explain to them, not only his powers, but also his instructions; and they asked not for the formal extent of his power, which would give solidity to what he might conclude in the King's name, but they asked an irrevocable pledge, that he would consent to give up all that we had taken from them and from their allies, without knowing how much more they had afterwards to ask. It is true they endeavoured to convince Lord Malmesbury, that although an avowal of his instructions was demanded, it would never be required that he should act upon it, for there was a great difference between knowing the extent of the powers of a Minister, and insisting upon their exercise. And here I would ask the honourable Baronet, whether he thinks, if, in the first instance, we had given up all to the French Plenipotentiaries, they would have given it all back again to us? Suppose I was Ambassador from the French Directory, and the honourable Baronet was Ambassador from Great Britain, and I were to say to him, will you give up all you have gained? it would only be a handsome thing in you, as an Englishman, and no ungenerous use shall be made of it; would the honourable Baronet expect me, as a French Ambassador, to say, I am instructed, from the good nature of the Directory, to say, you have acted handsomely, and I now return what you have so generously given? should we not be called children and drivellers, if we could act in this manner? and indeed the French Government could be nothing but children and drivellers, if they could suppose that we should have acceded to such a proposal—But they are bound, it seems, by sacred treaties; they are bound by immutable laws; they are sworn when they make peace, to return every thing to their allies, and who shall require of France for the safety of Europe, to depart from its own pretensions to honour and independence?

If any person can really suppose that this country could have agreed to such a proposition, or that such a Negotiation was likely to lead to a good end, all I can say is, that with such a man I will not argue. I leave others to imagine what was likely to have been the end of a Negotiation, in which it was to have been settled as a preliminary, that you were to give up all that you have gained; and when, on the side of your enemy, not a word was said of what he had to propose afterwards. They demand of your Ambassador to shew to them, not only his powers, but also his instructions, before they explain a word of theirs; and they tell you too, that you are never to expect to hear what their powers are,

until you shall be ready to concede every thing which the Directory may think fit to require. This is certainly the substance of what they propose ; and they tell you also, that they are to carry on the negotiation from the instructions which their Plenipotentiaries are to receive from time to time from them. You are to have no power to instruct your Ambassador ; you are to shew to the enemy at once all you have in view, and they will only tell you from time to time, as to them shall seem meet, what demands they shall make.

It was thus it was attempted, on the part of the French, to commence the negotiation.—In July, this demand was made to Lord Malmesbury. He stated, that his powers were ample. In answer to this, they went no farther than to say, that if he had no such power as what they required, he should send to England to obtain it. To which he replied, that he had not, nor should he have it if he sent. In this they acquiesce, and attempt to amuse us for two months. At the end of that time, the Plenipotentiaries say to Lord Malmesbury, not what they said before, send to England for power to accede to proposals which you have already rejected ; but go to England yourself for such powers, in order to obtain peace.

Such was the winding up of the negotiation ; such was the way in which the prospect of peace has been disappointed by the conduct of France ; and I must look upon the dismissal of Lord Malmesbury as the last stage of the negotiation, because the undisguised insult by which it was pretended to be kept up for ten days after Lord Malmesbury was sent away, was really below comment. You send him to ask for those powers which you were told he had not, and in the refusal of which, you acquiesced : you have asked, as a preliminary, that which is monstrous and exorbitant ; that preliminary you were told would not be complied with, and yet the performance of that preliminary you made the *sine qua non* conditions of his return. Such was the last step by which the French Government has shewn that it had feeling enough left to think it necessary to search for some pretext to colour its proceedings ; but they are such proceedings that no pretext or artifice can cover them, as will appear more particularly from the papers officially communicated to the House.

But here the subject does not rest : if we look to the whole completion of this transaction, the duplicity, the arrogance, and violence which has appeared in the course of the negotiation, if we take from thence our opinion of its general result, we shall be justified in our conclusion, not that the people of France, not that the whole

Government of France, but that that part of the Government which had too much influence, and has now the whole ascendancy, never was sincere; was determined to accept of no terms but such as would make it neither durable nor safe, such as could only be accepted by this country by a surrender of all its interests, and by a sacrifice of every pretension to the character of a great, a powerful, or an independent nation.

This, Sir, is inference no longer, you have their own open avowal; you have it stated in the subsequent declaration of France itself, that it is not against your commerce, that it is not against your wealth, it is not against your possessions in the East, or colonies in the West, it is not against even the source of your maritime greatness, it is not against any of the appendages of your empire, but against the very essence of your liberty, against the foundation of your independence, against the citadel of your happiness, against your Constitution itself, that their hostilities are directed. They have themselves announced and proclaimed the proposition, that what they mean to bring with their invading army is the genius of *their* liberty: I desire no other word to express the subversion of the British Constitution,—and the substitution of the most malignant and fatal contrast,—and the annihilation of British liberty, and the obliteration of every thing that has rendered you a great, a flourishing, and a happy people.

This is what is at issue; for this are we to declare ourselves in a manner that deprecates the rage which our enemy will not dissemble, and which will be little moved by our entreaty. Under such circumstances are we ashamed or afraid to declare, in a firm and manly tone, our resolution to defend ourselves, or to speak the language of truth with the energy that belongs to Englishmen united in such a cause? Sir, I do not scruple for one to say, if I knew nothing by which I could state to myself a probability of the contest terminating in our favour, I would maintain that the contest with its worst chances is preferable to an acquiescence in such demands.

If I could look at this as a dry question of prudence, if I could calculate it upon the mere grounds of interest, I would say, if we love that degree of national power which is necessary for the independence of the country, and its safety; if we regard domestic tranquillity, if we look at individual enjoyment, from the highest to the meanest among us, there is not a man, whose stake is so great in the country, that he ought to hesitate a moment in sacrificing any portion of it to oppose the violence of the enemy; nor is there, I trust, a man in this happy and free nation, whose stake is so small, that would not be ready to sacrifice his life in the same cause.

If we look at it with a view to safety, this would be our conduct; but if we look at it upon the principle of true honour, of the character which we have to support, of the example which we have to set to the other nations of Europe, if we view rightly the lot in which Providence has placed us, and the contrast between ourselves and all the other countries in Europe, gratitude to that Providence should inspire us to make every effort in such a cause. There may be danger, but on the one side there is danger accompanied with honour; on the other side, there is danger with indelible shame and disgrace; upon such an alternative, Englishmen will not hesitate. I wish to disguise no part of my sentiments upon the grounds on which I put the issue of the contest. I ask, whether up to the principles I have stated, we are prepared to act? having done so, my opinion is not altered, my hopes, however, are animated from the reflection that the means of our safety are in our own hands; for there never was a period when we had more to encourage us; in spite of heavy burdens, the radical strength of the nation never shewed itself more conspicuous; its revenue never exhibited greater proofs of the wealth of the country; the same objects which constitute the blessings we have to fight for, furnish us with the means of continuing them. But it is not upon that point I rest it; there is one great resource, which I trust will never abandon us, and which has shewn forth in the English character, by which we have preserved our existence and fame, as a nation, which I trust we shall be determined never to abandon under any extremity, but shall join hand and heart in the solemn pledge that is proposed to us, and declare to His Majesty, *that we know great exertions are wanting, that we are prepared to make them, and at all events determined to stand or fall by the LAWS, LIBERTIES, and RELIGION of our country.*

Mr. POLLEN then rose, and addressing himself to the Speaker, said:—The subject which is now under our deliberation, connected as it is with every thing that is sacred and dear to us, demands the sentiments of every Member of this House, and particularly of those who have on former occasions thought the continuance of the war unnecessary and impolitic. I am, Sir, one of this description, and however I may have conceived it a painful duty to oppose the measures of His Majesty's Ministers, I now as conscientiously come forward to give them my support. It is not to be wondered at, that so many dissentient opinions have been entertained with regard to the present contest. Ordinary circumstances elicit from the multitude but ordinary attention; when, however, unusual difficulties present themselves to the eye, whichever way it turns, when the

effects of public measures are felt in the most private circumstances, every man is naturally a politician, and you can scarcely enter a room without finding a cabinet council around the hearth. Each one speculates for his country, and natural vanity confirms the speculation. Hence, Sir, have I conceived that better plans might have been laid down, and more judicious and salutary counsels adopted. But this is *what might have been*—the question is, *what is to be*. I am willing to throw a veil over the past, and would to God, Sir, we could reserve the contests of party, and struggles of individual ambition, as interludes to the grand and awful drama which is now acting on the theatre of the world. Would to God, Sir, gentlemen would not pursue the *ignis fatuus* of place and power, and in the pursuit trample on every thing that ought to be respected; but that they would enlighten their paths by the pure and steady light of their country's good. But, Sir, to the point—I should have presumed to have gone over successively the different periods of the negotiation, that I might from them have shewn the foundation of my present sentiments, had not the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer stated them with such simple accuracy, and commented upon them with such convincing eloquence, that it would be impertinent were I to repeat them. I shall merely ask those gentlemen who are determined in their conviction of the insincerity of the last attempt to conclude a peace, whether they believe the policy of the Directory would encourage peace? Do they not know that France dreads no evil so much as the return of her armies into her bosom, where their numbers and violent spirit are not to be maintained or resisted? I will ask these gentlemen, who declaim on the weakness of our resources, whether Englishmen, in *their cause*, cannot sacrifice as largely as Frenchmen in theirs? Think they, Sir, that our females will look less beautiful without their costly ornaments? Think they, Sir, that our holy religion will fall with the loss of its sacramental plate? Think they that our domestic comforts will be less gratifying if we exchange our sumptuous sideboards for more homely furniture?—*This I know, Sir*, that whilst I have an arm to move, or a guinea to spend, *they shall not ravish our Females, they shall not overturn our Religion, they shall not invade our Comforts.*

I will not delay the House longer than to hope that the honourable Baronet will withdraw his amendment, which talks of *trusting* that the French will renew the negotiation: where does the honourable Baronet find the grounds of this confidence in their late conduct? If he does, he sees with other eyes than mine. If he persists, I shall certainly oppose it; but I again repeat the hope that

unanimity on this occasion will do honour to the feelings of a British House of Commons.

Mr. MARTIN had often listened with admiration to the powerful eloquence of the right honourable gentleman, though he was very seldom induced to support his measures. But of all the speeches he had ever heard from him, none had ever appeared more convincing to his mind than that of this night. Indeed if the French would have acceded to any reasonable terms, it was his opinion they should not be rejected; but when he saw they were determined to dictate the conditions, we should not permit ourselves to be trampled on, but evince the spirit which becomes a great nation. He therefore felt it his duty to say, that he thought the proposed amendment unnecessary, and that the original address was more consonant to the nature of our present circumstances. It should have his support, and he earnestly wished that upon cooler consideration the honourable Baronet would be induced to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. GERARD NOEL EDWARDS hoped, that from the similarity of his name to that of another gentleman (Mr. Bryan Edwards), whose opinions widely differed from his, that he should not be mistaken for that honourable gentleman, lest that honourable Member might be charged with inconsistency of opinion. He had but a few words to offer in disapprobation of the amendment. Indeed, in his mind, it would have been much better that very little had been said on the subject—it was a subject awful and momentous, and to have decided on it by a silent vote, would have been the more dignified manner and the most honourable to the feelings of the House. As he had risen, however, he was happy and proud to be able to say, that in his county (Rutlandshire) the best possible disposition prevailed among the inhabitants, and that the Lord Lieutenant of it was distinguished for the institution of the Yeomanry Corps. In many of the villages he knew from personal observations, and from repeated assurances, that the people were ready to make every sacrifice for the defence of the country. There was a body of villagers, to the number of more than a thousand, who were prepared to come forward, and to defend our frontiers whenever any danger threatened them. Such, he was well satisfied, were the sincere sentiments of those friendly societies, for he had the honour to belong to them, and could answer for their loyalty. This, perhaps, might be deemed a piece of information of a nature too private to be mentioned in the House, but he only wished to mention it as a symptom of the zeal and alacrity which animated his part of the country, should the unreasonableness of the enemy,

or their rash attempts, necessitate a farther prosecution of the war, or call on our valour to repel their attacks. He was particularly glad to observe that the honourable gentleman who spoke last (he meant Mr. Pollen) had altered his political sentiments, and was brought to a true sense of the situation of the country, "for" said Mr. Edwards, "the honourable gentleman is an officer in my "regiment."—[*A laugh.*]

Mr. MARTIN wished to add a word, and to remind the honourable gentleman that it was he who spoke last, and that he had not altered his political opinions. What he had to observe was, that though he might think a continuance of the war necessary under the present circumstances, yet he hoped it would be conducted on a wiser plan than it had been hitherto; that it would be wholly changed into a defensive war, and carried on solely by the operation of our naval power, and, above all, that it should be conducted with economy.

Mr. JOHN LLOYD (Member for Flintshire) said—However unaccustomed he might be to speak in that House, yet he thought he should be wanting in the duty he owed to his constituents if he did not rise up in his place to express their and his own detestation of the perfidious conduct of the French Directory; and although the county of Flint, as a mineral country, suffered in a particular manner, from the continuance of the war, having almost entirely put a stop to the lead trade, yet, he trusted, there would not be found in any part of these kingdoms a set of men more ready to oppose the insatiable ambition of the tyrannical rulers of France, or more willing to make such temporary sacrifices as might be necessary to repel the attacks of an enemy that had carried desolation into every corner of the world into which it had penetrated, and exercised the most shocking acts of barbarity that ever disgraced the human race, in every country that had been so unfortunate as to be cursed with its depredation. He trusted there was not a set of men more ready or willing to exert themselves at this important crisis than those he had the honour to represent in that Assembly, and for those reasons he should give his hearty vote for the motion in its original form.

Mr. T. TYRWHITT did not intend to have troubled the House at all, but he could not now forbear expressing the great concern he felt at the difference of opinion that had unfortunately manifested itself in the present debate. He also was disposed to join in intreating the honourable Baronet to withdraw his amendment; for if we be but true to ourselves, there is nothing to alarm us; but if we are divided, we have every thing to fear: it was

therefore essential to evince the most perfect unanimity on the present critical occasion ; for by unanimously assenting to the address, we give the direct lie to the malevolent assertions of the Directory, who so insidiously represent us as a divided people.

Earl of CARYSFORT said, that he most cordially concurred in the sentiments of the address, and that he was neither inclined to declare that any blame could attach to Ministers for their conduct in commencing the negotiation, or that he rejoiced in its unsuccessful termination—his conjectures were confirmed with regard to the conduct of the French, for he never saw any reasons on which to ground an expectation that the French Government ever entered on the negotiation with a serious view to its having a favourable and happy issue. Their power was founded in a system hostile to the re-establishment of tranquillity ; to resist such a system, he felt to be our best policy ; it was the policy of Ministers, and he thought it deserved the countenance of the House and of the Country. The French system was set up for the annoyance of Europe, and Europe could bear witness to the moderation and justice of our cause ; our resistance was pointed against the monstrous ambition and exorbitant pretensions of the enemy ; and it was, moreover, in unison with the principles upon which the country had acted from the beginning ; for we have uniformly declared, that whatever form their Government might assume, we should not decline entering into negotiation, whenever such an attempt might be made, consistent with the honour and the security of the country. To that pledge we have strictly adhered ; and the system of prudence and moderation which we have uniformly acted on, should unite all men of every description in a cordial and vigorous defence of our laws, our rights, and our constitution. Such an unanimous co-operation would have the double good effect of silencing the calumnies which abroad were circulated by the enemy, and of reviving our spirits at home, if, indeed, our spirits could be permitted to droop. There was nothing in our situation to excite despair, and despair was a sentiment that could never enter the breast of an Englishman. And, indeed, from whence could arise our despair ? Was it from the empty threats held out against us by the French ? We have tried their strength in many conflicts, and the trials were crowned with complete success. The ambition of France has, for many years, aspired to universal dominion ; but their mad attempts have always been repressed by the valour and perseverance of this country ; and such again must be the fate of their attempts, if we but oppose them by the same arms. One circumstance, it is true, seems to justify our alarms at the continuance

of the war—it is an unproductive contest. We have much to lose, and nothing to gain—nor can we expect to make any successful impression on the enemy's territories: but we have already conquered all their foreign possessions, though any attempt to conquer France herself is not very likely to succeed. An attempt, on their part, to make an impression on this country would prove equally impotent and ineffectual. Their invasion of England is no less likely to fail, than our endeavours to invade France—it would prove fatal to all who should be employed in it. He was sorry to see that Ireland was in a different situation. But notwithstanding the present disturbed state of that country, in the tranquillity of which he felt materially interested, if they attempted a landing there, he was satisfied they would meet with the same reception which they had experienced on a former occasion. He had no doubt of the issue; it would tend to the glory of the country, and to the confusion of the enemy. He trusted, therefore, that the House would proceed unanimously to the performance of their duty, and that they would carry to the Throne a full and forcible assurance of their utmost determination to exert the vigour, and call forth the resources of the country—a vigour and resources not to be equalled by any other nation in Europe.

Doctor FRENCH LAWRENCE was ready to do any violence to his own feelings and opinions, sooner than disturb the unanimity which he was anxious should prevail on the present occasion. He had hoped, but his hopes were disappointed, that those gentlemen who had hitherto supported Administration in the prosecution of the war, would have at least put a fair interpretation on their conduct, and not accuse them of want of sincerity in their endeavours at pacification. From his view of the state of things, and conformably to the opinions he had uniformly maintained, he not only agreed with the noble Lord (Carysfort) who advised an unanimous concurrence in the exertion of our vigour and the manifestation of our resources, but he also as cordially concurred with another noble Lord (Temple) in rejoicing that our attempts at negotiation had proved unsuccessful; and indeed had they succeeded, in what situation should we now be placed? We may easily conjecture it from observing the conduct of the enemy. Do they not still profess the same principles which we so often pronounced to be hostile and fatal to all regular establishments? Do they not uniformly act upon them, and are they not as ready as ever to pour forth their hordes to propagate them with the bayonet through every other nation? If the negotiation had succeeded, in what situation should we now be placed? Should we not have treated with a power that

never paid regard to any treaty when the violation of it could promote any object which they were anxious to obtain—a power that has invariably shewed itself and betrayed a disposition towards us not only hostile, but which was eager to act against us with the utmost extent of hostility? Have they not declared in express and unequivocal terms, that the French Republic and the English Government could not possibly stand together? Their permitting it to exist would be inconsistent with the spirit of their laws and the good faith of their treaties—laws which they change at random, and treaties which they violate as soon as they stand in the way of their interest or ambition. How then are we to counteract such conduct? It is not enough that we treat it with reprobation, we should also shew the enemy we have power to resist their injustice. Nor is this power to be displayed by sending against them a few ships. We should make them see and feel that we have arms in our hands, and that we are warmed with hearts that impel us to wield them with vigour and effect. Till then we have every thing to fear; till then we cannot enjoy security. We are entirely at the mercy of their caprice; we can repose no confidence in negotiation, at least the period for negotiation is not as yet arrived. With regard, however, to the late negotiation, there are some proceedings in it to which he should willingly allude, nor was he disposed to withhold the praise of firmness from the conduct of His Majesty's servants. There was language, however, held by a noble Lord, high in authority, it was needless to say in what place, but language had been held respecting our conduct towards neutral vessels, which, if he rightly understood, could not but give him the most serious uneasiness; are we ready to give up our right of searching them, or is it to be extorted from us? His mind augured every thing that was ominous from any intention on our part to concede at once the freedom of the seas. The French continually affected to put themselves in the place of ancient Rome, and to put us in that of its rival, Carthage; are we prepared to submit to the fate of Carthage? Are we disposed to comply with an order of the French Government, that is to tell us that they will only permit us to keep up a part of our fleet? Will they not insist on our dismantling one half of our navy? And is not this their surest road to arrive at our destruction? Is it not to our naval power that we owe the rank which we hold as a nation? We have often, it is true, assumed another character with glory and success; but that character was only temporary; it is our naval strength, and our fame for naval prowess, that has placed us at the head of Europe. It is our naval superiority that has hitherto enabled us to maintain the balance

of European power, and to incline it as we thought expedient, not to alarm and subjugate other nations, but for the preservation of that balance of power, and for the general benefit of all. Of this the enemy is fully sensible ; and in their dark designs and perfidious attempts to destroy this balance, they aim a deadly blow at our navy, through the means of which that balance has been maintained. That on our naval strength depended our influence over the fate of Europe, the learned gentleman proceeded to prove by the preponderance we obtained in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Was it not by our destroying the French commerce that we then asserted that preponderance ; and are we ready now to resign it, by depriving ourselves of the source from which it springs, under some false notions of the freedom of the seas ?

There was one circumstance more to which he must beg leave to advert, and that was His Majesty's renouncing the title of King of France. He was not prepared to say whether such a renunciation would be for our honour or not ; neither was it a thing which, in his opinion, should be treated lightly. He could not bring himself, with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), to regard it in the light of an harmless feather ; should that feather go, other feathers closely connected with it, and which borrow from it their chief support, must go also, and share the same fate. We should not unconcernedly see extorted from us, what we have proudly possessed for five centuries. The honourable and learned gentleman then went into the history of the wars of Edward the Third, and recalled to the memory of the House the precious precedents they should draw from those glorious times. They were precedents which, in moments of terror and trepidation, we ought to hold up to our view, and as we view and gaze upon them as on some sacred antique images, kindle as we gaze, into the zeal, ardour and intrepidity which glowed in the hearts, and blazed out in the character and conduct of our ancestors. What was at that period the situation of the country ? making every allowance for the relative value of money, were not our resources comparatively lower ? Did our allies act with spirit or with concert ? No reliance could be placed in them, no effectual aid was derived from their co-operation ; our commerce was gone ; our revenue was not to be mentioned ; we were obliged to resort to an issue of foreign coin, in order to supply our circulation—we had scarcely any specie of our own. What was the conduct of Parliament on that perilous and awful occasion ? Was it not a conduct which we ought now to adopt ? Did they not bring up the public mind to the emergencies of the times, and unanimously agree to support the

King? And what was the conclusion of the then twenty years war? what was the result of the vigour then exerted, and the spirit and resolution that were then displayed? The same, perhaps, that might attend the present contest, did the same springs of action animate and direct our efforts; but on the issue of the present war who can venture to decide? It can yet be seen only by the eye of that Being who reads in the human heart, and from whose regard no human event is concealed. We might not, however, hesitate to conjecture it, if we attended to the effects which cannot fail to be produced when we are reduced to the alternative so eloquently described by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt); an alternative where danger and honour are on one side, our slower ruin and indelible shame on the other. Surely there is not a single individual in the whole country who could fluctuate a moment on the choice he would make, but would resolutely determine to owe his safety only to his valour, and his glory to the triumph which that valour must achieve. The learned gentleman concluded by joining in the intreaty, that the honourable Baronet (Sir John Sinclair) would consent to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, he heartily coincided with those gentlemen who regretted that an amendment had been proposed by the honourable Baronet, and wished that nothing had been said expressive of a want of unanimity in the House. For his own part, he would not have said a word upon the subject if it had not been extorted from him by the honourable and learned gentleman who had just sat down, and who, while he strenuously recommended unanimity, made use of language very likely to produce a directly contrary effect. He was sorry the honourable and learned gentleman had not followed the example of his right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had purposely waved the subject introduced by the former, and had said expressly, that whether His Majesty's Ministers had gone too far in concessions or not, was a question on which he would not give an opinion; to introduce that question, therefore, and make it a subject of discussion at a time that all should be harmony and unanimity, was, in his mind, exceedingly improper, and therefore he protested against what had fallen from the honourable and learned gentlemen, who, in endeavouring to interpret his right honourable friend, had but too fully spoken for himself. It appeared, however, that, with the exception of the honourable Baronet, all wished to assent to the address, though with different views; for himself he could say that he did not, with the noble Lord, regret that the negotiation had been commenced, nor rejoice that it was broken off; on the contrary, he

sincerely lamented, in common with the King's Ministers and the People at large, that it had had such an unprosperous issue. But even so, it was not without its use; for, when it was seen that the Ministers did fairly and candidly, and with earnest desires for peace, come forward, and that, in order to obtain it, they had passed by so many insults as had been offered in the course of the negotiation, no one, he conceived, could entertain a doubt of the unequivocal conduct of Government on the one hand, and the unwarrantable intentions of France on the other; at least he would say, that, if there was any man who entertained such a doubt, he must be constructed very differently from him. So far from rejoicing at the obstinate temper of the enemy, he thought it to be just matter of regret; and he declared that he would continue to look out with sincere anxiety for the time when, under the influence of returning reason, the French nation would come to negotiation with an earnest desire for that peace which was still more necessary to themselves than to England. In the mean time he would tell the people that they must content themselves to bear considerable burdens, because all they possessed, and all that was valuable to them in life, was at stake. That as the conduct of the enemy in the late negotiation proclaimed, that not the obstinacy of His Majesty's Ministers, but the vain ambition of those with whom they had to treat, had procrastinated the wished-for event of peace, and that the overthrow of our Government was the sole object of their designs, Englishmen should feel the necessity of coming forward in preservation of the Constitution; should reflect on what their safety and happiness depend; and to secure those objects should join hand and heart together and proclaim to the world that, if divided before, they could unite whenever union became necessary. Of this universal harmony of sentiment he held the unanimity of that night to be an happy omen, and he hoped the honourable Baronet would, in order to give that beginning its full force, withdraw his amendment.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said, that he had not proposed the amendment without due consideration; but he confessed he was not insensible to the effect of the display of eloquence he had just heard. He sincerely wished for unanimity; and assured the House that he was willing to sacrifice not only his opinion, but any thing else he possessed, to the welfare of the country, and would therefore cheerfully agree to withdraw his amendment, if the honourable gentleman who seconded it was present to give his consent.

Mr. Chancellor PITT, after having consulted the Speaker, made some observations on the order of proceeding, and expressed a wish that the amendment might be withdrawn.

The SPEAKER stated, that a similar case had occurred about five or six years ago, wherein the mover of a question being desirous to withdraw it, could not do so, the seconder being absent. At that time the question was put that the amendment be withdrawn, and the only course the House could now take was to put the same question. The Speaker therefore put the question that the amendment be withdrawn, which was agreed to. He then put the original address to the vote, and it passed *nemine contradicente*.

Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, November 13.

Received from the Commons by Lord Hawkesbury and others, a message that the Commons had agreed *nem. diff.* to the address sent to them by their Lordships, without any amendment.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, November 13.

At four o'clock the Speaker counted the House, and there being only thirty Members present, the House was adjourned of course till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, November 14.

The Marquis of SALISBURY reported to the House, that His Majesty had been waited upon, to know when he would be pleased to receive the address of both Houses of Parliament; and that His Majesty had appointed to-morrow at three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, November 14.

Lord HAWKESBURY informed the House, that he had communicated to the House of Lords the assent of this House to their Lordships' address.

A message from the Lords informed the House, that His Majesty had appointed to-morrow, at three o'clock, to receive the address of both Houses.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, November 15.

Their Lordships met at half past two o'clock, and went up with the Commons to present the following joint unanimous address of both Houses to His Majesty ;

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the papers which your Majesty's has been pleased to direct to be laid before us, on the subject of the negotiation into which your Majesty had entered, with the view of restoring to your people a secure and honourable peace. In every stage of that transaction we have recognized your Majesty's invariable and unremitted solicitude for our prosperity and welfare, while we have seen, on the other hand, the most abundant proofs of the continuance of that spirit of inveterate animosity and desperate ambition, on the part of our enemies, in which the present contest first originated. Your Majesty's conduct, characterized by an unexampled moderation, openness, and consistency, has left to the enemy no means of evasion, no subterfuge of disguise or artifice. It can no longer be denied that their conduct is actuated by a fixed determination of excluding all means of peace, and of pursuing, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the happiness and safety of these kingdoms. Even the vain pretence of pacific dispositions is now abandoned, and the real purpose of all their Councils, and all their measures, is at length openly and publicly avowed. It is

to our laws and government that they have declared their irreconcilable hatred. No sacrifice will content them but that of our liberty, no concession but that of our envied and happy Constitution.

“ Under such circumstances, we feel the duty which we owe in this great crisis to God, and to our Country. Animated by the same sentiments which your Majesty has been pleased to declare to your people, and to the world, attached to your Majesty by principle, duty, and gratitude, and sensible that it is only from courage and firmness that we can look either for present safety or permanent peace, we are determined to defend, with unshaken resolution, your Majesty's Throne, the lives and properties of our fellow subjects, the government and constitution of our country, and the honour and independence of the British empire. We know that great exertions are necessary; we are prepared to make them. And, placing our firm alliance on that divine protection, which has always hitherto been extended to us, we will support your Majesty to the utmost, and stand, or fall, with our religion, laws, and liberties.”

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, November 15.

The SECRETARY AT WAR (Mr. Windham) brought up the Army Estimates, and gave notice, that he should move for taking them into consideration on Monday.

The House then proceeded to present their address to His Majesty.

A little after four, the House being resumed, Mr. SPEAKER reported, that the House had presented their address to His Majesty; to which His Majesty had been pleased to return the following gracious answer :

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

Nothing could be more satisfactory to me than this unanimous declaration of the sentiments of my two Houses of Parliament. They are such as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cause which is common to us all, and contending for every interest which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the blessing of Providence, I look with confidence to the issue of this great contest: but in every event my resolution

is taken. It is such as I owe to God, to my Country, and to myself; and it is confirmed by the sentiments which you have this day declared to me. I will not be wanting to my people, but will stand, or fall, with them in the defence of our religion, and in the maintenance of the independence, laws, and liberties, of these kingdoms.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he rose in pursuance of a notice which he gave yesterday, to move for a Committee to inquire into the expediency of continuing the restriction upon the Bank. There were, he said, many obvious circumstances to make a motion necessary. The avowed policy of our enemy, and other circumstances, rendered this a very important matter. He did not mean to propose a continuance of the act of Parliament upon this subject, without examining what has been the operation of the present restriction. He meant also to proceed conformably to precedent, as well as to propose that the Committee which were formerly ballotted, should be voted to be the Committee upon this occasion, with the exception only of such as were not now Members of the House.

The House was moved, That the several reports which, upon the 3d and 7th days of March and 21st day of April last, were made from the Committee of Secrecy, who were appointed to examine and state the total amount of outstanding demands on the Bank of England, and likewise of the funds for discharging the same, and to report the result thereof to the House, together with their opinion on the necessity of providing for the confirmation and continuance of measures taken, in pursuance of the Minute of Council, on the 26th day of February, and who were instructed, on the 9th day of March last, to inquire into the necessity of issuing the Minute of Council of the 26th of February, and to report their opinion to the House concerning such necessity, and what should appear to them to have been the causes which produced the same, might be read.

And the same being read accordingly,

The House was also moved, That an act, made in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act for confirming and continuing, for a limited time, the restriction contained in the Minute of Council of the twenty-sixth of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, on payments of cash by the Bank," might be read; which being done,

The House was also moved, That another act, made in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act to continue, for a limited time, an act, made in this present session of Parliament, in-

titled 'An act for confirming and continuing, for a limited time, the restriction contained in the Minute of Council of the twenty-sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, on payments of cash by the Bank,' "under certain regulations and restrictions," might be read.

And the same was read accordingly.

The House was also moved, That the entry in the journal of the House, of the 3d day of December, 1781 *, of the proceedings of the House, upon re-appointing the Committee of Secrecy to inquire into the causes of the war in The Carnatic, and of the condition of the British possessions in those parts, might be read.

It was then ordered,

That a Committee of Secrecy be appointed, to inquire whether it may be expedient farther to continue the restriction contained in the said acts on payments in cash by the Bank.

A resolution then passed,

That the number of the said Committee be fifteen.

The House was moved, That the entry in the journal of the House, of the 1st day of March last, of the names of the persons who were reported from the Committee, appointed to examine the lists of fifteen persons' names, to be the Committee of Secrecy to examine and state the total amount of outstanding demands on the Bank of England, and likewise of the funds for discharging the same, and to report the result thereof to the House, together with their opinion on the necessity of providing for the confirmation and continuance of measures taken in pursuance of the Minute of Council on the 26th of February, 1797, might be read.

The same was read accordingly; and the names are as follows, viz.

William Hufley,	Charles Bragge, Esquire,
Charles Grey,	Sir John Mitford, Knight,
William Plumer,	William Wilberforce Bird,
Thomas Powys,	John Fane,
Thomas Grenville,	Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esquire,
William Wilberforce,	Sir John Scott, Knight,
John Blackburne,	and
Thomas Berney Bramston,	John William Anderson, Esquire.

The House was then moved, That the entry in the journal of the House, of the 17th day of July last, of the order for issuing a new writ, for the electing of a knight of the shire, to serve in this

* Vide Commons' Journals, vol. 38, folio 598.

present Parliament, for the county of Northampton, in the room of Thomas Powys, Esq. who, since his election for the said county, had accepted the office of Steward or Bailiff of His Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds, &c. might be read : which being done, it was ordered,

That the said Mr. Hufsey, Mr. Grey, Mr. Plumer, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Blackburne, Mr. Bramston, Mr. Bragge, Sir John Mitford, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, Mr. Fane, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Sir John Scott, and the Lord Mayor of London, together with Lord Viscount Belgrave, be the Committee of Secrecy now appointed.

It was also ordered, that the said Committee, or any five of them, do meet forthwith in the Speaker's chamber ; and have power to send for persons, papers, and records : and that they have power to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as they shall think fit, and to report their proceedings from time to time to the House ; and that they have also power to sit during the sitting, and notwithstanding any adjournment, of the House.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that as various documents which he should have occasion to refer to, were not ready, it would not be possible for him to bring forward the subject of public finance on Monday, the day for which he had given notice. He therefore should be under the necessity of deferring it till Friday se'nnight.

Mr. TIERNEY wished to know the nature of the proposition which the Minister intended to bring forward ?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that without going into a considerable length, he could not very precisely answer that question : he would answer, however, generally, that he did not mean to propose, on that day, resolutions on all the subject of finance, or that were connected with all the ways and means which he should submit. He should then state the total probable amount of the Ways and Means preparatory to the plan for raising them in all. He should state on that day those resolutions which were in the usual form. He should state also, in a general manner, another important part of what he had to submit, that part which was most of a deviation from former practice.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR professed great respect for the labours of the Committee of Finance, and impatience to see the result of their labours. They had made reports, for which the public were indebted to them ; but from the shortness of time which they had had, there were many matters necessarily excluded from their examination. He wished them to complete the work which they had begun. He therefore hoped that the right honourable the

Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be adverse to the proposition for renewing their inquiries.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he never entertained any hesitation about the propriety of that Committee proceeding with the work they had commenced; he wished for an early opportunity for their renewing their labour, and assured the honourable Baronet that measures had been already taken by the Executive Government for that purpose, in consequence of the facts which had come before them, and which should be all laid before the Committee.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply,

Lord ARDEN moved, That it is the opinion of the Committee that 110,000 men be employed for the sea service for the year 1798, including 20,000 marines.

Mr. HUSSEY said that, before he gave his assent to that motion, he should be glad to be informed of the number of seamen borne and mustered. He felt that the naval service of this country was of the greatest importance; he could not give his assent to the reduction of our naval force. No man rejoiced more than he did at our late naval victory; but he was for following the blow up with all possible energy and force. He should not now take the sense of the Committee; but, if he should be of the same mind tomorrow as he was at present, he should oppose any reduction in this service.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that there could be no difference of opinion upon the importance of the naval service of this country; nor any upon the point that we should have a very large naval force; but on the other hand, although we were to proceed in this with vigour and effect, yet it was not imprudent to have some view of practical economy. 110,000 men was the largest establishment of naval force this country had at any period of its history, except the last year; but when we considered that all our enemies had been defeated by sea, and were compelled to yield to His Majesty's naval force, he could not help thinking that 110,000 men were fully adequate to the purposes which the present war can possibly require. Comparing that force with all the force of the enemy, he confessed he feared no reproach for voting too little, by assenting to the motion now before the Committee.

The motion was then put and carried.

2,645,500*l.* were then voted for these seamen for 13 months, at the rate of 1*l.* 17*s.* *per man per month.*

2,717,000*l.* for victualling for the same time, at the rate of 1*l.* 18*s.* *per man per month.*

4,290,000*l.* for wear and tear, &c. at 3*l.* *per man per month.*

357,500*l.* for ordnance, &c. at 5*s.* *per man per month.*

1,200,000*l.* for expence of transports, prisoners, &c.

The House being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Thursday, November 16.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply, which was read a first time. On the Speaker's putting the question, that it be read a second time,

Mr. HUSSEY reminded the House that he had yesterday, in the Committee, stated it to be his opinion that it would be exceedingly improvident, and mistaken economy, to diminish the number of seamen from 120,000, the amount of last year, to 110,000, the number stated in the resolution—he had well considered the subject, and could not bring himself to think that sufficient reason had been stated by the Minister for this great deduction from our maritime force. He had not the smallest doubt but that, if the enemy were to land, the force of the country would be fully sufficient to make them repent it; but he nevertheless thought that it would be much better to prevent their coming. It was a case in which not only probable, but possible disasters should be provided against. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had talked in the Committee of *idle parade*; but he could not, for his part, see how voting the same number of seamen we had last year, could be called *idle parade*. He thought it was for the interest of the country to look to her naval strength, and was of opinion that money employed in seamen to any amount would be good economy. If any gentleman in that House, qualified to give a decisive opinion, would rise in his place and say that the abatement of ten thousand seamen would be attended with no possible risk, he would drop the subject. Whatever the Chancellor of the Exchequer might say, he (Mr. Hussey) was in his own mind convinced that the true reason of the diminution was the difficulty found in raising the money; but though the million it would cost for the additional 10,000 men was hard to be raised, that difficulty bore no proportion to the dangers we might incur by lowering our maritime strength; for considering the nature and disposition of the enemy, and his intentions with regard to England, of which no one could well doubt, he thought it was necessary not only to secure ourselves from a descent, but to keep the enemy at a great distance. For these reasons he thought it would be true economy to vote 120,000, and to that end he would give his nega-

tive to the resolution for 110,000, and move for the number voted last year.

The SPEAKER begged leave to remind the honourable gentleman, that as the resolution for 110,000 had already passed the Committee, it would be necessary, for any additional expence, to have it recommitted; it was therefore better to let the resolution be read a second time.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he had very little to say in addition to the observations he had made last night upon the honourable gentleman's objection. On the general principle, that it was found policy to keep our maritime force in power to repel the enemy, and that no economy should stand in the way of proper provisions for national safety, he perfectly agreed with the honourable gentleman. No expence was too great for this object—and as to individual economy, he conceived that no contribution could be too great for the safety of the remainder. With those impressions on his mind it would hardly be suspected that if he were not convinced that the number proposed would be fully adequate to the purposes of safety, the mere expence should not have induced him to propose a reduction. It was necessary to stop somewhere; but if cases merely possible were to be made the limits of their votes, where were they to stop? If 120,000 men were voted, it might be said 130,000 were necessary; and if 130,000, why not 140,000? Thus there would be no end to it. But the true question was this—Did the nature of the struggle in which we are likely to be engaged require more than the number proposed? To any thing short of the number that would put us on a footing of decided superiority over the enemy he would never give his assent. Nor would he, on the other hand, agree to any expence beyond it. He had yesterday stated that the reduction was made because the maritime power of the enemy was reduced so extremely low as to render the same extent of force we had last year intirely superfluous. The events to which he alluded were yet fresh in every one's memory, and afforded tolerable reason to suppose that the diminution intended was perfectly consistent with our security. He hoped the honourable gentleman had not forgotten that the late glorious victory obtained by Lord Duncan was not the only one which crippled the enemy in the last year. There were two more most brilliant and decisive victories in that time; so that on a comparison of our force now with that of the enemy, it would appear plainly that 110,000 men were enough. If, on the other hand, the honourable gentleman would compare the number now proposed with that of any former time, he would find it much greater in proportion to the necessity of the case, so many as

110,000 men never having been voted in any former war, except in the last year of the last war, at which time the enemy had no less than 140 sail of the line. Gentlemen then should compare that with the state of things now, and candidly say whether Ministers could fairly be taxed with neglect in the diminution they propose. He concluded with assuring the honourable gentleman, that though in this instance he thought his proposition groundless and unnecessary, he would always listen with respect and attention to any thing he should think proper to state, if warranted by the circumstances of the country.

Mr. MARTIN wished to know whether the decrease in the navy was to be followed by a decrease in the army? He perfectly coincided with Mr. HUSSEY in his sentiments respecting the superior importance of the navy, as well on the grounds stated by that gentleman, as on the principles of humanity—for it was worthy of remark that though the battle of October last, when Lord Duncan obtained the brilliant victory over the Dutch, was reckoned uncommonly bloody for a sea fight, the number of men killed was not so great as of those killed in some single skirmishes in Germany.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the honourable gentleman's question would be fully answered when the army estimates would come to be laid before the House. In the mean time he would say, that the decrease of the navy could not by any means be supposed to justify a decrease in the army. It was true, as an honourable gentleman (Mr. HUSSEY) had said, that the enemy ought to be kept from coming here; but it was equally true that we should keep ourselves in a state to give a good account of him if he should happen to come.

Mr. HUSSEY being about to rise,

The SPEAKER remarked, that if the honourable gentleman should be of opinion to persevere in his amendment, it would be necessary for him to move a recommitment.

The resolution was then read a second time.

Mr. HUSSEY again rose, and said he could not let the subject pass without trying the fate of a question on it. It was true the fleets of the enemy had been much crippled or nearly destroyed, but was the House to conclude that they would not use exertions? No attempt to refit and bring forward their marine? Could not the ships they had, be repaired? Were they expected to be idle? Were no offensive operations to be attempted to bring them to better terms? And had we not an ally who stood in need of our assistance? He still, therefore, remained of his first opinion, and

though he would not divide the House, since he saw the sense of it against him, he would at least move for a recommitment, which he did ; and the question being put, it was negatived.

ACCOUNT of Advances made to Government by the Bank, from 25th February to 1st November 1797.

1797.	
March 2d to 9th.	To the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, on Exchequer Bills — £. 250,000
March 10th.	On Exchequer Bills at 3½d. per cent. per day, issued on account of Loan 1797, for 18,000,000l. — 250,000
April 4th to 13th.	On ditto, being a Loan for 600,000l. pursuant to a clause in the act of 37th Geo. III. cap. 45. sec. 4. — 599,200
All the above sums, with interest thereon, were paid the 31st July 1797.	
Bank,	W. EDWARDS,
10th November 1797.	Accountant General.

ACCOUNT of the Total Amount of mortgaged Actions of the Bank of Vienna, deposited in the Bank of England.

A Tin Box was deposited at the Bank of England on the 26th September 1794, by Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co., sealed by them and a Notary Public; the latter of whom has certified, that the box contains twenty-five mortgage bonds of the Bank of Vienna, amounting to one million six hundred thousand florins each, making together forty millions of florins, which are estimated at four millions sterling.

On the 4th December 1795, another Tin Box was deposited by Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co., which a Notary Public has certified to the Bank, contains twenty mortgage bonds of one million florins each, and one bond of one million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three florins twenty kreutzers, making in all twenty-one millions three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three florins and twenty kreutzers, estimated to be equal in value to two millions one hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling.

Bank,
10th November 1797.

W. EDWARDS,
Accountant General.

ACCOUNT respecting IMPERIAL STOCK.

No Purchases have been made on account of the Imperial Loan, towards its redemption.

Bank,
10th November 1797.

W. EDWARDS,
Accountant General.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, November 17.

The LORD CHANCELLOR informed their Lordships, that the House had waited upon His Majesty with their unanimous address, and that His Majesty was pleased to make a gracious answer.

[*For which, see the Proceedings of the Commons of Wednesday last.*]

Their Lordships then made some orders in the arrangement of appeals and private business.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, November 17.

Mr. ABBOT rose to make the motion of which he gave notice yesterday for making the resolutions of the Committee for promulgating the statutes standing orders of the House—he desired the resolutions might be read; which being done, he proceeded to remark that, as the resolutions which had been read had expired with the last session, it would be necessary to renew them. He therefore moved them over again, with a small alteration in one of them, and they passed without a negative. He then moved that the same be made standing orders of the House, which was also granted without opposition.

Mr. BRAGGE brought up the Report of the Secret Committee appointed to consider of the expediency of renewing the restrictions on cash payments at the Bank.

On the motion of Mr. Chancellor PITT, the report was read, and is as follows:

“ THE COMMITTEE of SECRECY, appointed to inquire whether it may be expedient farther to continue the Restriction, contained in Two Acts, made in the last Session of Parliament, respecting Payments in Cash by the Bank; have inquired accordingly, and agreed upon the following Report; viz.

“ YOUR Committee have, in the first place, examined the total amount of out-standing demands on the Bank of England, and of the funds for discharging the same; and find, from the examination of the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, and the documents produced by them, that the total amount of out-standing demands on the Bank was, on the 11th day of this instant November, 17,578,910*l.*; and that the total amount of the funds for discharging the same (without including the permanent debt due from Government, of 11,686,800*l.*, which bears an interest of three per cent.) was, on the same day, 21,418,460*l.*; leaving a balance of surplus in favour of the Bank (exclusive of the above-mentioned debt from Government) of 3,839,550*l.*

“ Your Committee next proceeded to examine the principal articles of which the above-mentioned sum of 21,418,460*l.*, being the credit side of the account, is made up, with a view of ascertaining how far the Bank might be enabled to resume its accustomed payments in cash, in case the restriction at present subsisting should be removed: and your Committee find, that the advances to Government have, on the one hand, been so much reduced, since the 25th of February last, as to amount, on the said 11th day of this inst. November, to no more than the sum of 4,258,140*l.* while, on the other hand, the cash and bullion in the Bank have increased to an amount more than five times the value of that at which they stood on the same 25th of February last, and much above that at which they have stood at any time since the beginning of September 1795.

“ Your Committee farther find, that the course of exchange with Hamburg is, at present, unusually favourable to this country, and that, from the situation of our trade, there is good reason to imagine it will so continue, unless political circumstances should occur to affect it.

“ Your Committee next proceeded to examine the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, as to their opinion of the inconvenience which may have arisen from the restriction imposed on the Bank from making payment in cash, and of the expediency of continuing such restriction; and your Committee find, that they are not aware of any such inconvenience, and that they are supported in that idea, by knowing that the bankers and traders of London, who had a right by the act of Parliament to demand three fourths of any deposit in cash which they had made in the Bank, of 500*l.* or upwards, have only claimed about one sixteenth: and your Committee find, that the Court of Directors of the Bank did, on the 26th of October, 1797, come to a resolution, a copy of which is subjoined to this Report.

“ Your Committee having farther examined the Governor and Deputy Governor, as to what may be meant by the political circumstances mentioned in that resolution, find, that they understand by them, the state of hostility in which the nation is still involved, and particularly such apprehensions as may be entertained of invasion, either in Ireland or this country, together with the possibility there may be of advances being to be made from this country to Ireland; and that from those circumstances so ex-

plained, and from the nature of the war, and the avowed purpose of the enemy to attack this country by means of its public credit, and to distress it in its financial operations, they are led to think that it will be expedient to continue the restriction now subsisting, with the reserve for partial issues of cash, at the discretion of the Bank, of the nature of that contained in the present acts; and that it may be so continued, without injury to the credit of the Bank, with an advantage to the nation.

“ Your Committee, therefore, having taken into consideration the general situation of the country, are of opinion, that notwithstanding the affairs of the Bank, both with respect to the general balance of its accounts, and its capacity of making payments in specie, are in such a state that it might with safety resume its accustomed functions, under a different state of public affairs; yet, that it will be expedient to continue the restriction now subsisting on such payments, for such time, and under such limitations, as to the wisdom of Parliament may seem fit.”

Copy of a RESOLUTION of the Court of Directors of the Bank.

“ At a Court of Directors, at the Bank, on Thursday the 26th October, 1797;

“ Resolved,

“ That it is the opinion of this Court, That the Governor and Company of the Bank of England are enabled to issue specie, in any manner that may be deemed necessary for the accommodation of the public; and the Court have no hesitation to declare, that the affairs of the Bank are in such a state, that it can with safety resume its accustomed functions, if the political circumstances of the country do not render it inexpedient: but the Directors deeming it foreign to their province to judge of these points, wish to submit to the wisdom of Parliament, whether, as it has been once judged proper to lay a restriction on the payments of the Bank in cash, it may, or may not, be prudent to continue the same.”

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that it was his intention first to move that the Report of the Secret Committee be printed, in order that all the Members might have the satisfaction of informing themselves in detail of statements so very pleasing and important; but as it would take some time to have it printed, he trusted that those gentlemen who had now heard the Report read would think with him that, after the full examination the subject had undergone in the Committee; after the clear and decided opinion that Committee had pronounced upon it; and after the distinct statement, not only of them but of the Bank Directors; it would be unnecessary to detain the business merely on account of the printing; and that it would be proper to proceed without delay to the object of that Report; and move for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose. He avowed that the measure he meant now to propose was not confined to the strict terms of the former bill; but would move on the principle that, as the country was peculiarly circumstanced, it would be advisable to continue the restriction as long as the pre-

sent contest continued, or at least as long as that contest continued in the shape and with the aspect it now bore, reserving however to Parliament the right to rescind the measure, and to limit, to qualify, or totally to annul the restrictions, as future circumstances might induce them in their wisdom to think necessary. The House would readily conclude that it must always be his wish, as it must be their own, to restore the issue of money from the Bank to its former situation; but they would also consider that their continuing the restriction could not reasonably produce the least alarm or apprehension, since they had now indisputable evidence before them that, so far from the gloomy predictions of those gentlemen who said that neither the Bank nor the national credit could survive the measure being verified, both had rapidly risen to the high condition of prosperity which had just been stated—and that not one of those inconveniences which had been so confidently predicted to result from the restriction, had even yet arisen to justify the apprehensions of those who at first so violently opposed that measure. He therefore would move for leave to continue the restriction; but before he did so he must premise that some of the provisions would require amendment. The House would see how low the advances to Government had been reduced—but they would hardly feel that the customary advances by the Bank upon the land and malt duties ought to be prohibited; yet as the law now stood they would; it therefore would be necessary to open the bill in that respect. He then moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill to continue the provisions in the former bill, for restraining cash payments at the Bank, and to amend and continue the other provisions in the same—which was granted *nem. con.*

Mr. WILBERFORCE BIRD said, that he rose for the purpose of moving for leave to bring in a bill to continue the act passed last session, for suspending the acts of the 15th and 17th of George the Third; but preliminary to his motion, he wished to be informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of some facts respecting the coin of the country, which might possibly have a tendency to render some of the provisions of his proposed bill unnecessary. First, he wished to know, whether the copper coinage for which the House had addressed the King had yet been made? and next, he wished to call the attention of the House to the coinage of silver; the silver now in circulation being as low in value and quality, as deficient in quantity: he therefore suggested the propriety of making a new coinage. He was aware that it might be alledged the inconvenience attending it would be great; but it should be considered that the quantity of silver bullion which was now in the Bank, and

was there a dead weight, would, if coined into money, increase the quantity of specie very considerably. There was certainly this objection to coining it, that it would be melted down as soon as the price of silver rose to a certain pitch; but he had heard, and did believe, that there were modes of preparing and making the silver so as to be coined with certain advantage to the country.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, in answer to the honourable gentleman's question, that a copper coinage had not only been for some time in forwardness, but had been in considerable quantities issuing for some time. On the subject of a coinage of silver, he had had some conversations with the Bank Directors, and the result was, that a coinage of silver was in contemplation—but he could not say whether it would be carried into effect time enough to obviate the necessity of the provisions of the honourable gentleman's bill. There was, however, another coinage in view, and this was not an improper occasion on which to announce it—a coinage of gold pieces, of the value of seven shillings. These were in forwardness, and nearly ready for delivery.

Mr. BIRD then moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill to continue the act passed last session, for repealing the acts of the 15th and 17th of George the Third, which was passed *nem. con.*

Mr. DENT expressed his sorrow, that by the rules of the House he was precluded from moving for a call of the House, in order to obtain a full attendance on the day when his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) was to open the budget. He thought it was extremely disgraceful to gentlemen of any party to absent themselves entirely from their duty in the House, particularly on so important an occasion; and he much wished he could enforce their attendance.

The SPEAKER said, there was no actual rule of the House against his moving for a call. It had indeed been the practice, though not a rule, to allow an interval of fourteen days, but it was competent to the honourable Member to move for this day se'nnight.

Mr. DENT—"Then, Sir, I move that there be a call of the House this day se'nnight."

The SPEAKER—"Who seconds that motion?"

Mr. HOBART—"I, Sir—move that the House do now adjourn;" and it was carried almost unanimously.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeffes, in Parliament assembled.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce of the TAXES for One Year, ending the 10th of October, 1797; distinguishing each Quarter: and distinguishing also the DUTIES imposed in 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797.

	In the QUARTERS ended				In the YEAR ended	
	5th JANUARY 1797.	5th APRIL 1797.	5th JULY 1797.	10th OCTOBER 1797.	10th OCTOBER 1797.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Consolidated Customs, after deducting 29,169l. 1s. 5d. computed quarterly sum to be carried to the duties pro anno 1796	909,485 4 5½	658,189 15 2½	252,038 2 6	1,269,335 14 8	3,089,048 16 10	
Consolidated Excise	1,862,520 2 5½	1,440,935 10 10½	1,952,364 18 0½	1,748,095 3 9	7,003,915 15 1½	
18,750l. reserved out of paper duty anno 1794, average quarterly produce of former duties then repealed	18,750 0 0	18,750 0 0	18,750 0 0	18,750 0 0	75,000 0 0	
9,000l. reserved out of spirit licences anno 1794, average quarterly produce of former duties then repealed	3,000 0 0	—	30,500 0 0	9,000 0 0	36,000 0 0	

Consolidated Stamps — —
2,369l. 17s. 9d. reserved out

£. s. d.
271,809 0 0

£. s. d.
270,762 0 0

£. s. d.
279,990 0 0

£. s. d.
307,187 10 16

£. s. d.
1,120,718 7 8

No

Nov. 17.]

DEBATES.

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	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated Stamps —	271,800	0	0	279,990	0	0	307,187	19	10	1,129,748	19	10			
2,369l. 17s. 9d. reserved out of duties on hats anno 1796, average quarterly produce of former duties then repealed —	877	0	0	2,369	17	9	2,369	17	9	10,454	8	9			
32,150l. reserved out of bills and receipts anno 1794, average quarterly produce of former duties then repealed	32,150	0	0	32,150	0	0	32,150	0	0	128,600	0	0			
10,269l. 15s. reserved out of the legacy duty anno 1796, average quarterly produce of former duties then repealed —	5,599	0	0	13,855	0	0	12,463	18	10	37,236	18	10			
	3,104,190	6	11	2,582,017	18	3½	3,399,352	14	10	11,509,030	1	7½			
Consolidated letter money, being the average quarterly produce of that duty prior to the year 1795 —	102,639	0	0	102,639	0	0	102,639	0	0	410,556	0	0			
Ditto salt —	111,538	18	11½	86,378	11	11½	100,383	15	7	380,909	2	1			
Seizures —	5,948	5	0	8,458	10	6¼	1,704	17	3	19,285	4	5½			
Profers —	32	5	9	307	0	0	283	12	6	654	16	3			
Compositions —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	4			
Alum mines —	—	—	—	—	—	—	480	0	0	960	0	0			

INCIDENTS:

Consolidated letter money, being the average quarterly produce of that duty prior to the year 1795 —
 Ditto salt —
 Seizures —
 Profers —
 Compositions —
 Alum mines —

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
6d. deduction on pensions	23,525	0	0	9,000	0	0	10,000	0	0	12,000	0	0	54,525	0	0
rs. ditto salaries	11,399	12	0	3,500	0	0	10,534	14	6	7,000	0	0	32,434	6	6½
Hawkers and pedlars	500	0	0	1,320	0	0	720	0	0	2,125	0	0	4,665	0	0
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1711	2,800	0	0	5,500	0	0	3,000	0	0	3,500	0	0	12,300	0	0
Ditto, 1784	3,000	0	0	—	—	—	2,800	0	0	3,500	0	0	11,800	0	0
Four-wheeled carriages	44,600	3	2	23,359	1	2¼	51,614	1	10	30,781	17	4½	150,355	3	6½
Two-wheeled ditto	17,239	19	7½	5,759	19	5	21,807	13	4½	6,292	14	2½	51,100	6	7½
Houses and windows	107,953	6	3½	53,555	7	4	127,511	0	1½	32,846	19	6½	321,866	13	4½
Inhabited houses	47,339	17	1¼	30,379	10	2	53,891	6	6½	34,863	19	2½	166,474	13	1½
First fruits of the Clergy	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,833	19	7½	—	—	—	3,833	19	7½
Tenth's ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,862	5	8¼	—	—	—	9,862	5	8¼
Lottery licences.															
Arrears of waggons	—	—	—	10	16	0	3	12	6	28	2	0	42	10	6
Ditto carts	0	14	0	—	1	18	2	16	3	9	12	0	15	0	3
Ditto men servants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	1	3	14	16	3
Ditto female servants	—	—	—	4	15	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto houses and windows 1747 and 1758.															
Rent of a light house	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	13	4	—	—	—	6	13	4
Horses	37,915	10	0	13,187	12	7	37,610	10	3½	14,523	8	5½	103,503	6	7½
Male servants	29,992	19	5	13,405	13	1½	37,876	15	6¼	13,718	19	9½	94,728	2	7½
Alienation duty	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,721	8	8	—	—	—	1,721	8	8
	546,426	11	4	347,909	1	6	570,580	0	10	366,690	19	3	1,832,606	12	11½

Nov. 17.]

DEBATES.

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DUTIES pro Anno 1793:

British spirits — —
Foreign ditto — —

VOL. IV.

DUTIES pro Anno 1794:

Sugar 1791 — —
Game duty — —
Bills and receipts, after re-
serving the computed quar-
terly average produce of
former duties as afore said
10l. per cent. 1791 — —
British spirits, 1794 — —
Foreign ditto — —
Spirit licences, after reserving
the computed quarterly ave-
rage produce of former du-
ties as afore said — —
Glaſs — —
Bricks and tiles—Excise — —
Ditto — Customs — —
Paper, (excise,) after reserving
the computed quarterly ave-
rage produce of former du-
ties as afore said — —
Ditto, Customs — —

L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
6,913	0	0	35,311	0	0	22,300	0	0	4,799	0	0	69,323	0	0
48,755	0	0	27,914	0	0	39,517	0	0	23,592	0	0	139,778	0	0
55,668	0	0	63,225	0	0	61,817	0	0	28,391	0	0	209,101	0	0
145,027	4	5	11,004	2	7	4,924	8	10	125,484	2	11	286,439	18	9
4,931	0	0	7,458	0	0	2,177	0	0	4,055	15	0	18,621	15	0
1,101	0	0	5,046	0	0	3,637	0	0	42,036	8	0	51,820	8	0
38,195	4	5½	8,225	4	9½	43,089	16	6½	16,324	4	7	105,834	10	4½
6,079	0	0	36,002	0	0	23,247	0	0	4,090	0	0	69,418	0	0
50,638	0	0	30,515	0	0	29,512	0	0	23,327	0	0	133,992	0	0
8,688	0	0	13,525	0	0	9,510	0	0	35,000	0	0	41,500	0	0
15	9	0	—	—	154	0	5½	12,064	0	0	43,787	0	0	
28,239	0	0	6,768	0	0	940	0	0	14,943	0	0	50,890	0	0
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	18	4	270	7	9½
18,193	0	0	19,092	0	0	16,997	0	0	21,243	0	0	75,525	0	0
2,321	17	6½	6	0	0	2,183	7	0½	1,015	5	8	5,526	10	3

	L. s. d.			L. s. d.			L. s. d.			L. s. d.			L. s. d.			L. s. d.		
Slates	—	—	—	3,155	18	6½	1,842	0	10	3,151	16	10½	4,000	3	2½	12,149	19	5½
Attornies articles	—	—	—	4,294	0	0	3,861	0	0	4,095	0	0	6,216	0	10	18,466	0	10
	310,878	13	11½	143,344	8	2½	143,618	9	9	143,618	9	9	309,899	18	6½	914,241	10	5½
DUTIES pro Anno 1795 :																		
British spirits	5,188	0	0	36,249	0	0	23,651	0	0	23,651	0	0	3,241	0	0	68,329	0	0
Foreign ditto	51,887	0	0	29,052	0	0	29,364	0	0	29,364	0	0	24,914	0	0	135,217	0	0
Wine	35,787	0	0	61,729	0	0	32,945	0	0	32,945	0	0	94,529	0	0	224,990	0	0
Sweets	980	0	0	929	0	0	1,673	0	0	1,673	0	0	2,561	0	0	5,943	0	0
Cocoa	8,214	0	0	5,592	0	0	4,920	0	0	4,920	0	0	5,367	0	0	24,093	0	0
Stamps	10,017	0	0	10,923	0	0	11,102	0	0	11,102	0	0	13,128	8	2	45,170	8	2
Ship policies	23,458	0	0	19,297	0	0	26,021	0	0	26,021	0	0	27,833	14	6	96,609	14	6
Hair-powder certificates	6,647	0	0	6,747	0	0	83,295	0	0	83,295	0	0	87,068	13	7	183,757	13	7
Receipts	1,172	0	0	1,660	0	0	1,272	0	0	1,272	0	0	2,571	6	9	6,675	6	9
Fruits, &c.	35,242	12	1	12,409	5	9	20,909	16	10	20,909	16	10	21,895	5	4	90,457	0	0
Tea	50,020	0	0	1,812	0	0	98,643	0	0	98,643	0	0	61,357	0	0	211,832	0	0
Coals	9,119	7	1½	756	18	3	4,354	6	8½	4,354	6	8½	5,321	12	11½	19,552	5	0½
Consolidated letter money, bearing the computed quarterly increase of revenue, by reason of the restriction of franking by act 35 Geo. III.	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0	40,000	0	0
	247,731	19	2½	197,156	4	0	348,150	3	6½	348,150	3	6½	359,588	1	3½	1,152,626	8	0½

DUTIES pro Anno 1796:

Horses — —
 Tobacco — —
 Horse-dealers licences — —
 Wines, Excise — —
 Wines, Customs — —
 Sweets — —
 Legacies, after reserving the
 computed quarterly produce
 of former duties as afore-
 said.

Hats ditto ditto
 Two shillings additional duty
 on horses — —

Dogs — —
 10l. per cent. — —
 The computed quarterly fav-
 ouring, by reducing the allow-
 ance for waste on salt — —
 Taken out of the consolidated

customs, the computed quar-
 terly saving to the public on
 account of the reduction on
 the drawbacks on the ex-
 portation of sugar —

Nov. 17.]

DEBATES.

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L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
16,530	0	0	4,230	0	0	33,635	0	0	12,100	0	0	66,495	0	0	49,411	8	0
44,637	0	0	39,511	0	0	39,968	0	0	37,469	0	0	161,585	0	0	66,140	0	0
342	0	0	277	0	0	221	0	0	327	11	9	1,167	11	9	44,715	0	0
97,314	0	0	2,555	0	0	98,109	0	0	3,124	0	0	201,102	0	0	101,760	0	7
57,252	12	8½	49,860	7	6	79,329	16	11½	71,405	12	7½	248,848	9	9½	32,000	0	0
985	0	0	957	0	0	1,729	0	0	2,444	0	0	6,115	0	0			
—	—	—	13,978	6	9	8,551	2	3	26,881	19	0						
18,175	0	0	4,520	0	0	35,595	0	0	7,850	0	0						
4,770	0	0	1,525	0	0	29,970	0	0	8,450	0	0						
27,478	15	8½	8,517	8	6¼	45,713	11	6¼	20,050	4	9						
8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0						
29,169	1	5	29,169	1	5	29,169	1	5	29,169	1	5	116,676	5	8			
304,653	9	10	163,100	4	2½	400,990	12	2¼	227,271	9	6½	1,096,990	13	6½			

DUTIES pro Anno 1797:

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Duty on pepper	—	—	—	—	—	—	19,301	18	3	19,301	18	3
zol. per cent.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
British spirits	—	—	—	31,831	0	0	4,481	0	0	59,778	0	0
Foreign ditto	—	—	—	23,958	0	0	21,906	0	0	69,654	0	0
Auctions	—	—	—	2,242	0	0	9,445	0	0	21,805	0	0
Deeds	—	—	—	14,853	0	0	20,975	0	0	144,295	15	6
Cocoa	—	—	—	1,314	0	0	651	0	0	2,839	0	0
gl. per cent. customs	—	—	—	500	0	6	—	—	—	500	0	6
Stage coaches	—	—	—	3,075	0	0	10,878	0	0	27,994	2	8
Sugar	—	—	—	5,093	14	8½	24,653	10	10	150,202	2	9
Bricks	—	—	—	—	—	—	271	0	0	7,973	0	0
Tea	—	—	—	—	—	—	117,319	0	0	159,258	0	0
Surplus of consolidated letter money, after reserving the several sums of 102,639l. and 10,000l. pursuant to act 37 Geo. III.	10,361	0	0	12,361	0	0	33,361	0	0	94,444	0	0
	10,361	0	0	95,227	15	2½	262,925	10	10	760,044	19	8

TOTALS.

L. s. d.

TOTALS.

Total of Customs, Excise, and

Stamps — —

Ditto Incidents — —

Ditto Duties pro Anno 1793

Ditto — — 1794

Ditto — — 1795

Ditto — — 1796

Ditto — — 1797

L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
3,104,190	6	11	2,430,943	19	4	2,582,017	18	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,399,352	14	10	11,509,930	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
546,426	11	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	347,909	1	6	570,580	0	10	366,690	19	3	1,831,606	12	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
55,668	0	0	63,225	0	0	61,817	0	0	28,391	0	0	209,101	0	0
310,878	13	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	143,344	8	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	143,618	9	9	309,899	18	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	914,241	10	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
247,731	19	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	197,156	4	0	348,150	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	359,588	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,152,626	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
304,653	9	10	163,100	4	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	400,990	12	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	227,271	9	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,096,990	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
10,361	0	0	95,227	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	262,925	10	10	391,530	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	760,044	19	8
4,579,910	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,440,906	12	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,370,099	15	5	5,082,724	17	1	17,473,641	6	3 $\frac{1}{4}$

MEMORANDUM.—In the above account where the several sums set apart as the average produce of repealed duties, exceeds what is directed to be reserved quarterly; it is to make good former deficiencies; and where less, the whole sum taken has been applied.

JAMES FISHER.

Exchequer,
the 14th day of November 1797.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-
geſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

An ACCOUNT of the Income of, and Charges upon,
the CONSOLIDATED FUND, for the Quarter
ended the 10th of October, 1797.

INCOME.

	£.	s.	d.
Customs	1,286,106	8	9
Excise	1,724,299	0	0
Stamps	301,187	19	10
Salt	100,383	15	7
Letter money by act 37 Geo. III.	£. 102,639	0	0
Ditto by ditto	10,000	0	0
Surplus of letter money	35,361	0	0
Alum mines	480	0	0
Seizures	1,241	17	6
Profers	283	12	6
Hawkers and pedlars	1,910	0	0
Hackney coaches	7,000	0	0
Houſes and windows	29,846	19	6
Houſes	34,863	19	2
Male ſervants	13,718	19	9
Horſes	14,523	8	5
Four-wheeled carriages	30,781	17	4
Two-wheeled ditto	6,242	14	2
6d. per lib. on penſions	12,000	0	0
1s. ditto ſalaries	7,000	0	0
British ſpirits, 1791	4,799	0	0
Foreign ditto	23,592	0	0
Sugar	125,484	2	11
Bills and receipts	32,150	0	8
Surplus of ditto	42,036	0	0
Game duty	4,055	15	0
10l. per cent.	16,324	4	7
British ſpirits, 1794	4,090	0	0
Foreign ditto	23,327	0	0
Attornies articles	6,216	0	10
Glaſs	12,064	0	0
Bricks (Excife)	14,943	0	0
Ditto (Customs)	100	18	4
Paper, ditto	1,015	5	8
Slates and ſtones	4,000	3	2
Diſtillers' licences	9,000	0	0
Surplus of ditto	35,000	0	0
Paper (Excife)	18,750	0	0
Surplus of ditto	21,243	0	0
British ſpirits, 1795	3,241	0	0
Foreign ditto	24,014	0	0
Cocoa, &c.	5,367	0	0
Tea	61,357	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Fruit, &c.	21,895	5	4
Coals, &c.	5,321	12	11½
Hair-powder certificates	87,068	13	7
Wine	94,529	0	0
Sweets	2,361	0	0
Ship policies	27,833	14	6
Receipts	2,571	6	9
Stamps	13,128	8	2
Tobacco, &c. 1796	37,469	0	0
Horse-dealers' licences	327	11	9
Salt	8,000	0	0
10l. per cent.	20,050	4	9
Horses	12,100	0	0
25. duty on ditto	7,850	0	0
Wines (Customs)	71,405	12	7½
Ditto (Excise)	3,124	0	0
Sweets	2,444	0	0
Hats	£. 2,369	17	9
Surplus of ditto	26,881	19	0
Legacies	12,463	18	10
Dogs	8,450	0	0
Sugar, 1797	120,454	17	2½
Bricks (Excise)	7,702	0	0
Cocoa nuts	874	0	0
Tea	41,939	0	0
British spirits	4,481	0	0
Foreign ditto	23,790	0	0
Stage coaches	14,041	2	8
Auctions	10,118	0	0
5l. per cent.			
Deeds	108,467	15	6
Pepper	19,301	18	3
20l. per cent.	2,000	0	0
Arrears of Taxes	{ Female servants — — — 9 1 3 { Carts — — — — — 9 12 0 { Waggon — — — — — 28 2 0		
Arrears of 55th, 56th, 57th, and 58th, 4s. aid per annis 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794	21,608	5	4½
Money paid by A. Newland, Esq. on account of the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer bills by act 35 Geo. III.	36,000	0	0
Ditto by Edward Roberts, Esq. arising from the residue of Exchequer fees	38,350	2	5
Ditto by Thomas Bullock, Esq. Agent for the late province of Senegambia	1,000	0	0
Ditto by Claude Scott, Esq. on account of corn sold for the use of Government	30,000	0	0
Imprest money re-paid by Colonel Tottenham	1,000	0	0
Ditto by James Bruce, Esq. Governor of the island of Dominica	130	0	0
	£. 5,161,940	14	0½

C H A R G E.

EXCHEQUER.

	£.	s.	d.
Annuities, 2-7ths excise, for 2 and 3 lives, for three months, due 10th October 1797	2,048	18	0
— 3,700l. per week, excise, with the salaries to the officers of the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, for three months, due 10th October 1797	7,957	11	8
— Anno 1706, with ditto, for ditto	6,181	2	10 ¹
— Anno 1707, with ditto, for ditto	2,038	0	6 ¹
— Per 1st act 1708, with ditto, for ditto	1,229	13	1 ¹
— Per 2d act 1708, with ditto, for ditto	2,649	6	3 ⁴
— On lives, with benefit of survivorship, for six months, ditto	270	0	0
— In classes, by act 29 Geo. III. for six months, ditto	21,431	0	6

SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.

Annuity and management of 24,065,084l. 13s. 11 ¹ / ₂ d. their present capital, for three months, due 10th October 1797	183,993	13	5 ¹ / ₂
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BANK OF ENGLAND.

Annuity, on their capital of 4,000,000l. at 3l. per cent. per ann. purchased of the South-Sea Company, for three months, due 10th October 1797	30,474	10	10 ¹ / ₂
— on their capital of 3,200,000l. at 3l. per cent. per ann. due ditto	25,000	0	0
— on their capital of 500,000l. at ditto, due ditto	3,750	0	0
— 1,250,000l. at ditto, due ditto	9,375	0	0
— 1,750,000l. at ditto, due ditto	13,125	0	0
— 986,000l. at ditto, due ditto	7,401	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Annuity at 4l. per cent. per ann. on the principal sum of 36,100,000l. for half a year, to 10th Oct. 1797	830,000	0	0
— For answering and paying the charges of management of the said annuities, for the same time, after abating 114l. 1s. 6d. for the half of 228l. 3s. in respect of 507,000l. purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt before the 10th October 1797	9,223	8	6

839,223 8 6

For answering and paying half a year's annuity at 4l. per cent. due the said 10th October 1797, on 764,861l. 5s. 10d. being the

amount of the annuities to which the proprietors of navy, victualing and transport bills, delivered up to be cancelled, pursuant to the act of 37 Geo. III. are entitled

£. s. d.

15,297 4 6

For answering and paying half a year's annuity, at 4l. per cent. due the said 10th October 1797, on 104,432l. 5s. 8d. being the amount of the annuities to which the proprietors of Exchequer bills delivered up to be cancelled, pursuant to the said act 37 Geo. III. are entitled

2,088 12 11

For answering and paying half a year's annuity, at 4l. per cent. due the said 10th October 1797, to such of the contributors towards raising 14,500,000l. granted by an act 37 Geo. III. towards the supply of the year 1797, as have completed their whole payments on 1,865,263l. 17s. 9³/₄d. on or before 7th October 1797

£. s. d.
37,305 5 6¹/₂

893,914 11 5¹/₂

For answering and paying half a year's annuity on 41,540,073l. 16s. 4d. in reduced annuities, due the said 10th October 1797

623,101 2 1¹/₂

For satisfying and paying the charges of management of the said annuities, for the same time, after abating the sum of 1,406l. 10s. being after the rate of 450l. per million, on the principal sum of 6,250,000l. purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt before the 5th April 1797

7,940 5 4

For answering and paying half a year's annuity, due the said 10th October, on 4,500,000l. granted by an act 36 Geo. III.

for raising 18,000,000l. £. s. d.
for the service of the year 1796 — 67,500 0 0

For satisfying and paying the charges of management of the

faid annuities for two
years, due faid 10th
October 1797

£. s. d.

4,050 0 0 £. s. d.
71,550 0 0

For answering and pay-
ing half a year's an-
nuity, due the faid
10th October 1797, on
1,895,625l. to which
1,875,000l. granted
by one other act 36
Geo. III. for raising
7,500,000l. for the
service of the faid year
1796 is reduced, the
fum of 15,375l. hav-
ing been forfeited by
fundry persons not
completing their whole
payments

27,894 7 6

For fatisfying and pay-
ing the charges of ma-
nagement of the faid
annuities, on 836l.
16s. 7d. per annum
for one year and half,
due the faid 10th Oc-
tober 1797

1,255 4 10½

29,149 12 4½

For answering and paying half a
year's annuity, due the faid 10th
October 1797, to fuch of the
contributors for raising 14,500,000l.
purfuant to the 2d act 37th
Geo. III. for the service of the
year 1797, as made good their
whole payments on or before the
7th October 1797

82,121 7 1

813,862 6 11

For answering and paying the an-
nuities granted for 99, 98, 80,
78, 77, 75½, 69¼, 66¼, and 65¼
years, grown due for the half year,
ended the 10th October 1797

426,515 19 2

For fatisfying and paying the
charges of management of the
faid annuities, for the fame time

4,798 6 1

431,314 6 1

For answering and pay-
ing the annuities
granted for 6¼ years

by an act 36 Geo. III. *£. s. d.*
for the half year, ended
10th October 1797 29,250 0 0

For satisfying and pay-
ing the charges of ma-
nagement, at 658l.
2s. 6d. per annum, for
two years, ended the
said 10th October
1797 —

£. s. d.
1,316 5 0

30,566 5 0

For answering and pay-
ing the annuities
granted for 64½ years
by act 36 Geo. III.
for the half year ended
10th October 1797,
the annuity of 42l.
12s. 6d. part thereof
being forfeited by cer-
tain persons neglect-
ing to complete their
whole payments 10,291 3 9

For satisfying and pay-
ing the charges of ma-
nagement of the said
annuities, at 231l. 11s.
per ann. for 1½ year,
due ditto —

317 6 6

10,638 10 3

For answering and paying the an-
nuities granted by an act 37 Geo.
III. for 62 years and 9 months,
to such of the contributors for
raising 14,500,000l. for the ser-
vice of the year 1797, who com-
pleted their whole payments on
or before 7th October 1797, for
half a year, due ditto —

£. s. d.
14,909 12 6

487,428 13 0

Annuities for 30, 28, and 18½
years, by acts 18, 19, and 29
Geo. III. for 6 months, due ditto

209,166 10 5½

Annuities for satisfying and paying
the charges of management of the
said annuities, for the same time

2,353 2 5¼

211,519 12 10½

Annuities by acts 4 and 5 William
and Mary, commonly called 14l.
per cents. which ceased on 14th
February 1792, and are to be
placed to the account of the

E f 2

commissioners for reducing the national debt, for 3 months, due 10th October 1797	—	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
		12,128	15	7½			
Annuities for 96 years, by acts 5th and 6th of the same reign, which ceased at 5th February 1792, and are to be placed to the account of the said commissioners		1,591	8	0			
Annuities for 10 years, by act 17 Geo. III. which ceased on 5th April 1787, and are to be placed to the account of the said commissioners, for 6 months, due 10th October 1797	—				13,710	3	7½
For answering and paying half a year's annuity, due 10th October 1797, at 5l. per cent. per ann. to such of the contributors for raising 18,000,000l. for the service of the year 1797, as completed their whole payments on 2,378,362l. 10s. part thereof, on or before the 2d April 1797, the said contributors being entitled to 112l. 10s. capital stock for every 100l. subscribed	—				12,500	0	0
For answering and paying one year's annuity, due the said 10th October 1797, at 5l. per cent. per ann. to such of the contributors for raising the said 18,000,000l. as did not complete their whole payments on or before the said 2d April 1797, but completed the same on or before the 7th October 1797, on 10,859,512l. 10s.	—	59,459	1	3			
	—	542,975	12	6	602,434	13	9
For the support of His Majesty's household, for three months, due 10th October 1797	—				224,500	0	0
To Edward Roberts, Esq. first Clerk to the Clerk of the Pells, on 650l. per ann. formerly paid to the Auditor of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, for salaries to the officers of the Exchequer Bill-office, and now payable to him per act 23 Gij. tij. Rs. for three months, due ditto	—				162	10	0
To Ann Cals, late office-keeper in the office for managing the former duties on wine licences, for ditto	—				5	0	0
To the Judges of England and Wales, on their several additional allowances, for ditto	—				3,262	10	0

	£.	s.	d.
To His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, on his annuity of 8,000l. for three months, due 10th October 1797	2,000	0	0
To ditto, on ditto, 9,000l. for ditto	2,250	0	0
To the Representatives of Arthur Onslow, Esq. on ditto of 3,000l. for ditto	750	0	0
To the Earl of Chatham, on ditto of 4,000l. for ditto	1,000	0	0
To Lord Rodney, on ditto of 2,000l. for ditto	500	0	0
To Lord Heathfield, on ditto of 1,500l. for ditto	375	0	0
To Lady Dorchester, on ditto of 1,000l. for ditto	250	0	0
To the Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of the Imprest, on ditto of 7,000l. for ditto	1,750	0	0
To Philip Deare, Esq. late a deputy ditto, on ditto of 300l. for ditto	75	0	0
To John Wigglesworth, ditto, on ditto of 300l. for ditto	75	0	0
To Charles Harris, Esq. late clerk in the office of ditto, on ditto of 20l. for ditto	50	0	0
To Sir Wm. Musgrave, Bart. one of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts, on 1,000l. for ditto	250	0	0
To John Thomas Batt, Esq. another, on 1,000l. for ditto	250	0	0
To William Chamberlayne, Esq. another, on 1,000l. for ditto	250	0	0
To Sir John Dick, Bart. another, on 500l. for ditto	125	0	0
To John Martin Leake, Esq. another, on 500l. for ditto	125	0	0
For salaries to clerks, and for contingencies in the office of the said commissioners, for ditto	1,500	0	0
To Sir George Yonge, master and worker of His Majesty's Mint in England, for ditto	3,450	0	0
To the Commissioners appointed for the reduction of the national debt, for the quarter ended 10th October 1797	250,000	0	0
To the Sheriffs of England and Wales, to enable them to take out their letters patent for their respective offices, and for passing their accounts for one year, ended 10th October 1797	4,000	0	0

Annuities of 1l. per cent. per ann. to be placed to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt, one quarter ended 10th October 1797.

	£.	s.	d.
On the capital stock of 6,250,000l. 3l. per cent. annuities, created by an act 33 Gij. tij.	15,625	0	0
On ditto of 11,000,000l. 3l. per cent. annuities, ditto 34 Gij. tij.	27,500	0	0
On ditto of 2,750,000l. 4l. per cent. annuities, ditto ditto	6,875	0	0
On the sum of 9,680l. per ann. being 1l. per cent. on the future actual value of the annuity of 11s. 5d. per cent. on the afore-mentioned act for 11,000,000l. granted for 66 $\frac{1}{4}$ years, by the			

	£.	s.	d.
faid last-mentioned act, at the end of 45 years, reckoning the same at the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann	2,420	0	0
On the capital stock of 1,926,525l. 12s. 5d. 5l. per cent. annuities, created by an act 34 Gij. tij. in lieu of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled	4,816	6	3
On ditto of 18,000,000l. 3l. per cent. annuities, created by an act 35 Gij. tij. — —	45,000	0	0
On ditto of 6,000,000l. 4l. per cent. annuities, created by ditto ditto — —	15,000	0	0
On ditto of 12,835l. being 1l. per cent. per ann. on the future actual value of the annuity of 9s. 6d. per cent. on the afore-mentioned 18,000,000l. granted for 65½ years, by the said act, at the end of 45 years, reckoning the same at the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann.	3,208	15	0
On ditto of 1,609,897l. 17s. 1d. 5l. per cent. annuities, created by an act 35 Geo. III. in lieu of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled	4,024	14	10½
On ditto of 21,595,800l. part of 21,600,000l. 3l. per cent. annuities, created in respect of 18,000,000l. borrowed in pursuance of an act 36 Gij. tij. after deducting 4,200l. forfeited by certain contributors not completing their payments	53,989	10	0
On ditto of 4,500,000l. 3l. per cent. created by the last-mentioned act, in respect of the said loan	11,250	0	0
On the sum of 8,460l. being 1l. per cent. per annum, on the future actual value of the annuity of 6s. 6d. per cent. on the aforesaid 18,000,000l. granted for 64½ years, at the end of 45 years, reckoning the same at the rate of 3l. per cent. per annum —	2,115	0	0
On the capital stock of 8,934,000l. part of 9,000,000l. 3 per cent. consolidated annuities, created in respect of 7,500,000l. borrowed in pursuance of an act 36 Gij. tij. after deducting 65,800l. forfeited by certain contributors not completing their payments	22,335	10	0
On ditto of 1,859,625l. part of 1,875,000l. 3l. per cent. annui-			

ties, created by the last-mentioned act, after deducting 15,375l. forfeited by certain contributors not completing their payments	£.	s.	d.
	4,649	1	3
On the sum of 2,925l. being 1l. per cent. per annum on the future actual value of the annuity of 5s. 6d. per cent. on the aforesaid 7,500,000l. granted for 63½ years, at the end of 45 years, reckoning the same at 3l. per cent. per ann. — —	731	5	•
On the capital stock of 4,414,074l. 4s. 6d. 5l. per cent. annuities, created by an act 36 Gij. tij. in lieu of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled	11,035	3	8½
On ditto of 16,441,175l. 4s. 10d. 3l. per cent. annuities, by the said act, in lieu of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled — —	41,102	18	9
On ditto of 764,861l. 5s. 10d. 4l. per cent. annuities, by the said act, in lieu of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled	1,912	3	0¾
On ditto of 2,024,228l. 18s. 9d. 5l. per cent. annuities, in lieu of navy bills delivered up to be cancelled — —	5,076	9	9¾
On ditto of 1,999,699l. 4s. 4d. 3l. per cent. annuities, by the said act, in lieu of Exchequer bills delivered up to be cancelled	4,999	4	11½
On ditto of 104,432l. 5s. 8d. 4l. per cent. annuities, by act 37 Gij. tij. in lieu of Exchequer bills delivered up to be cancelled	261	1	7
On ditto of 270,202l. 4s. 8d. 5l. per cent. annuities, by the said act, in lieu of Exchequer bills delivered up to be cancelled — —	675	10	1
On ditto of 20,210,321l. 5s. 5l. per cent. annuities, part of 20,250,000l. granted by act 37 Gij. tij. Rs. for raising 18,000,000l. the sum of 40,668l. 15s. being forfeited by certain contributors not completing their whole payments	50,523	6	6¾
On ditto of 18,125,000l. 3l. per cent. consol. annuities, being the additional capital of 25l. per cent. on 14,500,000l. borrowed for the service of the year 1797	45,312	10	•

On the capital stock of 7,250,000l.	£.	s.	d.	
3l. per cent. reduced annuities, being the additional capital of 50l. per cent. on the said 14,500,000l.	—	—	—	18,125 0 0
On ditto of 2,900,000l. 4l. per cent. annuities, granted by 37 Gij. tij. Rs. being the additional capital of 20l. per cent. on the said 14,500,000l.	—	—	—	7,250 0 0
On the sum of 5,920l. per annum, being 1l. per cent. per ann. on the future actual value of 6s. per cent. per ann. on 14,500,000l. granted by act 37 Gij. tij. Rs. for 62½ years, at the end of 45 years, reckoning the same at 3l. per cent. per ann.	—	—	—	1,480 0 0
On the capital stock of 3,669,300l. Imperial annuities, created in re- spect of 1,620,000l. raised by act 37 Gij. tij.	—	—	—	9,173 5 0
				416,466 15 10½
To John Penn, Esq. of Stoke Pogis, Berks, on his an- nuity of 3,000l. for 3 months, due 10th October 1797	£.	s.	d.	750 0 0
To Richard Penn, Esq. of Queen Anne Street, Mid- dlesex, on ditto of 1,000l. for ditto	—	—	—	250 0 0
To his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, on ditto of 12,000l. for ditto	—	—	—	3,000 0 0
To his Royal Highness the Duke of York, on ditto of 14,000l. for ditto	—	—	—	3,500 0 0
To her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, on ditto of 4,000l. for ditto	—	—	—	1,000 0 0
To his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, on ditto of 65,000l. for ditto	—	—	—	16,250 0 0
To John Reeves, Esq. Receiver of the seven Public Offices of Police in or near the metropolis, for the more effectual administration of the office of a Justice of Peace	—	—	—	2,800 0 0
To George Atwood, Esq. Inspector of Tontine Cer- tificates, to defray certain expences attending the execution of an act 30th Geo. III.	—	—	—	350 0 0
To the Clerk of the Hanaper in the Court of Chan- cery, towards defraying the charges for salaries and allowances in that office, for one year ended 10th October 1797	—	—	—	2,663 12 6
To Thomas Marsham, Esq. Secretary to the Com- missioners for issuing Exchequer bills to a limited amount, by acts 35 and 37 Gij. tij. Rs. for expences attending the execution of the said acts	—	—	—	500 0 0

	£.	s.	d.
To Robert Jennings, Esq. to be by him distributed to the several persons who have been employed at the receipt of the Exchequer in making out and issuing the said Exchequer bills	750	0	0
To pay off and cancel Exchequer bills made out pursuant to an act 25 Geo. tij. Rs.	6,858	12	0
To the Clerks in the office of the Clerk of the Pells, for their service in executing the acts 29 Geo. tij. Rs. for granting annuities on lives, for 6 months, due 10th October 1797	440	0	0

TOTAL Charge on the Consolidated Fund, for the quarter ended 10th October 1797	4,304,838	19	51
SURPLUS of ditto for ditto	857,101	14	7½
	£. 5,161,940	14	0¼

Memorandum—The above sum of 857,101l. 14s. 7½d. is to be applied as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
To complete the sum of 2,895,000l. granted out of the Consolidated Fund for the service of the year 1795	204,296	18	7
In part of 2,000,000l. granted out of the Consolidated Fund for the service of the year 1797	652,804	16	0¼
	£. 857,101	14	7½

Exchequer,
the 14th day of November 1797.

JAMES FISHER.

Monday, November 20.

The House went into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Hobart in the chair.

The SECRETARY AT WAR rose to move the usual resolutions on the army estimates. He said that before troubling the House with any detail of the objects of the resolutions which he was about to propose, he should take notice of one circumstance in the army estimates of the present year, which, if not explained, might occasion some embarrassment. It would be seen that a change had taken place in the estimates this year upon several articles—a change which was not proportional to the articles themselves. This circumstance was to be accounted for three ways; all these, however, originated in the increase of pay to the subaltern officers, or non-commissioned officers and privates voted last year.

This change has occasioned an obvious increase of expence. Besides this increase, a different allotment had taken place of the articles to which it applied. This circumstance caused an obvious increase on the face of the estimate, because several charges which it had been customary to class with the army extraordinaries were now provided for on estimate. This occasioned an apparent rise in the estimate without any expence to the public, as there would be a proportional saving in the department to which the charges thus transferred formerly belonged. Notwithstanding this increase on the face of the estimate, he was happy to state to the House, that compared with the estimates of last year, there was in the sum total of both a saving this year to the amount of about 652,000*l*. But if the House was desirous to ascertain the real difference of the expence of last year and of the present, it would be necessary to take out of the estimate that sum which last year was classed among the army extraordinaries. The amount of this sum was 300,000*l*, so that the difference on the face of the estimate, with this 300,000*l*. amounted to 900,000*l*. This, however, was not all. Another change had taken place, arising out of the increase of pay last year. Troops on foreign stations were furnished by Government with provisions, and on this account 2*d*. per day for each man was stopped, in consequence of the new regulation of pay 6*d*. per man out of the pay of such troops would revert to Government. The amount of the expence thus to be deducted, could not be stated with perfect accuracy, but as far as it could be calculated, it was with a good deal of confidence supposed, that it might amount to 100,000*l*. making in all, with the former two articles of 652,000*l*. and 300,000*l*. a saving of about one million. Here, perhaps too, it might be necessary to mention another reduction which might be expected; in the estimate of the amount of guards and garrisons, it was well known that the statement given was above what they were at the commencement of the year, though they might amount to the total stated by degrees, in the progress of the recruiting service. From this it was evident, that the whole of the sum calculated on the full establishment would not be wanted. For this article then it was thought that the sum of 100,000*l*. might be cut off, and added to the amount of the saving already stated. It may be satisfactory to the House likewise to state, that there would be a saving in the foreign corps, although their not being upon estimate, properly do not belong to this department. As the accounts upon the table shew the particular articles of expence in a manner much more clear than any verbal statement, it might be unnecessary to enter into the details; he should therefore only

state the most prominent points for the satisfaction of such gentlemen as might not find it convenient to examine the whole of the accounts.

The whole of the regular force then would amount to 78,627 men. These consisted of guards and garrisons, that is, the regular forces in Great Britain and the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, which amounted to 48,609 men, and of the troops in the plantations, including all other regular force except that in Ireland and the East Indies, making 30,018 men. The militia and fencibles had been a little reduced, and amounted to about 55,291 men. The fencible cavalry would bear some reduction, as several of them had been sent to Ireland: these, however, amounted to about 6,911 men, making in all of regular and irregular force 140,829 men.

On the other points he should only remark that it was expected that a considerable saving would take place on the head of recruiting contingencies. There was a little reduction on the head of general and staff officers. Even with the allowance of the extra feed there would be some reduction on the head of fencible cavalry, not as an absolute gain to the public on this branch, because part of it would be classed under a different department. With regard to supernumerary officers there would likewise be a saving there, because it was intended that many of those now on whole pay should be put upon half pay. The next point was of less importance, but he should take notice of it as a peculiarity in the estimate. It would be seen there was no change upon the War-office. In consequence of the suggestion of the Committee of Finance, it was proposed to change the fees which had hitherto been received into fixed salaries. For his own part, however, he doubted whether this would be a real advantage to the public. He had always been of opinion, that business consisting of a great many small particulars, would be much better done by connecting it in some measure with an increase of pay to the performer, that the remuneration should consist partly in fixed salary, partly in fees, taking care, however, that the sum of the fees should not amount to a larger sum than was necessary to furnish a sufficient motive to regular diligence and attention—that they should be, as was the case in the War-office, of such a nature as to prevent the danger of exaction, and providing, as was not the case in the War-office, that they should not rise beyond what was fit. What evils might arise from the change he should not now argue; he was sure that in the War-office the business would continue to be conducted with the usual punctuality. He was not sure, however, that this would

always be the case. Perhaps in twenty years the business might not be managed with the same attention when the motive no longer existed. Though these evils might result from a new arrangement, yet the sums arising from this quarter at present would be more than was necessary for the highest rate of fixed salary. Whether the public would ultimately gain or lose remained to be seen. It had been falsely represented, as if the amount of the fees at present was a permanent and a regular sum. Nothing could be more erroneous. It depended upon peace or war, and varied even during years of war. Whether the public was to gain or lose therefore would depend upon the proportion of the periods of peace and war. At present the variation in the amount was at least in the proportion of fifteen to one. Another article, the allowance to innkeepers, this year, would afford a reduction, as the sum allotted last year for this object was rather more than was required. On the whole of the present estimate, the House would see with pleasure that there would be a saving of at least one million. He concluded with moving the first resolution, relative to the amount of the troops under the denomination of guards and garrisons.

The question being put,

General FITZPATRICK said, that he did not mean to waste his own time, or what was more important, the time of others, in remarks upon the estimates, which the House of Commons had of late years been in the habits of voting as mere matters of course. But the subject to which he wished to draw the attention of the Committee, or rather that of His Majesty's Ministers, was strictly within the business of that day, being no other than to suggest a material, and in his mind, a beneficial alteration, in the constitution of the military force of these kingdoms. At present, he rose to suggest a material alteration in the mode of recruiting the army. An addition of pay had been voted to the army for the purpose, as it was said, of contributing to the comfort of the situation of our soldiers. He would venture to say, that if the regulation which he was about to suggest were adopted, it would be of infinitely more advantage to the service, and contribute more to the comfort of the soldier, than any augmentation of pay; while without any addition to the public expence it would form a most important addition to the national strength and security. It has often been observed, that in this country, where we boasted of so high a degree of liberty, the condition of the soldier was worse than in any other place in Europe. Here the soldier was bound to serve for life. In other parts of Europe, the period of service was limited. When the circumstances in which a man enters the service, the time, the

mode, and sometimes the culpable method employed to entrap men into the service, which in some measure continued, notwithstanding the laudable exertions used by the present illustrious Commander in Chief to discourage the practice, were considered, many reasons would occur why the period of service should be fixed, and humanity would alone prompt us to embrace such a measure. This idea was not new. He had voted for such a measure twenty years ago, when brought forward by Colonel Barre, and then the period of service was fixed at six years. If that bill had then passed, he would appeal to the House whether the nation would not now have felt a very great additional security in knowing that there were spread over the country so many men accustomed to the use of arms. If humanity would prompt us to such a measure when we viewed the state of the foldier, it was a question of policy when it was considered whether such a regulation would be beneficial or injurious to the service. In his opinion it would tend to improve the army. When it was proposed at the period alluded to, objections were urged against it, neither very numerous, nor, as he thought, very important. These objections came, indeed, from professional men, and this circumstance probably had considerable weight with the House. He begged leave to say, however, that in their opinion there might be some degree of prejudice. It was natural that Colonels of regiments, who felt some pride in the appearance of their troops, might be unwilling to part with men to whom the credit they received was in part owing. It might be considered too as calculated to give additional trouble to the Adjutants in training the new recruits. These considerations, however, were greatly over-balanced by the advantages with which the measure would be attended. He had already mentioned the advantage of having spread over the country a number of men accustomed to the use of arms. But even the army itself would be improved. The foldiers who were the most orderly, most attentive to their duty, most attached to the service, those who looked forward to promotion as non-commissioned officers, would remain, and those only who were not attached to the service, would withdraw. It would tend likewise to render desertion less frequent, the punishment of which, though necessary for the preservation of the army, could not but be lamented by humanity. It would likewise diminish the frequency of severe punishments, which in the present constitution of the army, were necessary for its support and discipline. All these considerations he merely suggested in order to induce His Majesty's Ministers to turn their attention to the subject. He had no intention himself of bringing forward any proposition of the nature he had stated. The

state of Parliament at present was not such as could encourage him to take up the design. He should like better, besides, that His Majesty's Ministers should take up the subject, because if the regulation were adopted, they could best provide for its being carried into effect. He was not sure even, whether a legislative measure was necessary. As the Constitution had placed the army under the management of the Crown, such a mode of enlisting the men for a certain period, would obtain the object in view. Last war men had been raised upon the condition of serving three years, or three years and during the war. This mode was attended with some inconvenience, as the whole army became, in a manner, disbanded at once: but this was owing to the words, "or at the end of the war," which were improvidently added to the condition of their service. Notwithstanding this embarrassment, Government at the end of last war, strictly kept its faith to the men enlisted upon these terms. For his own part, however, he should prefer some legislative provision. In this he was confirmed by observing, that in some cases to which he had called the attention of the House, Government did not seem to have kept its faith with the men so strictly as was proper. It was not his intention to bring forward such a measure when the House was thinner than usual, from causes which it was not necessary to discuss at the present moment; knowing as he did the state of Parliament, he was aware that it would be idle and nugatory to attempt any such thing without the concurrence of His Majesty's Ministers. It was observed by Mr. Burke upon a certain occasion, when he thought that Parliament had surrendered its functions to His Majesty's Ministers, that in such a situation of affairs Parliament was a place where unimportant individuals had a right to confer with the Ministers of a great Monarch. Of this right he now availed himself to suggest to Ministers what they might do with advantage to the country, and he earnestly solicited their consideration of the subject.

The SECRETARY AT WAR thought that the measure suggested by the right honourable gentleman (General Fitzpatrick) was a measure fraught with considerable difficulties; it was difficult at all times to effect any change in the present constitution of the army; but it would be a task arduous indeed to attempt it in time of war. Previous to his having come into the office over which he had the honour to preside, the measure suggested now by the right honourable gentleman, or something similar to it, had often been in contemplation; but it was always found attended with difficulties and obstacles which it was not an easy matter to surmount. However motives of humanity, and considerations of po-

licy might induce him to incline to such a measure, he was not prepared or disposed to pronounce what was his own opinion on the subject, much less could he state what was that of others, who possessed much greater experience on that subject than he could pretend to. For the present he would not take on him to say any thing, one way or the other—he felt it, however, incumbent on him not to let the suggestion of the right honourable gentleman pass by unnoticed. After having said so much, he would now beg leave to proceed on the business he had opened.

The following resolutions were then moved and carried, viz.

That a number of land forces, including five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six invalids, not exceeding forty-eight thousand six hundred and nine effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one million six hundred and ninety-nine thousand four hundred and fifty pounds seven shillings and three-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of forty-eight thousand six hundred and nine effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other His Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, including the charge of the pay of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and private men, with the additional allowance to subalterns, &c. the charge of cloathing of non-commissioned officers and private men; the charge of agency, and the charge of allowances to be made to captains, pay-masters, riding-masters, and serjeants, from the 25th day of December 1797 to the 24th day of December 1798, both inclusive, being 365 days.

That a sum, not exceeding one million and twenty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds nineteen shillings and six pence, be granted to His Majesty, for maintaining His Majesty's forces in the plantations, including those serving at Gibraltar, in Portugal, and at the Cape of Good Hope, and a corps of foot in New South Wales, including the charge of the pay of the commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and private men, with the additional allowance to subalterns, &c. the charge of cloathing of the non-commissioned officers and private men, the charge of agency, and the charge of allowances to be made to captains, pay-masters, riding-masters, and serjeants, from the 25th day of December 1797 to the 24th day of December 1798, both inclusive, being 365 days.

That a sum, not exceeding seventy eight thousand two hundred twenty-six pounds four shillings and three-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of the difference between

the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad, from the 25th day of December 1797 to the 24th Day of December 1798, both inclusive, being 365 days.

That a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand two hundred forty-four pounds and one penny, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of four troops of dragoons and fifteen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for the purpose of recruiting the regiments serving in East India, from the 25th day of December 1797 to the 24th day of December 1798, both inclusive, being 365 days.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of recruiting and contingencies for His Majesty's land forces, and of extra feed for the cavalry in Great Britain, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding eighty-nine thousand seven hundred twenty-three pounds nineteen shillings and three-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for the pay of general and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals, serving with the forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one million four hundred seventeen thousand one hundred seventy-nine pounds ten shilling and five-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of the embodied militia in South Britain, and of several corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and the islands of Scilly and Man, from the 25th day of December 1797, to the 24 day of December 1798, both inclusive, being 365 days.

That a sum, not exceeding forty thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of contingencies for the embodied militia and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty-seven pounds three shillings and nine-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding four hundred and four thousand five hundred and seventy pounds four shillings and one penny, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of several corps of fencible cavalry for service in Great Britain, from the 25th day of December 1797 to the 24th Day of December 1798, both inclusive, being 365 days.

That a sum, not exceeding twenty-five thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of extra feed for

the several corps of fencible cavalry in Great Britain, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding thirty-three thousand four hundred sixty-three pounds, thirteen shillings, and ten-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of full pay to supernumerary officers of His Majesty's forces, including the officers of independent corps, and of draughted regiments, from the 25th day of December 1797 to the 24th day of December 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and eight thousand five hundred eighty-two pounds fourteen shillings and ten-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for the allowance to the Paymaster General of His Majesty's land forces; to the Commissary General of the Musters; to the Judge Advocate General; to the Comptrollers of the accounts of the army; and for the amount of Exchequer fees to be paid by the Paymaster General, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and forty thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, and others, on quartering soldiers, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred sixty-three thousand eight hundred seventy-four pounds sixteen shillings and eight-pence, be granted to His Majesty, upon account of the reduced officers of His Majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred twenty-five pounds three shillings and four-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of allowances to the private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, on account of the several officers late in the service of The States General, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding fifty-two thousand five hundred pounds, be granted to His Majesty, upon account of the reduced officers of His Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding seven thousand five hundred pounds, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the charge of allowances to several reduced officers of His Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding one million and seventy-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-five pounds thirteen shillings and

nine-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for the year 1798.

That a sum, not exceeding five thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds nine shillings and two-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1796.

That a sum, not exceeding one hundred and fourteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-five pounds eight shillings and sixpence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for sea service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1796.

That a sum, not exceeding ninety-six thousand five hundred and seventy-one pounds four shillings and ten-pence, be granted to His Majesty, for defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1797.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought in the bill for continuing the restrictions on the cash-payments of the Bank, agreeably to the Minutes of the Council of the 26th February, 1797, including the powers to alter and amend the provisions of the act made in the last session of Parliament.

The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow—it was also ordered to be printed.

The Committee of Supply and Ways and Means were then deferred till Wednesday, after which the House adjourned.

Tuesday, November 21.

Mr. WILBERFORCE BIRD brought in a bill for continuing, for a limited time, the late act for suspending the acts of the 15th and 17th of his present Majesty, for restraining the negotiation of small promissory notes and bills of exchange. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Mr. HOBART brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply. The resolutions were read and agreed to.

Mr. ROSE moved, that the last Scotch distillery act be read; which being done, he observed, that it would expire on the 2d of the ensuing month, and therefore it was necessary to consider the subject without delay. When the act passed the last session, it was agreed that the matter required a more comprehensive attention

than could then be given to it, and it was then expected that, in the course of the recess, some information was to be had from Scotland upon the subject; no information, however, had arrived until recently, and he feared there had not yet been time sufficient to investigate the whole of this very important but complicated subject. It should, however, now be taken up, and therefore he moved, That the House do to-morrow resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the said act. Ordered.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for continuing the restriction on the Bank.

The bill was read a second time.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the present bill was conformable to the last, except in the case of advancing to Government. It did not continue the restriction as to the mode of making advances in favour of Government. He had stated when he moved for leave to bring in the bill, that the mode of making such advances were to be varied. As to the land and malt duties, the advances were to be made upon them as usual; but there was to be proposed a clause to be inserted in the bill, empowering the Bank to make advances, such as by a separate act of Parliament might hereafter be declared to be necessary. This was the only variation from the former bill.

Major ELFORD observed, that as the ballot for a Committee to try the merits of the election for Newton, in Lancashire, stood for the 30th instant, he was sorry to say, he saw but little hope of there being a full House on that day, for which the gentlemen who formerly sat on the other side of the House, were in some degree to blame. He doubted also, whether the parties would be ready, and therefore he moved, that the ballot be postponed until the 12th of December.

Mr. TIERNEY disclaimed all acquaintance with either of the parties, but confessed he had a fellow-feeling for the petitioner, having been himself in a similar situation; if the inconvenience was great in his case, where the witnesses resided on the spot, how much greater must it be in the present one, where they lived at a considerable distance! besides the sitting Member had an advantage over the petitioner; the latter must go through his whole case, and examine all his witnesses before the former was called upon to answer. Farther delay, therefore, could scarcely be necessary for the sitting Member, and exclusive of the accumulation of expence, might be eventually injurious to the petitioner; aged witness

might die, or be disabled by the fatigues of the first journey to undertake a second, and their evidence touching the rights of electors could not be possibly supplied. Moreover, he apprehended the present motion would be a violation of Lord Grenville's act. His Lordship always disapproved of the interference of the House in such cases, or, to use his own words *of trials of strength between the parties*. Gentlemen had been pleased to make pointed observations on the thinness of the attendance on his side of the House, but if they were to look at the thinness of their own, on a night too when thirteen or fourteen millions of the public money were voted away, there was no great reason to expect a sufficient attendance on a business of a private nature, at a period of the year particularly appropriated to recess, and when Members were very naturally anxious to retire to the country.

Colonel STANLEY and Mr. PIERPOINT spoke a few words on the same side. After which the gallery was cleared for the House to divide; but Major Elford having withdrawn his motion, no division took place.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, November 22.

As soon as the House had finished hearing the pleadings in a Scotch cause,

The Earl of MOIRA offered himself to the notice of the House. It is impossible, my Lords, (he began by saying) for any man to look at the situation of the country at this time, and not attempt to alleviate the misfortune under which it labours. It is impossible for me to avoid once more calling your Lordships' attention to the difficulty and danger of the present crisis. My Lords, since we met last session, there has been a material alteration in the affairs of this kingdom. The negotiation with France being broken off, is an event which may be productive of little short of the destruction, not only of this, but of the sister country. I wish your Lordships to look forward to what must be the inevitable consequence of a farther continuance of the war with France, and what must be the situation of the country, if we are to proceed upon such a system of

expenditure as is necessary to carry on such a war. It would have been natural for Ministers to have made provision for enabling us the better to carry on the war upon the failure of the negotiation, in such a manner as to have had the prospect of bringing it to a speedy issue. Instead of which I wish to ask you whether we do not stand upon a defensive war, which if persevered in for one year more must be ruinous to the country? Let us reflect upon the events that have happened since we met last. We have gained a decided victory over one of our enemies. Great, certainly, and splendid is that victory: and far be it from me to attempt to lessen its importance or to diminish its splendour. But what, my Lords, is the real effect that has resulted from it? It has parried a danger. It has removed, as every one of your Lordships must allow, a mischief that was apprehended. But are we to sit with our arms across and do nothing more? Are we, in such a state of affairs as the present; a situation in which, so embarrassed are our finances confessed to be, that we are told new and extraordinary measures of finance must be had recourse to; are we, I say, in such a state of affairs, to confine ourselves to this? My Lords, if the object of the enemy be, as it has been represented, to subvert the Constitution of the Country, you should, in order to defeat that object, call forth the best blood, the heart and spirit of the country. Is there any part that has reason to be dissatisfied, we should give it the blessings and benefits of the Constitution: not, my Lords, in form, not in words merely, but in substance and in fact. It is admitted on all hands that the danger is imminent and extreme. What ought we to do to enable us to meet it? I have, my Lords, observed with sensations of surprize, that a kind of consciousness has been professed of some inattention in calling forth all the vigour and resources of the country—I have seen a statement which I have a right to consider as a correct one, in which one article stated is the probability of a supply being wanted for the service of Ireland. My Lords, in such a contest as we are engaged in, a contest whose character and complexion are such as His Majesty's Ministers have described them to be, I am astonished that any part of the kingdom should be suffered to hang like a dead weight upon the country.

Your Lordships have heard the boasts that have been held forth of the flourishing state of our commerce, of the increase of our exports, and of the vast superiority which we possess over every other nation in the world. We know the nature of our merchants, their liberality, their generosity, and their public spirit; we know that they would scorn to enjoy benefits at the expence of any part of

the empire. Yet what is the situation of the trade of Ireland? Desponding, drooping, and distressed; her labourers in penury, her manufacturers subsisting upon public charity. Look at the condition of the manufacturers of Dublin. Your Lordships know that twenty-seven thousand have been kept by the bounty of the public from perishing with want. Look at other parts of Ireland. I myself know that the manufactures of Newry are almost stoppt. Good God! my Lords, whence does this evil arise? While you are boasting of the increase of the British trade, how happens it that Ireland is reduced to a state of beggary? What does it proceed from, but from the internal state of that kingdom? is not this country then bound to inquire into and examine the evil—to ascertain its operation and effect, and to apply a remedy to it? That the evil exists, I have the most convincing evidence. When I troubled your Lordships with my observations upon the state of Ireland last year, I spoke upon documents certain and incontestible. I address you, upon this day, my Lords, upon documents equally sure and stable. Before God and my country I speak of what I have seen myself. But in what I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I feel that I must take grounds of a restrictive nature. It is not my intention to select any individual in order to adduce a charge against him. It is not my wish to point a prejudice against any one. What I have to speak of, are not solitary and isolated measures, not partial abuses, but what is adopted as the system of Government. I do not talk of a casual system, but of one deliberately determined upon, and regularly persevered in. When we hear of a military government, we must expect excesses, which are not all, I acknowledge, attributable to the government; but these I lay out of my consideration. I will speak only of the excesses that belong to, and proceed from, the system pursued by the administration of Ireland. I am aware it may be urged that a statement, such as I am about to lay before your Lordships, is calculated to interfere too much with the internal Government of the Sister Kingdom. In answer to this assertion, I would, if necessary, begin by laying it down as an incontrovertible opinion, that we have so direct a concern and connexion with Ireland, that any error of Government in that country, is a fit subject for our attention; and if circumstances required it, for an address to His Majesty for the removal of the Chief Governor. My Lords, this observation applies not, in any manner, to the present Lord Lieutenant; on the contrary, I will pay him the tribute which I think due to him, that to much private worth and honour, his Lordship

adds, I believe, very sincere wishes for the happiness of the kingdom which has been placed under his Government. But I conceive that he has adopted a very unfortunate and destructive system. I will not, on the present occasion, enter into a detail of the heart-burnings which have produced the present discontents, and have reduced Ireland to her present calamitous situation. I may discuss them elsewhere. Here it will be sufficient, my Lords, to lament and deplore them. But in lamenting them, I will state, that to my conviction these discontents have arisen from too mistaken an application of severities. Putting that consideration, however, out of the question, I will resort to this argument: suppose there have been grounds sufficient for these severities—another question will then arise upon the policy of them. My Lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting, tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances. I have seen it practised and unchecked; and the effects that have resulted from it have been such as I have stated to your Lordships. I have said, that if such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred, to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice, that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British Government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppression exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression, was in hostility to the Government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the City of London. Who states these things, my Lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many of the circumstances I know of my own knowledge, others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them. In the first place, perhaps, I might as well pass over that which probably will make no impression now. But I recollect, that from education and early habits, we used to consider the curfew as a badge of servitude and oppression. The curfew, my Lords, exists at this moment in the North of Ireland; and persons must put out their fires and candles at a particular hour. The curfew, perhaps, if discussed here, may be treated as a wholesome and useful regulation, fit to be adopted. I have known an instance of a party knocking at the door of a person's house, and insisting, with much abusive lan-

guage, and many insults, upon the candles and fires being immediately put out. I have known the master of the house intreat, with much earnestness, that he might be permitted to keep a candle alight, for his child was in convulsion fits, and the mother was hanging over the infant to administer the necessary assistance. The party, however, still accompanying their commands with much insult, insisted that the light should be put out!!! But this circumstance, I see, excites a smile in a noble Lord opposite to me; but perhaps unintentionally. I proceed now to more serious subjects. There is not one man, my Lords, in Ireland, who is not liable to be taken out of his house, at any hour, either of the day or night, to be kept in a rigorous confinement, restricted from all correspondence with the persons who have the management of his affairs, be treated with mixed severity and insult, and yet never know the crime with which he is charged, nor the source from whence the information against him proceeded. I can furnish proofs, my Lords, of many instances, in which such cruelty has been exercised upon individuals. I therefore say, that there is no man who is not exposed to such oppression; and the more so, because the constant tone of menace held out, informs him that the very persons who use it, may put their threats in practice against him. Your Lordships have hitherto detested the inquisition. In what did that horrible institution differ from the system pursued in Ireland? By the inquisition, a man was liable to be torn from his family and friends; his affairs might be ruined, himself and his children reduced to beggary, yet no crime might be advanced against him to justify the practice of such severity; and if he required to be confronted with his accuser, that first principle of all justice, that right which every man may claim; if, I say, he made this demand, it was denied him; and he was left to groan in prison, under the dreadful uncertainty of the length of his confinement, and of his ultimate fate. Such, we are taught to believe, were the horrible practices of the inquisition. It may be said, by those who distinguish between the system pursued in Ireland and the practices of the inquisition, that I have forced a comparison, because the torture has not been used in Ireland. What will your Lordships say, when I inform you that the torture has actually been practised in the cases of the persons of whom I have been speaking? Men indeed have not been put to the rack in Ireland, because that horrible engine was not at hand. But I do know instances of men being picketed; a mode of punishment abolished in this country for some time, on account of its too great severity. I know of men in Ireland being picketed till they fainted. When they reco-

vered, picketed again till they fainted—recovered again, and again picketed, till they fainted a third time; and this in order to extort from the tortured sufferers a confession, either of their own guilt, or of the guilt of their neighbours!!! But I can even go farther—men have been half-hanged, and then brought to life, in order, by the fear of having that punishment repeated, to induce them to confess the crimes with which they have been charged!! Good God! what must the general feeling be in a nation where such measures are adopted? My Lords, I could go much farther, but I choose to veil some of the most atrocious parts. These acts, which I have stated to your Lordships, have been done so publicly, that I cannot but consider them as belonging to the system which has been adopted. They have been done in open day; and if you do not hear the recitals of them from the newspapers of Ireland, it is because they are not published, from the fear of the publishers being exposed to the vengeance of the Government if they did publish them. I know that authenticated relations of the most oppressive conduct have been refused insertion in the Irish newspapers on this account. The printer says, “what punishment hangs over me if I do insert them?” What happened to the printers of the Northern Star? A party of troops went in broad day and destroyed the whole property, types and every thing belonging to the paper. I enter not now into the nature of the articles inserted in that publication; but surely there were laws sufficient for the punishment of the publishers of that paper; for the criminal code of Ireland is more severe than any I have heard of. The laws, therefore, as I have before said, were sufficient for the purpose. But the destruction of the property by the military, was done in order to check animadversions in other papers upon the conduct of Government; because every thing is pledged upon the success of this wild and frantic system. Your Lordships have heard of a proclamation confessedly illegal, requiring the surrender of all arms from a free people. A man reared and educated in an opinion that the Constitution allows every man to keep arms for his defence, and that nothing short of an act of Parliament can deprive him of that right, might hesitate in bringing in his arms. What is the punishment? It is a contumacy, for which perhaps there might be some punishment, of a moderate nature however. Yet what is the recognised and the regular punishment in Ireland? A party of the military may go and burn his house, and totally destroy his property. I know of instances where this has been practised, because the district in which the property has been situated, has not brought in such a number of

arms as it was conceived were contained in the district. The estimation of the quantity which ought to be surrendered must rest entirely, your Lordships will see, upon loose and vague grounds.

Now, my Lords, with these facts before you, I appeal to your hearts, what must be the sentiments of a country where such outrages daily happen, and where constant threats, menaces and insults, make every man apprehend that he may be the victim of such oppression? Is it under these circumstances that we are to go on with a war, not for an Island, nor for a Cape, but a war which we are told is for the salvation of the Government of the Country? Do not you see, that by such a system you place in the hands of the enemy an engine the most forcible as well as the most fatal? Can any thing be more formidable than a statement such as I have laid before you? Upon the accuracy of it, my Lords, it is the dearest wish of my heart to be examined before the Privy Council, or at the bar of this House. I know, indeed, that those who now rather doubt the expediency of the measures that have been pursued, think it too late to alter them, and that the security of property stands on no other chance but the success of the system that has been adopted. My opinion is directly the contrary: I declare solemnly, that I think the moment for conciliation is not past. I think that Ireland may yet be saved; but it can only be by an immediate change of measures—by holding forth oblivion of mischiefs on both sides, by an assurance that the law shall be administered strictly, without respect to persons, and with a fair and just intention of protecting every man in the enjoyment of those rights to which, if he be under no legal disability, he should, without making any religious distinctions, be held eligible. I wish some little attention to be paid, my Lords, to the conclusion I have drawn. I declare solemnly, that if you go on a little longer in the present system, all hope is lost of seeing Ireland connected five years longer with the British Empire. I was going, my Lords, to take a larger ground; but what I was about to state might, perhaps, not be policy. We have tried this system of coercion long enough. I entreat your Lordships and His Majesty's Ministers to inform themselves of the effect that has resulted from it. I should be happy, my Lords, to be convinced, that during its continuance the numbers of United Irishmen have diminished. But I do assert this not to be case; and my conviction has been strengthened by intelligence that has been received from the South of Ireland. If this be the fact, would it not be wise and prudent to try another system. I am willing to give all the merit due to the novelty of the measures that have been adopted. The inventive faculties

of the authors of them have been extraordinary indeed; they found a throbbing fore, and to allay the pain and irritation, they applied a blister to it. That is the true description of the system that has been pursued with respect to Ireland. You say the Irish are insensible of the benefits of the British Constitution, and you withhold all those benefits from them. You goad them with harsh and cruel punishments, and a general infliction and insult are thrown upon the kingdom. I have seen, my Lords, a conquered country held by military force: but never did I see, in any conquered country, such a tone of insult as has been adopted by Great Britain towards Ireland. It is not my intention to make any motion upon the subject. My object is, to submit it to the consideration of Government. I have made a last effort. I acquit my conscience. I have done my duty, and I leave it to His Majesty's Ministers to reflect upon the facts I have stated to them. If I have not entered sufficiently into detail; if I have veiled many circumstances, it is because I have been restrained by motives of a prudential nature. If His Majesty's Ministers, however, are desirous of any information which I can give them; if they conceive that such information may be useful, I shall be extremely willing to communicate it to them. If they should think otherwise, I shall still be of opinion that I have discharged what I shall ever conceive to be the strongest duty. Whatever be the effect it may produce on their minds, no blame, my Lords, can be imputed to me.

Lord GRENVILLE in reply said, that he felt it a matter of no small delicacy and difficulty, and he was confident that the generality of their Lordships must participate in the same feelings with him, to attempt entering on the question which the noble Lord had thought proper to introduce, or the vague grounds and isolated facts upon which it was endeavoured to be supported. Indeed the noble Lord seemed fully aware of his own deficiency in that respect, and appeared to be under the necessity of acknowledging it in the very sentence with which he thought proper to close his speech. The noble Lord hesitated, or was undecided, as to the manner in which he ought to proceed; nor could he bring himself to frame any specific proposition, or bring forward any direct motion on the subject. Nor should the noble Lord's hesitation and indecision excite any surprise: the discussion which he seemed desirous to produce could surely be attended with no one profitable advantage; it was, on the contrary, a discussion evidently pregnant with mighty mischief; nor was there any evil or calamity which, in his mind, it was not likely to produce. He would not, therefore, trespass long on the

patience of their Lordships, nor would he attempt at confirming the judgement which he was sure they must have already formed on the matter, by any elaborate detail of observations, the nature and cogency of which must already have been anticipated by the mind of every noble Lord.

He would first, however, advert to an expression which the noble Lord had thought proper to make use of, viz. That it was, no doubt, solemn and decorous in the House to have acquiesced in the statements made by them of the posture of public affairs, and of the causes that broke off the late attempt at a pacification. This was by no means the motive of their acquiescence: it was the result of their best judgement, of their most mature consideration, of their most intimate conviction. But this was not a subject now open for discussion. He would still, however, persevere in asserting that the country was in possession of ample means, energies, and resources, which a free and independent people would know how to call forth and exert: however opposite might be the picture which gloomy imaginations might be inclined to delineate, tending solely to diffuse despondency and despair; while they would humble to the dust the pride and honour of the nation, and degrade it from the high rank and merited distinction which it has long held, and still continues to hold, in the eyes of Europe and of the world; to maintain that rank, and to preserve unimpaired that distinction, we have as yet, thank God, abundant means, and there was no thinking and well-disposed man who had not, he trusted, sufficient spirit and resolution to employ them. How contrary to this was the opinion this night held out to your Lordships! We are told that, should the war be protracted for another year, its sure consequence must be the utter ruin of the country—an opinion so disheartening and unfounded he hoped none of their Lordships would entertain, and that all of them could easily refute. For his part he was fully satisfied that we had means and resources abundantly sufficient to prosecute the contest, not only for one year, but to the utmost extent which the imagination of any man can suppose the enemy will be tempted to pursue it on the present grounds, and with their present designs, which aim at nothing less than the destruction of the British Constitution, the downfall of the Throne, the extinction of Monarchy, the annihilation of our commerce, and the introduction of the Genius of French Liberty, with all its concomitant train of horrors. To frustrate and confound these frantic attempts, these rash and insolent designs, we are conscious of possessing every adequate means, not only when we view the state of our financial resources, but also when we call back our attention, which we

must frequently do with gratitude and satisfaction to the late brilliant victory, which nearly outshines the most splendid of all our naval exploits. Such was his idea of the signal advantages which must naturally attend this glorious and decisive triumph, though it does not seem to be considered in the same salutary point of view by the noble Lord (Lord Moira), nor productive of the decisive advantages which, however, may be justly and safely said to result from it.

But be our situation what it may, be it more or less exposed to difficulty and danger, what does it admonish us to do, but cordially to unite in the support and defence of our Constitution, as the only means to ward off the fatal blow which the inveterate animosity of our bitterest enemy is meditating against it. For the necessity of this general concurrence, he appealed not only to England, but to every branch and member of the British Empire, whose individual interest and safety, as well as the interest and safety of the public, must depend on this sincere and cordial co-operation. He was far from being able to discern what should alienate the affections of Ireland, or indispose her from uniting in this general co-operation. That such, however, was her present disposition, seemed to be more than insinuated by the noble Lord, who seems disposed to accuse Government of being hostilely inclined towards the sister kingdom, and eager to keep up in it a system of coercion. He might, however, confidently appeal to their Lordships generally and individually, if it had not been on all occasions the uniform disposition of Government to adopt the very opposite conduct, and that at no time have they abandoned a system of concession and conciliation; nor has this temper and disposition been displayed and acted on in a few instances only, or for a short space of time; but for the whole space of thirty years has His Majesty's Government been distinguished by the same uniform tenderness of regard, by the same undeviating adherence to the mild principles of a conciliatory system. Indeed the whole of that period is throughout discriminated and endeared by unceasing acts on the part of His Majesty, of love, favour, liberality, and kindness. Among these various instances of concession and conciliation exhibited by this country towards Ireland, he might advert to the establishing of its Parliament into an independent Legislature, and a wide extension of its commercial privileges. He was not therefore disposed to go to the extent of saying that we had any pretensions for watching over the safety of Ireland by our Legislature. This was the business and duty of its own Parliament; and what idea must that Parliament, whose independence we have sanctioned, conceive of

our proceedings, should we entertain a discussion like the present, or any motions that can seem to interfere with the independency of that Legislature? He would now, therefore, contend, as he had on a former occasion, that the agitation in this House of any question similar to that which the noble Lord seems solicitous to agitate, would be an undue interference in a matter solely belonging to the internal Government of Ireland, and that such an interference might be justly regarded as a manifest breach of a solemn compact. This being his firm and decided opinion of the impropriety of any such interference on the part of this House, he would no longer dwell on the arguments which the noble Lord had urged to prove the propriety and necessity of adopting it. He would therefore now proceed to what surprised him still more, the general statement of the cruelties which the noble Lord asserted had marked this system of coercion which he so bitterly inveighs against, and which, he insinuates, is principally promoted and acted on by the British military. But it was no difficult matter, nor to him an unpleasing task, to vindicate the British military from any imputation of the kind; for if any country was peculiarly distinguished for humane and generous feelings, he was proud to say, for he could say it with truth, that humanity and good-nature were the characteristic features of the English disposition. That there might be individual exceptions derogatory from this general disposition, he would not pretend to say; but if such excesses had been perpetrated, were there no courts of justice? Were there not laws and tribunals open to the complaints of those who are said to have been so cruelly treated, where their complaints would have been listened to, and their grievances redressed? Indeed if a system so rigorous and cruel had been pursued, it must naturally be resented by a spirited and independent people. But what was the object for which these troops were sent over? Were they not sent over to overawe and counteract the machinations of a set of men who were plotting the destruction of their country, and favouring the designs of our most inveterate enemy? If against such men they have at times been incited to acts of harshness and severity; if they had been occasionally warmed into a sense of indignation that broke out into insults and outrages, he has read but little in the heart, or history of mankind, in whom it would excite surprize. What more natural than that a large body of men should feel indignant and enraged against the abettors of a conspiracy to deliver up the country to the French invader?—and that such a conspiracy has and does exist had already been fully proved beyond the possibility of a doubt. Has it not been proved in courts of justice that money had been

distributed to hire assassins in order to murder those who are supposed to be inimical to their traitorous plans, and to intimidate all witnesses from coming forward to give evidence against them, and deter juries from giving in a conscientious verdict? Do they not hang the same terrors over the heads of the judges and magistrates to scare them from the performance of their sacred duty? Is this a system which can be viewed with the cool composure, with the deliberate circumspection of civil prudence? Impossible: it cannot be---and if it instigates some spirited individuals to acts of outrage and of cruelty, those crimes and cruelties are imputable to those only, by whose daring and unprincipled conduct they are naturally provoked. Keen, notwithstanding, must be the regret which such unwarrantable revenge must here excite in every humane and benevolent breast. The same sensations must be awakened in hearts of a similar sensibility in Ireland; and here he would heartily join in the tribute of praise paid by the noble Lord to the present Governor General of Ireland. He held him dear as his friend, but it was not the partiality of friendship, but justice to the merits of the man that prompted the praise he was ready to bestow on him. No public man, placed in so trying and so critical a situation, has ever displayed more exemplary moderation in the discharge of a painful duty; no public man has ever more zealously exerted himself for the benefit and happiness of the people over whom he had been sent to rule: but if his benevolent exertions were defeated by those whom he would willingly protect, if rigorous measures were necessarily pursued, no blame could surely be imputed to him; the circumstances of the country required it, and if any partial abuses did exist, we had only to lament them.

He could not, therefore, see what utility could be derived from the removal of a person, whose conduct, in every respect, was thus highly commendable, and whose only care seemed to be a just and punctual execution of the laws. He would again repeat it, that if any abuse attended the system which the Government of Ireland had adopted, the laws were open to grant redress, and justice ready to inflict punishment. There ought, therefore, to attach no imputation on the character and conduct of the British military. Individuals, it is true, might sometimes proceed to unwarrantable lengths, but the whole body should not, therefore, be aspersed for endeavouring to discharge the painful task which had been imposed on them. Nor ought it to be forgotten that it is not the English military who solely act on those lamentable occasions: Are not many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland actively employed in the same service---must they not naturally feel infinite

regret at being driven to measures of violence? And what motive can be supposed to actuate their conduct, but their anxiety to secure the general safety? But this is an object which can never be compassed by the system recommended by the noble Lord. On the contrary, it would only tend to stain and vilify the character of Government, and bring all its measures into contempt and disgrace. The contrary system must therefore be persevered in, and to the spirited exertions of the English military, will be due the preservation of Irish laws, of Irish property, and of Irish lives; for by their exertions only can those laws be kept unviolated by licentiousness, and those lives rescued from the dagger of assassins. And what again was the object of the conspiracy which their endeavours are daily exerted to baffle and to crush? Is not the object which they have uniformly pursued, and undisguisedly avowed—a separation of Ireland from the British empire? Can it be doubted for a moment, if we recur to the manifest proofs of the existence of such a design exhibited to us by the Reports of the Secret Committees of both Houses of Parliament in Ireland?

And as to the liberty of the press, to what horrid abuses has it not been converted? He now held in his hand a printed paper, the contents of which were too shocking to be read;—it would suffice to say that its avowed object was to point out innocent men to the poignards of assassins. It contained a list of the names of those, who, at a future period, were to be murdered. It loads his Majesty with the most opprobrious epithets, and reviles the English Nation with every term of contumely: it holds it out to be the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hand of English ruffians the property which those English ruffians have wrested from their ancestors. This your Lordships will doubtless perceive is no obscure or ambiguous language; it pretty clearly develops their favourite project of separating Great Britain and Ireland, an object which has been suggested by France, and of which France is desirous to promote the accomplishment, and should they unhappily succeed in this impious attempt, what must be the result; but that confusion, disorders and anarchy, must rush in upon the country, together with the public enemy.

Such is the situation to which an open conspiracy of profligate men have reduced the sister kingdom. And how can this situation be meliorated, or the danger that threatens that country be repelled, but by a system of severe and vigorous laws, a vigour and severity which on such occasions are indispensably necessary? nor can these laws be enforced without entrusting great powers in the

hands of those on whom we impose the performance of this arduous duty under severe responsibility?

The question, therefore, now is, Will your Lordships interpose on the present occasion, and tell the Parliament of Ireland and the Irish Magistracy, that you are more careful of the interests and happiness of the Irish people than they are, and that the English military are not to obey the Irish laws, but the arbitrary instructions of the British Parliament?

Lord RAWDON (Earl of Moira) said, that no sentiment had fallen from him to the effect which the noble Secretary had stated. He would ask the noble Secretary, whether he knew of any point under the general relation of the two countries to each other, in which a Peer of Parliament had a clearer right to address their Lordships than he had on the subject to which he had called their attention? He would ask the noble Secretary, whether, if he were now to move their Lordships to address His Majesty to remove Lord Camden, the present Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland, he was not competent to make, and the House to agree to, such a motion? Most clearly, in his mind, there was no question upon such competency. He would, however, fortify the doctrine by reference to a case which occurred in a reign when no privileges of Parliament were supposed to encroach upon the prerogatives of the Crown—the reign of Charles the Second. Their Lordships knew too well to make it necessary for him to inform them of the case of the Duke of Lauderdale. The Parliament of Scotland was then independent of this country, and yet the Parliament here addressed that Monarch to remove the Duke of Lauderdale while he was in Scotland, which vote of address was intended to have been followed up by the impeachment of that noble Duke, but which did not take place, owing to the dissolution of Parliament, which soon followed. Here was a case to illustrate the principle, and establish the right of a Member of the British Parliament, moving to advise His Majesty to remove any of his Ministers in such parts of his dominions as are possessed of legislative bodies of its own. If, therefore, from motives of respect for the high station, and real esteem for the personal character of Lord Camden, he forbore bringing any motion forward upon this subject, it was not because he did not conceive himself entitled to do so if there existed any necessity for so doing; and the noble Secretary seemed, in this case, desirous to set aside substance for the sake of mere form. The noble Secretary had complained that he had reprobated the troops in Ireland for obeying the law. This was an inaccuracy in the noble Lord; he had not reprobated either the troops or any body of men for obeying

the law ; but he had reprobated the conduct of Executive Government, which was repugnant to the feelings of the people of Ireland, inconsistent with the character of the people of England, and highly injurious to the real interests of both countries. The noble Secretary had observed also, that he had only taken notice of partial points and incidental abuses. This was another inaccuracy in the noble Lord. He had stated facts, not upon surmise, but upon knowledge, in which the most dreadful cruelties had been executed, and in places which every thing was as tranquil as any where about London at this hour. He admitted that there was a combination formed in Ireland, and that it was making progress to an alarming degree ; but he denied that coercion was the best of means to dissolve that combination. It would, in his opinion, be wise to try conciliatory measures. The noble Secretary asked, whether the whole course of the conduct of Executive Government had not been an uniform series of conciliating measures, until it appeared that vigorous measures had been indispensable ? To which he would answer, that men have a right to be well and justly governed ; and when they feel themselves aggrieved, have a right to state their complaints, and to call for redress with firmness ; and to accuse them of ingratitude for so complaining, was the most provoking petulance, as well as injustice. He had stated, not casual excesses or accidental abuses ; not what he had loosely heard of, but what himself had witnessed—a constant, uniform procedure of cruel government in that part of the country to which he had already alluded. If these things be true, and true he knew them to be ; if their Lordships knew them also, and now they did know them ; what excuse would they have, if in the hour of peril the people of Ireland should refuse to support Government, and should support those who aimed at overthrowing it ? It was not the resources that he dreaded ; he had never stated any thing against them. It was not the want of men that he was fearful of ; it was the want of affection of men that was the object of his fear ; without that affection, we might call in vain for union in all parts of the empire, and a vigorous exertion against the common enemy ; without conciliatory measures, that affection would never arise.

He would ask the noble Secretary, if the measures of the Executive Government had been of that character ? The noble Secretary of State had stated, that there was a conspiracy amongst the United Irishmen. He admitted that persons under that character did many acts that were culpable in the extreme ; but he did not believe the cause which the noble Lord assigned for it to be a true one. It was not originally for the purpose of overturning the Con-

situation these Irishmen united ; the acts they did were the effect of having been goaded by what they felt ; and terrified by the prospect they have, they still continue in the same temper. He believed that the United Irish had originally nothing in view but a Parliamentary Reform, for which they could not be fairly censured, as the House of Commons itself had come to a resolution for that very purpose. Upon this subject he spoke the more readily, as he himself was not friendly to a Parliamentary Reform. He did not think that a Reform would be a good measure if carried into effect, besides the danger to be apprehended from trying it, and therefore he should not advise the trial ; but if these men were defective in their judgement, coercion was not likely to effect it. He knew that infinite abuse had been bandied about in Ireland from one party to another ; the result of which had been fatal in many instances, for many assassinations had taken place. This practice, odious and detestable as it was, did not arise out of any settled plan to overturn government ; but from private malice and from revenge, the effect of personal disputes. The state of Ireland was most deplorable. He had stated, that it was so pressing as to admit of no delay. He would ask what might be the consequence, if an army were to land there under the present system of coercion ? Could Government rely on the people unless they had some hope of conciliation ? He, therefore, must again recommend conciliatory measures. The destruction of Ireland might be the effect of neglecting this advice. The destruction of Ireland would cause the destruction of Great Britain. He felt this so forcibly, that he would not be so tardy as to wait for an opportunity of stating this in another place, where he had parliamentary privilege to state it. He spoke with a view of saving both nations. Their Lordships ought particularly to attend to such a subject as this, it belonged to them not only to consider it in their judicial capacity, but also as hereditary Counsellors of the Nation and of His Majesty. He offered this advice to His Majesty in that House. He offered it to their Lordships, and he offered it to the Country ; and by so doing, he not only acquitted himself of any evil effect, but claimed a right to be considered as having performed a duty.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he thought it essential to the interests of this country, that some parts of the speech of his noble friend should be noticed, because otherwise, when reported, they might make an undue impression upon the public. It was a duty particularly cast upon him to answer some parts of the speech of his noble friend, and now that he was up, he should, with their Lordships' leave, make a few, and but a few observations

upon the subject in a general way. His noble friend had stated, that the noble Secretary of State had wished to pass the discussion by, upon a mere point of form. This, he believed, came from inadvertency from his noble friend, for he knew as well as any of their Lordships, that for the last fifteen years, it was not a matter of form, but an essential point and matter of fact, that the Parliament of Ireland was as fully competent by law, to make law, to superintend the administration of justice, to censure any who infringe the law, to enact any measure for the internal regulation of Ireland, and to do every legislative act, as the Parliament of Great Britain ever could do: and the more so, because there the Parliament had a complete, entire, unappealing jurisdiction, which there was no power in this country to vary or alter; we could, therefore, derive no advantage whatever from casting any reflections, or stating any supposed defects either in the administration of justice of the Courts of Law, or the acts of the Legislative Houses. His noble friend indeed, had been inaccurate, when he stated these points to be points of mere form, for Ireland was completely independent of all power in this country, with regard to internal regulation. His noble friend had alluded to a case, which, no doubt, was well known to their Lordships as matter of history—the case of the Duke of Lauderdale. True it was, that the Duke of Lauderdale was a member of the Executive Government, but it was not for any thing that he did in his official capacity that the vote to address his Majesty to remove him was founded. It was, because he was one of the cabal, as it was then called, in Scotland. It was for being one of the cabal that the Duke of Lauderdale fell under the animadversion of Parliament. There was no attempt whatever in that case by the English Parliament to interfere with the internal regulation of Scotland. The present was a very delicate subject, and he was sorry his noble friend had thought it necessary to introduce it into the House. He had, however, in a manner that might have been expected by all who had the honour of knowing him, marked the personal character of Lord Camden with distinguished, but just esteem. Against that Noble Lord in his high office, or against any part of his conduct, nothing was proposed. But his noble friend had stated a number of facts upon the information of others. This information, from the nature of things, was sure to be deceptive; for those who look at such subjects with a view of giving information of them, see things through a disguised medium, and they never see more than one half of it; they see only with one eye; prejudice makes the other blind. Information therefore from such persons could never be relied upon with safety.

There were, however, some points upon which reliance could be placed, and these were, he feared, very mournful ones. It was true that many individuals had been assassinated in Ireland; true that many individuals were marked out by name to be assassinated. This, although his noble friend thought it arose from spleen and private malice, was to him a proof that there existed in Ireland a great conspiracy against all those whose duty it is to preserve order. He was called upon to say this, and he was fortified in this opinion by the solemn declaration of the Parliament of that country, as also by a printed paper, by which it was stated that a certain number of individuals, by name, were marked out as objects of future assassination.

His noble friend had said, there was a regulation in Ireland for putting out lights at a certain hour. This might be a humane as well as prudent regulation, and that it might be so, no man, he presumed, was disposed to dispute. He knew nothing of its being improperly enforced. It was a measure suggested to the Parliament of Ireland; they had considered of, and determined upon that measure; it was useless to cavil at it, because there was no power in this country to put an end to that regulation; there could, therefore, be no use in making it a subject of complaint here in any place of public deliberation, least of all was it fit for the discussion of that House, for their Lordships had no authentic information of the grievances of Ireland in the first; no power to redress them, if they existed, in the second; and, therefore, they could not pass any opinion upon them regularly, nor attempt to do any thing with respect to them, without an utter subversion of all law and all established authority.

His noble friend had complained that arms had been demanded. That might be a fact, and be justified, and he knew nothing to impeach it; it might be, and was a prudent measure, if the disorders in Ireland required it. Times of imminent danger required such a measure. His noble friend proceeded upon the supposition that Ireland was not governed by law—Was that true? Was Ireland not governed by law? Was there no redress for grievances in Ireland? Was there any fact, the recital of which would cast any reflection on the administration of justice in Ireland? Was the House of Lords of Great Britain the place in which the complaint, if there were any foundation for it, ought to be made?—If there was any negligence, or any other defects in the Courts of Law; if the officers of them did not do their duty, it was there the application for redress ought to be made. He did not, however, believe there was any foundation for complaint in that respect. Those

who knew the officers of the Courts of Law there, who knew the respect they have in this country, and still more, from being more intimately known in that, would tell his noble friend that he ought not to fear any thing for the want of the due administration of justice in Ireland; and should there be any reason for complaint, the Parliament of Ireland was the only legal channel through which redress could flow. It was unjust to the Parliament of that country to insinuate that it would not take care of its real interests, and his noble friend would forgive him, if he said, it was not quite respectful to their Lordships to bring forward a subject on which they could not do any thing legally, supposing it necessary to be done. He was really sorry that his noble friend should bring forward points, which implicated many high characters, who had not an opportunity to answer for themselves before their Lordships. He could not help expressing a hope, that, in future, a little reflection would take place before any observations were made leading to no conclusion.

The Earl of MOIRA said, he did not quote the case of the Duke of Lauderdale as being exactly the same as the present object of his observations. He quoted it only to fortify the principle on which he called for the interference of the House.

As to the paper to which the noble and learned Lord, and the noble Secretary had alluded, concerning the names of persons who were marked out for future assassination, he confessed he suspected it to be an invention to justify or to support the measures which had been adopted in Ireland, and of which he had already complained. He suspected this the more, because no printer of a newspaper could have had it from any authentic source, for no man concerned in a conspiracy for assassination, would communicate the intention of himself and colleagues. He wished to speak of assassins as he felt, with the greatest indignation and abhorrence; but he must also add, that he believed that they originated in Ireland from private malice and revenge, and would do so from any party that happens to be predominant, while the present dreadful system continues. It was not by a general system of terror that it was to be prevented. "If you wish to prevent it, (said his Lordship,) awaken them to the sense of the *meannefs of assassination*. By stating to them only that it is cruel, you will produce no good, for, as they are actuated by passions which have been made furious, they cannot be deterred by any thing that can be said of cruelty. Awaken them, I say, to a sense of the *meannefs of assassination*. Give them an elevated idea of their own condition. That can only be done by convincing them that they live under a just and equitable Government."

Lord GRENVILLE said he did not take the information to which he alluded, respecting the names of individuals who are marked out for future assassination, from any newspaper, but from a printed hand-bill, which stated, among other things, that all witnesses, informers and spies, were to be assassinated; by which was obviously meant every person who should be concerned in bringing the United Irish to justice. He trusted he knew too much of the disposition of men who belong to public assemblies to ascribe to them all the same motives, or the same views, but he was ready to say that the general object of the most active, and the leading members of the United Irish, was to overthrow the Government of that country, and that the actions of all of them, even without excepting those who had the best wishes, tended to make that country a province to France. His Lordship referred to the case of those who were tried for the attempt to murder Lord Carhampton, as a proof that the assassins act upon a general system; for one of these persons had been the domestic of that noble Lord; being asked why he did not perpetrate the deed when he might have done it in his Lordship's House, he replied "No, I should not do it but with my party." The truth was, that all magistrates, witnesses and other persons, who were employed in detecting these men's deeds and to bring them to justice, were marked out as objects for assassination.

The question of adjournment was then put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, November 22.

The order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee to consider of a bill for the renewal of the restriction of payments of cash at the Bank being read, and a motion being made that the Speaker do leave the chair,

Mr. HOBHOUSE rose and said, that he felt it a duty incumbent upon him to deliver his sentiments on the measure before the Speaker should leave the chair. It was still, he hoped, in the recollection of the House, that, when the restriction on the Bank had been first proposed, he had opposed the principle of it; and the grounds he stated for so doing were, that he considered the conduct of men seizing upon the cash in the Bank as unjustifiable, and dictated by violence and rapacity; on that occasion he divided the

House, and was alone on the division. As he had not since in the least altered his sentiments on the subject, he should think himself guilty of inconsistency, as well as of criminal neglect, if he suffered a repetition of the measure to pass unresisted, and therefore he would oppose it as he had done originally; he did not mean to go at full length into his reasons, but would state a remark or two upon it.

It had been stated in the Report of the Committee, that the Bank was in a flourishing condition; and to attempt to controvert that statement might appear invidious: but yet truth demanded of him to say, that it was not made good by the detail of the Report; for if the surplus in November exceeded that in February by only 12,660*l.* (it was so stated in the Report), that could not be looked upon as any great indication of increasing prosperity. In some private concerns, indeed, it might be reckoned considerable; but, in such a concern as the Bank of England, it was not at all sufficient to authorize the inference that it was in a flourishing condition. But if it was fact that they were in the prosperous state asserted, the Bank had been guilty of great misconduct in not making a proper use of it; for it should be remembered, that in July power was given them by Parliament to make partial payments, and yet while they were, by their own confession, in a flourishing state, they neglected to avail themselves of it by paying more than before, though they could not plead the restriction in their defence. There was another part of the measure to which he had an insuperable objection—the continuation of it to the end of the war. He reminded the House, that he had said on a former occasion that this would be the case; and now the Minister was making good his predictions, alledging as a reason for so doing, that the nature of the contest in which we are engaged demanded it, though this was no part of the grounds for the former restriction, and though in comparing the war now with its nature at that time, it did not appear there was any material difference. Why the nature of the war, then, made a restriction of six months only necessary, and its nature now made a restriction during the contest necessary, he could not discover; to him it appeared absurd and irreconcilable to common sense and sound policy. After all, feeling all these objections with their full force, he was not inclined to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, or to divide the House upon it.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he had before given his reasons for continuing the restriction, and for thinking that restriction should remain during the whole course of the war; he would not go over that ground again, nor trouble the House farther than to reply to what

had fallen from the honourable gentleman who had just sat down. The honourable gentleman had said, that the affairs of the Bank were not so prosperous as was stated in the Report of the Committee, and had grounded this assertion on the partial statement that the surplus in November exceeded that in February, only by a sum of 12,660*l*. To this it was only necessary for him to say, that the general surplus of the affairs of the Bank, as far as respected their ultimate responsibility (which was the true question at issue so far) was last year as great and flourishing as any gentleman did or could desire it to be, so far as it related to the security of the creditors; to say that it only continues so, would surely be sufficient for any purposes the House could have in considering the subject; and to infer from its having since then increased only 12,660*l*., and that the Bank was not in a state of prosperity, was, in his mind, not a very conclusive way of arguing. But the House would recollect that the question for consideration at that time was not the want of ultimate security of the Bank, but the want of a due proportion between the cash in hand and the outstanding demands. The argument then was intirely on the deficiency of cash, and not on the nature and state of the general funds. In the very next sentence of the Report to that which the honourable gentleman had so industriously selected and so confidently urged in argument, appeared a statement, that there was now in the Bank five times more bullion than there was last year. By some sinister accident, however, this statement escaped the research of the honourable gentleman; but could the House find in it no symptom of prosperity? And would they not see that the objections of the honourable gentleman were intirely reduced to that ingenious one against the rapacity of Ministers?

As to the plan of continuing the restriction for the whole term of the war, the reasons for it being stated distinctly in the Report of the Committee, it was unnecessary for him to say a word more upon the subject; it would be found there distinctly set out that the Bank was in a state which in ordinary times would enable it to resume its cash payments and operations on the accustomed scale. But that the avowal of the enemy to attack us through our finances, and to ruin our public credit, was the motive (he presumed a sufficiently cogent motive) to make an additional term of restriction; and when it was remembered that no injury, nor even inconvenience, had been sustained by the restriction hitherto, the House could not but think it a sufficient encouragement to adopt that now called for.

Mr. ALLARDICE declared his approbation of the restriction, but at the same time expressed his dislike to any connection between

the Bank and Government, or any dependence of the former upon the latter. When the honourable gentleman stated that 12,660*l.* was the whole excess of the surplus of November above that of February, he was not aware, perhaps, of one fact, viz. that two dividends had been made in that time.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, that he continued to be as dissatisfied as at first with the restriction. The principle upon which it was now grounded was quite different from that upon which it moved last year. Last year necessity was the plea; this year it appeared that the Bank had more than sufficient to pay all its debts. If the bill therefore was adopted, it would be as matter of choice, not necessity; but whether it were of choice or of necessity, he had an insuperable dislike to its continuance during the war, since it would become matter of precedent to authorize every future Minister in future wars to stop payment. He did not like to see the Bank so closely connected with Government, and he heartily wished he could once again see it perfectly independent. The state of Ireland had been made one ground among others for the restriction, but how was the House to judge of that; they had no materials before them; would Ministers come forward and state what the particular situation of Ireland was that demanded a restriction of cash payments in the Bank of England? If they did not, they had no right to assume it as a ground for any measure. If Ministers would fairly declare what state Ireland was in, and what conduced to its being in that state, he had no doubt but the House would give it due consideration; in the mean time he disapproved of the principles of the bill, and would oppose it, though he knew it was of little consequence whether he approved of it or not.

Mr. WILBERFORCE BIRD said, that as one of the Committee he could assert the Report was founded in truth and justice, upon a fair consideration of the state of things. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Allardice) had objected to any connection between the Bank and Government—by the Report it would appear that they had lately been considerably dislevered. In conclusion he declared it to be his opinion, that the restriction on the Bank had been the salvation of the country.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he had intended to defer speaking upon the subject, to reserve his opinion to the very last stage, and when the question should be put, "that the bill do pass," and not before, to give his reasons why he could not, on any account, assent to it—for he was too sensible how unavailing would be any attempt of his to modify or meliorate its provisions in any of the stages of its passage through the House, to think of taking up time with any

efforts for that purpose ; but as it appeared that gentlemen on the other side of the House had come down for the purpose of speaking, he would take that opportunity of stating his objections to the bill, and to its principle. No man felt more forcibly than he did the delicacy and difficulty of agitating questions that touched public credit—no one was more convinced that they should be touched but sparingly, and handled with all possible caution, and therefore if he did not feel it to be a duty strictly incumbent upon him to declare his sentiments publicly, as well as to oppose the bill, he would have contented himself with giving the question a silent negative. He was aware that in thus fulfilling his duty he subjected himself to much misrepresentation, and to the obloquy that of late too much attached to every attempt to thwart the measures of Ministers ; but in defiance of all this, he would proceed to do his duty. He declared then, that as an honest man, he could not assent to the measure, for he did not see why the Bank of England should be governed by a rule of moral conduct different from that which is laid down for the regulation of other concerns, or how that which in individuals would justly be held fraudulent, should in the case of the Bank of England be considered just and salutary. And he should be glad to see the man who would hesitate to pronounce that the stoppage of payment for some time past at the Bank would have been at least discreditable, if not fraudulent, if it had happened in the case of a private trader. An Order of Council issued, directing the Bank to stop payment of cash, with certain exceptions—a Committee was appointed to inquire into the grounds and expediency of that act, and of the circumstances that led to it. That Committee made a Report, stating an efficient and a remote cause for that procedure, but avowing at the same time, that the efficient cause would not have formed a just ground for the Order of Council, if it had not been preceded by the remote cause. If that remote cause were now in existence, he confessed he should hesitate to oppose the measure ; but, on the contrary, every one circumstance that had contributed to form that remote cause had not only entirely ceased, but circumstances in all respects the very reverse had taken place of them ; for, first, one of the causes assigned was, that exchange with Hamburgh was unfavourable, and that gold was so high on the Continent as to create a great drain of bullion from this country ; but the present Report stated that the course of exchange with Hamburgh was at present unusually favourable for this country, and that must necessarily have a tendency to bring gold into this country. Another reason was, the necessity of reducing their discounts at the Bank : but this (to give the Bank all

due credit) did not exist now ; for they were extremely liberal in their accommodation to merchants. Another was, the necessary supply of foreign powers, and of our troops on the Continent ; but neither of those now existed. Another was, that the balance of trade in our favour was diminished ; that too was changed : so that there was not one operative cause for the order of Council that had not vanished, and given way to circumstances of a directly opposite nature ; and yet, with all these opposite reasons, Ministers came forward desiring the same measure. And here he thought proper to observe, as a circumstance of an extraordinary kind, that the principal reason for restraining payment at the Bank came from the Bank Directors themselves—that they seemed to be most forward in it, and to outrun the eagerness of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself ; for, before that right honourable gentleman had thought it necessary to say a word about the matter, the Bank Directors came to the following resolution—“ That it is the opinion of this “ Court that the Governor and Company of the Bank of England “ are enabled to issue specie in any manner that may be deemed “ necessary for the accommodation of the public. And that the “ Court has *no hesitation* to declare, that the affairs of the Bank “ are in such a state that it can with safety resume its accustomed “ functions, if *the political circumstances of the country do not render “ it inexpedient*”—And here he could not but remark, that for a mere trading company to go out of its way so far as to suggest to Government a question of political expediency was unusual and wanton ; and indeed, this they themselves in the next sentence acknowledge that they feel ; for they continue—“ But the Directors, “ deeming it *foreign to their Province to judge of these points*, with “ to submit to the wisdom of Parliament whether, as it has been “ once judged proper to lay a restriction on the payments of the “ Bank in cash, it may, or may not, be prudent to continue the “ same.” Thus he said, the measure of non-payment originated with the persons bound to pay. To speak of the body of the Bank as a body (for individually he respected them, and knew from personal intimacy, that there were many of them deserving respect), but as a body he must speak of them in terms of disapprobation—they had received grace, and lenity, and indulgence from the public, and it was a hard return which they now made to the public. They should have remembered with gratitude, that when they were obliged to stop payment, no disposition whatever was shewn, on the part of the public, to press, to thwart, or to harass them—on the contrary, every thing was done to aid and support them. Associations were formed for the purpose among the most respectable

and opulent of the citizens of London, who unanimously agreed to support the Bank, to receive its notes as cash, and to fence it in from mischiefs that were apprehended. One would think that the consequence of this treatment would have been, that now, when they are declaredly in a state of prosperity, they would call those associations together again in order to shew how well they stand, and propose to do that which at all times it was their duty to do—pay their promissory notes in cash if required so to do; instead of which they assumed to themselves the province of judging of political circumstances, and pleading them against their creditors, and officiously suggested to Parliament the expediency of continuing the restriction. In an individual this would not be honest, and the man who should practice it would certainly lose his character. On those grounds he would not agree to a renewal of the restriction; for if Ministers were allowed to bring through the House the same measure on grounds so totally different, what was it but to say—That whether the course of exchange be unfavourable, or the course of exchange be favourable, gold goes rapidly out of the country, or gold comes rapidly into the country—Whether there be a drain on the Bank, or a vast influx of bullion into it, the House must sanction the Bank in the proposed measure, and justify them in saying to the public, “We (the Bank of England) owe you money, and here we have money in abundance, but will not pay you.”

Mr. Tierney then proceeded to state, that it appeared from the Report of the Committee that the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, who were examined touching the *inconvenience* that might have arisen from the restriction imposed on the Bank, and touching the expediency of continuing that restriction, had declared, that *they were not aware of any such inconvenience*—and that there could not arise any injury to the credit of the Bank, but, on the contrary, advantage to the nation from continuing the restriction. This he thought a most extraordinary assertion—extraordinary indeed, for the Governor of the Bank of England to say that it could be attended with no inconvenience to break their faith solemnly and under their hand pledged, and to write on their Bank notes “*payable on demand*,” while they were determined to refuse that payment. If by no inconveniences they meant no pecuniary demands, no clamorous duns at their doors, no bailiffs to arrest them in the street—they were right; but if they were animated by that spirit which distinguished their forefathers, and rendered some of them, though but traders, not less illustrious than the first Statesmen—if they were actuated by that generous, manly integrity which raised the character of British merchants high enough to cope with the first

men of the world ; they would find a very heavy inconvenience in their own feeling, in the goading reflection that themselves, the Bank of England, was now under the censuring eye of all Europe, and that they are praying the Parliament to continue them in a state of bankruptcy which they themselves acknowledged to be unnecessary. But it appeared that, now they were become deep politicians, and took upon them to inform the House that, from the nature of the war, and the avowed purpose of the enemy to attack this country by means of its public credit, it will be necessary to continue the restriction. That the enemy would aim a blow at our credit and finances, all would agree, for all modern wars have been without exception carried on upon that principle. Modern wars are made upon resources rather than blood ; but was this the way to prevent the enemy from succeeding ?—most whimsical expedient !—In order to leave to the enemy no credit to attack, they destroy credit themselves. But at last they speak plainly, at last it comes out that “ it will distress the *financial operations* of the country ;” and then they deliberately weigh and find “ That it will be expedient to continue the restriction, with the reserve of partial issues of cash at the discretion of the Bank, and that it may be so continued with advantage to the nation, and without injury to the credit of the Bank.” This was the result of the examination of the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England. This was their advice. This precious plan, which first originated in the diabolical, but fertile mind of that monster, Roberespierre ; but what had they to do with political considerations, or what had finance to do with the Bank of England ? What was it that raised the Bank of England above all the banks in the world, and fixed its credit upon so strong a base as to resist even the mortal assaults of the present time ? What, but that it was unconnected with Government, and independent of Ministers ; and had only to pursue the plain straight road of their own business, to act directly, to act strictly, and to fulfil its engagements with probity, having nothing to do with financial operations. In other countries where a connection subsisted between the Bank and the State, and where of course Ministers had the power of distorting the operations of the Bank to their own crooked views of finance, the Bank never was safe. In England there never till now was such a connection, and the Bank, of consequence, was always safe ; but it was much to be feared that hereafter men, in estimating the Bank, would look to the Court, and measure the security of the former by the stability of the latter, founding their opinions on that subject rather by the wisdom of

Ministers than by the substantial property and integrity of the Bank Directors.

He said, he had already stated that his first ground of objection to the measure was, that it was not founded in common honesty. There was another ground, and he would now state it—he thought the measure led to a principle that, if effected, would be extremely prejudicial to the monied interest. And here he would repeat what he had before professed, that, if he was not in his conscience convinced that no hazard would attend the resuming of cash-payments, he would not say a word about it. The fear of an invasion had been stated as one of the reasons for not opening the Bank in the usual way; but if an invasion actually took place, he could not see how the withholding cash, and of course diminishing the credit of the Bank, would serve it. He wished some gentlemen better qualified would point out to him the difficulty, or what objection there could be to keep in bank a quantity of cash equal to the amount of the notes delivered out, which would establish the credit so firmly, that even in case of invasion every man being sure of receiving cash for his bills, would have no dislike to accept the notes of the Bank. Some, perhaps, would say, that if cash equal to the outstanding notes were kept in the Bank, there would be no profit on the business. But if he did not err, it might be done with advantage, and with the effect of giving new facility, as well as credit and vigour, to the operations of the Bank. He would ask the Bank Directors to be content only for one year without any profit; and every man being sure of payment if he called, would never think of demanding cash. If, while the Bank was unable to make cash payments, the associations already alluded to had kept up and supported and credited the Bank, was it to be doubted that they and all the people at large would continue to do so when they found the Bank had resumed its accustomed modes of payment? and this would be infinitely better than the present measure; for suppose an invasion, if the Bank were shut against payment, no one would take notes, for they could not be able to convert them into any substantial commodity—so that would not prevent the evil, not facilitate the negotiation of Bank notes; and in the city, however prompt they may be to give Loyalty Loans, their procedure on the last Loan shewed that they were not in the main disposed to sacrifice much to their loyalty—they would soon remind the Bank, and say, “We did every thing for you; we discharged our duty to you, and you have not discharged yours to us; but instead of that, you applied to Parliament for a restriction, and thereby made that restriction your own act.” If, under these circumstances, the right honourable Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer wished to have the Bank notes circulated, he must go the full length, he must adopt the vigour with the policy of Roberspierre, and make them a legal tender, else the Bank would be blown upon. If the result should be fatal, which he both feared and deprecated, it would be a source of affliction to the Bank Directors, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would fruitlessly lament his having intrigued with them. He declared he much feared that the financial plan contained in the measure would unfold itself on Friday next, when the right honourable gentleman was to open his Budget. For his part, he could put his hand to his heart and declare, that as an honest Member, he never would vote a shilling to His Majesty's present Ministers. At all events, if money must necessarily come, he wished it were to come in a fair way.

After a short conversation, the House went into a Committee of the whole House upon the bill, and went through the common clauses.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that in pursuance of what he had already stated, he had to propose a clause, providing, "that during the continuance of this restriction, it shall not be lawful for the Bank to issue any sums of money by way of loan, or advance for the public service, except on the credit of the duty on land and malt, and that any other advance which shall be made must be on the authority of a specific act of Parliament, if any such shall be made during the continuance of the present restriction."—Agreed to.

He then proposed to limit the duration of the present act to one month after the conclusion of the present war by final treaty.—Agreed to.

The House being resumed, the Report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

The order of the day being read, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider farther of a supply.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the following resolutions for the ensuing year: That

£.

7,150 be voted for the civil establishment for the province of Upper Canada.

5,915 for Nova Scotia.

4,550 for New Brunswick.

1,900 for the island of St. John.

1,840 for Cape Breton.

1,232 for Newfoundland.

580 for Bermudas.

£.

4,100 for the Bahama Islands.

600 for Dominica.

6,157 for New South Wales.

168,000 for the relief of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France.

44,000 for pensions and allowances to the American Loyalists.

150,000 for secret service abroad.

36,000 for bills that are or may become due for the settlement of New South Wales.

33,325 for maintaining convicts at home.

2,500 for bills on Douglas Harbour.

The order of the day being read for the House to go into a Committee of the whole House on the Scotch distillery bill, the House went into a Committee accordingly.

Mr. ROSE said, that the late act, with respect to the distilleries of Scotland, related to a subject that ought to be much considered, inasmuch as it related to a subject of great importance; it was passed under an understanding that much information was to be received from Scotland upon the subject previous to making any permanent regulation. From the information which had been received, the subject appeared to be of much too complicated a nature to be finally decided now; he should therefore move, that leave be given to bring in a bill to continue the present act for a time to be limited.

Mr. SPEAKER suggested, that this motion was irregular, that as this was a question relating to trade, the motion should be made in the Committee in the form of a resolution.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then moved a resolution, that the duties imposed by the said act be farther continued for a time to be limited.

Mr. ALLARDICE said a few words, which we could not hear distinctly.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the present measure was only intended to be for a limited time. That the duties on all distilleries in Scotland must, in future, be much higher than they are at present, or else the stills must be stopped altogether, for the police of that part of the country, and the regard that ought to be had for its morals, as well as health, required that there should be a great reduction in the consumption of spirits. The question was a question of revenue certainly; but the revenue must be relinquished altogether, and the distilleries be stopped, if the consumption of spirits could not be diminished in that part of the kingdom, for the

excesses which the present use of them occasioned was most enormous.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY thought the consumption of spirits much too great for the health and morals of the people in Scotland at present. He believed that Government had hitherto but very imperfect information upon this business.

The resolution was then agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received.

Thursday, November 23.

Mr. HOBART being about to bring up the report of the bill for restraining the payments of specie by the Bank,

Mr. HUSSEY rose to oppose the bringing up the report. He was not in the House yesterday; in case he had, he most certainly should, with his single voice, have opposed the House going into a Committee upon the bill. He considered the present measure as one of a most dangerous tendency, and differed entirely with the right honourable gentleman as to the necessity of the restraint. He could by no means reconcile to his mind the idea of continuing the restriction to the extent of time proposed, one month after the close of the present war. A measure of this important nature should not be deferred for so long a period. At any rate, it should not be continued beyond one month after the next meeting of Parliament. He did not oppose the present measure from any idea of obstructing the proceedings of Government. His opposition arose from the fatal tendency which, in his opinion, the restraint would have upon Bank notes. He was certain this would soon be felt, and in proportion as the notes were affected would the country be injured. He conceived it to be his duty to oppose the measure, and had therefore taken this stage of the proceedings to object to its farther progress.

Mr. SPEAKER reminded the honourable gentleman, that when the report was brought up he would have an opportunity to object to any particular part of it, if he thought necessary.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he should have thought the honourable Member would not have opposed the bringing up the report, but would have preferred the regular mode, since, if his objection were successful against any part of it, the bill must drop altogether. He gave the fullest credit to the motives which actuated the honourable Member in opposing the bill, but conceived he was mistaken as to its tendency. The restraint upon the Bank was, in his opinion, an act, under present external circumstances, of absolute ne-

cessity: it was highly necessary this restraint should continue during the present war, or, at least, while it retained its present shape. His reasons for this opinion were already known to the House. We were contending with an enemy, whose object was to attack the credit of the country, and to embarrass its financial operations. It was necessary to meet these attacks in a manner that would defeat the object of the enemy. The House should take every measure to ward off the danger, and the present was, in his opinion, the best that could possibly be adopted.

Mr. HUSSEY agreed with the right honourable gentleman as to the necessity of adopting measures which would oppose the intentions of the enemy, but could not conceive that the one proposed would produce that effect. If, however, it would, it was preferable at present to continue the restriction only till a month after the next session of Parliament; and if it was thought necessary then, the restriction might be farther continued.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that though by the bill the restriction was continued during the war, it empowered the Bank at any intermediate period to resume its payments, by communicating its intention to the Speaker, and giving one month's notice. It was necessary to hold out to the enemy, that the country was prepared to meet all its efforts of desperation; but it did not follow that the restriction would be continued during the whole of the war. While, however, it was pursued in its present shape, he certainly considered the restriction as absolutely necessary.

The report was then brought up, and agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN presented a petition from the Returning Officer of the borough of Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, which stated his having received a precept to return a Member; that he had neglected to proclaim the same between the hours of four and eight as the act appointed, and therefore praying that a new writ might be issued.

Mr. SPEAKER conceived that the contents of the petition required the serious attention of the House, and directed the Clerk to read the acts of the 7th and 8th of William and Mary, relating to the regulation of elections, and also the act of the 25th of George III.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it was a question which required much important deliberation; and as gentlemen could not be so well acquainted with the contents of the petition, as if it were ordered to lie on the table, he should move to that effect. He, however, conceived, that the House could not interfere in the petition, as fifty-two days were not elapsed, which was necessary in the pre-

sent instance. The petition, however, had better be laid upon the table, that gentlemen might make themselves acquainted with the laws upon the subject.

Mr. BRAGGE said a few words in support of the petition; after which the petition was brought up, and ordered to lie upon the table.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, November 24.

Heard counsel in an appeal, wherein Francis Duggan was appellant, and Alexander Wight, respondent, and affirmed the decree of the Court of Session, without calling upon the respondent's counsel. Adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, November 24.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Chancellor PITT rose and said: In pursuance of the intimation which I gave upon a former day, I now rise to state to the Committee the general outline of the measures which are proposed as the foundations for raising the supplies, and for meeting the exigencies of the ensuing year. As the principle of that part of the intended plan to which I am most desirous to direct the attention of the Committee is new in the financial operations of this country, at least for more than a century, as it is a principle so important in its nature, and so extensive in its consequences, it is not my intention to call for any decision upon its merit in the present stage of the business. All that I now mean to state to the Committee, I wish to be considered merely as a notice, and a general explanation of a plan that is afterwards to be brought forward. Any minute consideration and particular dispositions I shall omit till the subject is submitted to a detailed discussion, and content myself with a general view of the object proposed, and a general outline of the mode by which it is to be carried into execution. After the facts which are already in

your possession, after the unanimous resolution which the two Houses of Parliament have passed upon the subject, it would be unnecessary for me to dwell upon the causes which demand your exertions, and the nature of the objects which the supplies you are called upon to provide are intended to secure. The question which you have to consider is of no less importance than by what means you are to provide for the expences which will be necessary to enable you successfully to resist the avowed intentions of an arrogant foe, to destroy your liberties and constitution, to cut off the sources of your wealth, your prosperity, your independence, and your glory. In pledging ourselves to withstand these haughty pretensions, and to defend the blessings we enjoy, we have not acted lightly. In expressing our determination to support the honour and the interest of the country at every hazard, we spoke equally the dictates of sober reflection, and the language of indignant feeling; our judgement was in concord with our ardour; we declared ourselves ready to meet the difficulty in its fullest extent, and prepared to support our resolution at every extremity. I wish to be understood, therefore, that it is upon these principles that the plan which I am now about to explain is founded. I know that it is upon these principles that Parliament and the Nation have pledged themselves to act. By these principles, and these only, the measures which are to be submitted to your consideration have been framed, and it is upon these principles that their propriety ought to be judged.

Before I proceed to enter more largely into the principles of the plan which it is my intention to propose, I shall very briefly take a view of the amount of the expence for which it will be necessary to provide. These I shall state under the usual heads, avoiding, in the present stage of the business, all minute details, and considering only the amount of the supplies which will be required. I shall begin, then, with the sums that will be necessary for the service of the navy. The Committee will recollect, that there has already been voted for this branch, the sum of 12,539,000*l*. It will likewise be recollected, that the estimates of the present year have been made out in a new form, intended with greater correctness than formerly, to present a full view of all the expence that would be necessary. Instead of the former allowance of 4*l*. per month, which was found to be inadequate, the full expence has been taken into view. Even in their present shape the estimates are not to be considered as so accurate as to exclude the possibility of any excess. All that can be said is, that they are now more likely than at any former period to include the whole of the expence which this branch of the service may demand. The amount voted, then, for this

article is 12,539,000*l.* It is unnecessary here to specify the different heads of this branch; all that is requisite is, to point out the whole of the expence which we are called upon to devise measures to supply. Besides this sum, there will be a sum of navy debt, owing to the excess of last year above the estimate, amounting to three millions. This, however, will, form no part of the expence for which it will now be requisite to make a cash provision. It will only be requisite to provide a sum equal to the interest; and in the present state of the funds, that provision cannot be calculated at less than 250,000*l.* By a regulation adopted last year to prevent the depreciation of Navy and Exchequer bills, by providing that the period of payment should never be very distant from their date, there will be on their monthly issue of 500,000*l.* a floating debt of 1,500,000*l.* to be funded, arising out of the excess of the estimates for the year 1787. There will likewise be a similar sum of 1,500,000*l.* falling due in the year 1799; but for these no cash provision will be necessary, nor are they included in the supplies to be raised. The sum of 12,539,000*l.* is all that enters into the account of the supplies under this branch for the ensuing year.

The expence for the Army, excepting only barracks and extraordinaries, has likewise been voted. What the amount of the extraordinaries will be, it is impossible to ascertain; but so far as can be collected from the bills already drawn, this article may be taken at four millions, besides the vote of credit, making an excess of about 1,300,000*l.* at the end of the year.

In judging of the probable amount of the demands of this branch of service for the year 1798, it will be seen that there is no prospect of increase at home; that the situation of the war abroad promises to admit of a diminution; and that, from the general state of affairs, many of the causes which contributed to swell the Extraordinaries of the army cease to operate. The account of the Extraordinaries, then, may be taken at 2,500,000*l.* The charge on the head of Barracks may be estimated at 400,000*l.* The expence of Guards and Garrisons, and the general articles included under this head, has already been voted, amounting to 10,112,000*l.* The Ordnance may be taken at 1,300,000*l.*; and the various articles of Miscellaneous Service may be rated at 673,000*l.* There remain only two articles to be noticed, the sum of 200,000*l.* appropriated for the reduction of the National Debt, and about 680,000*l.* arising from deficiencies of grants. From the whole, then, the Committee will see, that the sum now to be provided for amounts to about twenty-five millions and a half. Supposing the statements under the head of the Army and Navy to be correct, the

expence on these branches will be reduced to the extent of two millions and a half; and, including the reduction on the head of Extraordinaries, the saving upon the whole will amount to the sum of 6,700,000*l*.

Notwithstanding this diminution, however, there still remains the sum of 25 millions and a half to be provided for, as the supplies of the ensuing year. Before I proceed to explain the general plan proposed for covering this expence, I shall state the usual articles which compose part of the annual Ways and Means. These are the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and the land and malt. The former I shall take, along with the profit on the lottery, at so very small a sum as 700,000*l*. making with the land and malt the sum of three millions and a half. There still remains, however, the sum of twenty-two millions to be supplied by some other means. The mode by which this sum is to be raised, forms the great object of consideration. The reduction upon the head of naval and military establishment does, indeed, amount to a very considerable saving. The Committee will see with satisfaction that their expences admit of diminution below what was necessary in some former periods of the war. Pleasing as this circumstance certainly is, I will not disguise, however, that after the sums which have already been added to the national debt, after the burdens which have already been imposed, to raise so large a sum as twenty-two millions, is no light matter. But the difficulty is to be examined with a firm determination to exert every effort which the magnitude of the occasion demands, with a firm determination to produce the means by which the struggle is to be supported with vigour and with effect, so long as these continue to be the only course by which we can maintain our national honour, and secure our national safety. After this decided resolution, to render these supplies effective, the next point to be considered is the mode by which the expence is to be defrayed without danger to the sources of our prosperity, and without inconvenience to those who may be called upon to contribute.

Before I enter into the statement of that plan by which it is proposed to meet a considerable part of this expence in a manner rather new in our more recent financial operations, I shall mention one of the intended supplies which, under the restriction with which it will be guarded, I am disposed to think will be viewed as altogether unexceptionable. After what I have heard from some gentlemen on former discussions, I cannot expect that the measure to which I allude will encounter no opposition, but I am pretty confident that though not universal, the approbation which it will receive will be very

general. This measure, however, is considerably different from that which some gentlemen conceive. I propose that towards the supplies the Bank shall make an advance to Government. The sum which it is in contemplation thus to raise is neither very large in itself, nor will it be made in such a shape as to deprive the Bank of the certainty of re-payment within a short period, if it shall be considered expedient to take off the restriction on payment in cash. That under all the circumstances of our present situation that restriction is necessary I cannot entertain a doubt. I confess that while the war continues in its present shape it is my decided opinion that it would be unwise to discontinue that restriction. If, however, any unforeseen events of the war, or if the return of peace should supersede that necessity, the advances which it is proposed should be made by the Bank are to be upon such conditions as shall render them available for the payment of their debt. If such a measure should meet with the approbation of Parliament the Bank will consent to make the advance. If it is clear then that in the present situation of affairs the restriction is prudent, if under the conditions intended to be stipulated with regard to the manner of re-payment this advance will be attended with advantage to the public service without any detriment to the Bank, I am at a loss to discover why we should decline an accommodation which, in the present circumstances of the country, would prove so material a relief. The sum of three millions then the Bank will agree to advance on Exchequer bills, to be repaid at a short period, capable of being prolonged if nothing occur to render that extension inexpedient, but still claimable by the Bank if any change in their affairs shall render it necessary.

There now remains to be supplied the sum of 19 millions. According to the received system of our financial operations the natural and ordinary mode of providing this sum would be by a loan. I know, that notwithstanding the magnitude of the debt already accumulated, resources are still left for supplying the public service by this means. I admit the funding system, which has been so long the established mode of supplying the public wants, though I cannot but regret the extent to which it has been carried, is not yet exhausted. If we look, however, at the general diffusion of wealth, and the great accumulation of capital; above all, if we consider the hopes which the enemy have conceived of wearying us out by the embarrassments of the funding system, we shall find that the true mode of preparing ourselves to maintain the contest with effect and success, is to reduce the advantages which the funding system is calculated to afford within due limits, and to prevent the deprecia-

tion of our national securities. We ought to consider how far the efforts we shall exert to preserve the blessings we enjoy will enable us to transmit the inheritance to posterity unincumbered with those burdens which would cripple their vigour, which would prevent them from asserting that rank in the scale of nations which their ancestors so long and so gloriously maintained. It is in this point of view that the subject ought to be considered. Whatever objections might have been fairly urged against the funding system in its origin, no man can suppose that after the form and shape which it has given to our financial affairs, after the heavy burdens which it has left behind it, we can now recur to the notion of raising in one year the whole of the supplies which a scale of expence so extensive as ours must require. If such a plan is evidently impracticable, some medium, however, may be found to draw as much advantage from the funding system, as it is fit, consistently with a due regard for posterity, to employ, and at the same time to obviate the evils with which its excess would be attended. We still may devise some expedient by which we may contribute to the defence of our own cause, and to the supply of our own exigencies, by which we may reduce within equitable limits the accommodation of the funding system, and lay the foundation of that quick redemption which will prevent the dangerous consequences of an overgrown accumulation of our public debt.

Such are the advantages which the plan I am about to propose endeavours to combine. To guard against the accumulation of the funded debt, and to contribute that share to the support of the struggle in which we are engaged, which our ability will permit without inconvenience to those who are called upon to contribute, appears essentially necessary. The great object of such a practical scheme must be to allot fairly and equally to every class that portion which each ought to bear. As I have already stated then, it is my intention to propose, not for your immediate decision, but for your mature deliberation, the plan of raising by a general tax within the year, the sum of seven millions. I am aware that this sum does far exceed any thing which has been raised at any former period at one time, but I trust I have stated sufficient reasons to shew that it is a wise and necessary measure. I am sure that whatever temporary sacrifices it may be necessary to make, the Committee will feel that they can best provide for the ultimate success of the struggle by showing that they are determined to be guided by no personal considerations, that while they defend the present blessings they enjoy, they are not regardless of posterity. If the sacrifices required be considered in this view; if they be taken in reference to the ob-

jects for which we contend, and the evils which we are labouring to avert, great as they may be compared with former exertions, they must appear very light in the balance.

It will be observed that there will be 12 millions out of the 18 still to be provided for in the way of loan. At present I state this circumstance merely in the cursory review I have taken of the whole supplies. In what manner it will be done must depend upon the views which the progress of affairs may afterwards suggest. Certain parts of this sum would probably be raised on different terms. Whatever part of it might be covered by the produce of the sinking fund may be borrowed as permanent debt, providing for its redemption on the same terms with the other permanent debt; other parts again may be borrowed upon a much earlier scheme of redemption. But to proceed to the mode by which it is proposed to raise this sum of seven millions:

It has been understood for a considerable time that a great increase of the Assessed Taxes was in agitation. I shall state the reasons why this branch of the revenue has been chosen as best calculated to combine the advantages which I have already explained as desirable in the intended plan. The objects to be attained in the mode of executing this scheme are threefold. One great point is, that the plan should be diffused as extensively as possible; that it should be regulated as fairly and equally as possible, without the necessity of such an investigation of property as the customs, the manners, and the pursuits of the people would render odious and vexatious. That it should exclude those who are least able to contribute or furnish means of relief to those whose situation most entitles them to favour and exemption: that it should distinguish the gradation of classes; that it should admit of those abatements which, in particular instances, it might be prudent to make in the portion of those who might be liable under its general principles. I am aware that no measure can be devised adequately to provide for all these objects in all their details and in every particular instance. No scheme can be practically carried into execution, in any financial arrangement, much more in such a one as the present, with such perfect dispositions as to guard against every possible inconvenience, and to render every individual application unexceptionable. These general principles however, must be kept in view in every practical plan, and the great question in discussion will be, whether any means of apportioning the extent of the contribution can be found better calculated to preserve them entire than the provisions which I propose contains. It will at once occur that the taxes, known by the name of Assessed, include so many objects different

in their nature, so many objects in the present state of society of real necessity, so many of optional use and of luxury, so diversified by modes, by the state of families, that in general nothing can afford a better test of expenditure than the way in which these taxes are combined. One great objection, that the poor who contribute to the Assessed Taxes, yet may be entitled to be exempted from such a contribution as the present, will thus be obviated in a striking manner. Those who contribute to the Assessed Taxes, compose a number of about 7 or 800,000 housekeepers and masters of families, including a population of nearly four millions, on whom the sum will be raised. Who then are those who will be entitled to exemption? Those who already are not included at all, on account of their poverty, or those who, for the same reason, are discharged from payment. Whether this description includes the artificers and labourers who have a fair claim to exemption, there is at least reason to believe from the best information that can be collected, 500,000 housekeepers and masters of families, covering a population of between two and three millions, are so comprehended. Such is the extent of the total exemption. The next object then is, to consider the effect of the contribution upon those classes on which it would be raised. The Assessed Taxes, so far as can be ascertained, amount to a sum of about 2,700,000*l*. This sum as collected is levied upon about 7 or 800,000 housekeepers, of whom it is ascertained that 400,000 do not contribute more than 150,000*l*. This, indeed, is a little increased by the late additions, but in a very small proportion, as these additions chiefly affect those who belong to the superior classes. The proposed additional assessment then, upon the whole contributors, would amount, on the whole sum of the Assessed Taxes, to something less than a treble contribution. Why it will be something less than treble, which would be about eight millions, will be explained in the sequel. When we see that 400,000 householders contribute only 150,000*l*. we shall see how small a part of the additional share will fall upon those who are most entitled to mitigation. In this extensive apportionment too, we shall discover the modifications which it may be necessary to make, and the means to adapt it to the ability of the contributors. The Assessed Taxes obviously divide themselves into two classes. Those which in a great measure applied to inhabited houses, consisted of three duties, that which was known by the name of the Old Duty, the Window Duty, and the Commutation Duty, first imposed last war, and regulated in 1788; and of the different per cents. since imposed, which may amount to about 1,400,000*l*. out of two millions and a half. In this both the

high and the low classes were included, but among the latter 400,000 contributed only 150,000*l.* The other consists of optional consumptions and luxury—the duty on servants, carriages, horses for pleasure, and that class of horses employed in agriculture, the proprietors of whom, in the present state of the country, one of the most opulent classes which it contains, could not be injured by such an addition to the moderate rate which is now paid. It will readily occur that where there are houses which do not contribute for the optional, or class of luxury, there the inhabitant must be best entitled to favour and mitigation. On these, then, the burden will fall much more lightly than on those, such as we ourselves, and those who contribute to both divisions of the Assessed Taxes. There is another distinction likewise which will increase the facility of applying the relief which may be found proper to bestow. The House Tax in the metropolis and other great towns, is more felt by the inferior classes than it is felt by the same class in the country. Persons in the same circumstances of life, who in the country pay only perhaps 2*l.* in towns may pay 3 or 4 times that amount. It is the advantage of this plan then, that it will be in the power of the Committee to make the contribution bear upon those who are best able to pay, and diminish the burden of those who are best entitled to relief. It forms another characteristic advantage of the plan, that the relief which it may be expedient to give to the poor, will not materially affect the productiveness of the tax. There is reason to believe, from the best estimate that can be formed, that not more than 3 or 400,000*l.* is raised in all the metropolis. This includes, indeed, all who are entitled to relief, but it likewise includes all those who are best able to pay. If great cities and populous towns contain a great number who, from their poverty, have a claim to exemption, they contain likewise a great proportion of the opulent class, who will be able to contribute in such a manner as to supply what it would be unfair to exact from the inferior class. Thus the two classes together will supply what is required without oppression to the poor, or defalcation of the tax. In this manner, following the gradations of ability, as they are clearly pointed out by the profits of voluntary or luxurious contribution, and the claims to relief, as they are ascertained by the nature of the taxes which individuals already pay, the full amount will be fairly collected, and the burden justly distributed. In this way the first class of contribution will, on the whole, double the amount of what is already paid, though in some cases it may be more than double, in others considerably less. In this way 2,800,000*l.* may be obtained. Upon that class which comprehends the taxes on Servants, Pleasure

Horses, Carriages, &c. it is proposed to treble the assessment. In the higher classes, where the quantity of Assessed Taxes may be considered as a fair criterion of opulence, the rate of contribution may in some cases be an addition of three and a half, and even in the highest class of all, a quadruple of the present tax.

On the second description, there may be obtained about 3,900,000*l.* at the treble rate. Allowing 500,000*l.* for the highest class, the produce with the 2,800,000*l.* for the first class, makes more than 7,000,000*l.* If it were trebled on the whole, the produce would be more than 8,000,000*l.*; but it will now be sufficiently understood, that, from the modifications which it will be expedient to introduce, in many cases, instead of double there will not be one rate, in some not one half rate, and others still less, to be exacted. Thus, from the treble allotment, there will be nearly one million to be divided in modification to alleviate the burdens of those whom it may be wise to exempt. In this manner each class will mutually contribute to the relief of those who are unable to sustain an additional burden, and the 400,000 who now pay so small a proportion will continue to be protected from any severe exaction by the extent which the tax will receive from the more opulent class of contributors.

Thus the advantage of such an arrangement will allow sufficient latitude of relief where relief should be given without diminishing the productiveness of the tax. It will allow any exemptions to those who have no means, not to those who are unwilling to contribute; of the former there may be many in number, but little in amount; of the latter, whatever the amount may be, I am sure the numbers will be few. I am sure that there cannot be a large proportion of men in any part of this country who will be unwilling to concur in those measures which are felt so necessary for the public safety, or who can refuse to contribute a part of their property for the preservation of all they possess. In such a cause no man can find the extent of his contribution limited, but by the extent of his ability. In every class where the means exceed the actual necessity—in every case where the power of contribution exceeds the absolute demand, no man can surely be so unmindful of the duties he owes to his country, no man can be so blind to the interests he has to preserve, as not to feel that he makes the most frugal and generous option in contributing to defend the society, of which he forms a component part, and to maintain that station which he occupies. I am aware that I anticipate the wishes of every man who hears me, in thus proposing that the extent of the relief which the poor will receive will be defrayed by the rate of contributing varying

with the property and the stake which men hold in the country, by attaching upon the same class with ourselves the additional burdens which the poverty of the lower classes will improve. In thus affording a proof of the sincerity of the pledge we have given by our readiness to make the sacrifices which it requires, I feel that I am equally in unison with the general sentiment of the Committee, as with the great principles of policy and of justice. Speaking for ourselves, we thus disclaim every little jealousy of the extent of the burden we are called upon to bear. We prove to the world that we are not limited by this or that contribution; we demonstrate that we calculate only the magnitude of the occasion, and consider only whether the effort be equal to the importance of the demand. I trust that the exertion will not be deficient, that the contribution will not be inadequate; but if it were found to be below the unexampled greatness of the cause, I am sure that the utmost alacrity would be shewn to submit to still greater sacrifices, and to display more vigorous efforts. We have the satisfaction of knowing that, however heavy these burdens might be, if permanent, yet as temporary sacrifices they are light in the scale when weighed against this mighty crisis and extremity of defence, when compared with the horrors we have to shun, and the value of the blessings we have to preserve. If I am not deceived in the inquiries I have made, the greatest contribution will not exceed a tenth of the income of the highest class of those by whom it is paid. No man surely will think such a sacrifice too great for such a cause; he cannot think advantages too dearly purchased, if the effect of our preparation be to discourage the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, to dissipate the vain hopes they have built on our supposed financial embarrassments, to animate confidence at home, to confirm the solidity of our power, and to maintain the sources of our prosperity.

Having thus explained the general nature of the plan proposed, I must not omit to suggest the precautions which will be necessary to prevent the contribution from being eluded on the one hand by a subsequent diminution of establishment, and on the other, to make provision that a real change of circumstances may not expose individuals to an oppressive exaction. It is evident, however, that in order to make the tax productive, it must proceed on a past, not on a future assessment. For, Sir, every gentleman must feel, that if for the period this contribution is to be levied upon the People, the share each individual is to contribute, were to be regulated by future Assessments, a great part of the benefit, there is now reason to expect we shall derive from it, would be frittered away by concealment and evasion. It is therefore my purpose to propose, that not future, but

past Assessments shall be made the basis of the new contribution ; because *prima facie*, the most impartial evidence that can be obtained of the ability of each individual to contribute to the exigencies of the state, is the amount of his expenditure of income before he has any temptation to lower it, in order to elude taxation. On the other hand, Sir, as cases may exist of some, who, by accidental causes, are rendered unable to support their present establishment ; of others, who, having improvidently engaged in them, repent of their imprudence and desire to return to a situation better adapted to their real circumstances ; and of others, who, though able to pay their present Assessments, can shew themselves by the proportion they bear to their income, to be unable to bear the additional weight of the new contributions, it is my intention, when the whole shall come in detail before the House, to propose regulations for the relief of such persons, to be digested and modified in the best manner of which so complicated a subject will admit. But, while provisions of this kind are to be made in favour of those upon whom the assessment would be too severely felt, the House will foresee that it will be impossible, with any regard to the great and important object in view, to suffer the tax to be evaded by those who, not deficient in ability, but wanting in inclination to contribute to the necessities of their country, would abandon the establishments to which they have been accustomed, and diminish their expenditure, in order to avoid the tax. But if it be found that, in point of fact, they shall have resigned their establishments from inability to maintain them ; and, if they follow up that resignation with a declaration to be prescribed for the purpose, that the increased assessments would amount to more than a certain proportion, to be regulated on a future day, of their whole income, then they shall be entitled to relief. Sir, I am aware, that, though the House and the Nation will, with few exceptions, concur with me in this, there will not be wanting those who will cavil at this mitigating provision, and alledge that it will amount in its effects to a compulsory disclosure of property ; but the House will immediately see that it falls short of that, and will view it in its true aspect ; that is to say, as a provision intended to qualify, to mitigate, or to prevent any severity or injury that may arise to individuals from the difficulty, or rather the utter impracticability of drawing a precise line of demarcation between those who, on account of the property they possess are bound, and those who, from inferior circumstances, are unable to contribute to a supply for the exigencies of the State : no man can say that such a provision, coming with the effects of relief, is a hardship, and I am sure no man can say that the tax would be efficient without it. These, Sir, are

the outlines of the plan which I mean to offer to the consideration of the House in more minute detail upon a future day. If, when the whole has been examined, it shall meet the concurrence of, and be adopted by, the House, it will be found disengaged from many difficulties, embarrassments, and expences, that lie in the way of other modes of taxation; for, Sir, the execution of it will entirely depend upon laws now existing, laws long in force, laws familiar to those who will be the objects of its provisions. To enforce it, no new power will be delegated, no new office created, no new expences incurred.

Sir, I am aware that, in contemplating a system of finance which professes to make property the basis of its assessments, and to be as diffusively as generally, and as equally levied as circumstances will admit, an idea will naturally suggest itself to every one, as it has to myself—I mean that assessed taxes, however differently apportioned to the circumstances of different persons, and however certainly they may attach on persons of opposite descriptions, are often eluded by a particular description of men of large property; you will see I mean those men who possess large capitals, and who, by denying themselves many of the enjoyments of life, hoard up money, and exclude themselves from assessment. How much this applies to the subject in consideration I will not now discuss, since it certainly applies no more to this than to any former mode of taxation, for I know no act to make property the subject of taxation, while it is not rendered conducive to the pleasure or convenience, or rendered visible by the optional expenditure of the person who possesses it. If this objection has never stood in the way of taxation before, I am at a loss to suppose how it can be made an objection to this, and shall be extremely obliged to any gentleman who will point out a mode by which property so held in hand can be subjected to taxation or assessment. The proportion this class of individuals bears to the mass of the taxable part of the nation, is not sufficiently great to add any weight to the objection if it were made; and I submit it to the feelings and wisdom of the Committee, whether, in a case of urgency and importance like the present, nine-tenths of the community shall refuse to contribute to the support, the preservation, the existence of the State, because no means can be found to compel the remaining tenth to contribute also. Undoubtedly if it be now necessary to make great contributions instead of incurring a large mass of new debt; and if that be the best mode of carrying on the war, it would be greatly advantageous to be able to get at some mode of assessing all property in all individuals—and so far it is to be lamented that the description of people of which I speak cannot be made subject

to an assessment. But if, on the other hand, we can flatter ourselves, as I own I do, with the hopes of being relieved sometime from that necessity, then, even though the hoards of the penurious elude our search, it by no means follows that the nation will receive no profit from them; for on a general plan, though utterly inactive in the expenditure of the possessors, they become active in some other shape, or in other hands, and always find their level in the course of successive ages: so that though the scrutiny to pry into wealth may for a time be baffled, the effects of that scrutiny never fail to be produced by time. If, however, I saw the means, or could suppose that means might be devised by which such capitals could be made productive and useful to the State in way of Revenue, I do assure the Committee I should consider it an object too important at this time to be neglected; though I still consider them as making a part of the strength of the country upon the average principles of general Resources. Yet, Sir, we might flatter ourselves that, independent of that compulsory power which the condition of such property denies us, a due proportion of it would, at least in some cases, be forthcoming at the solicitation of self-interest and self-defence; for if this is a time, as I contend it is, when the people of this country are called upon not to contemplate their wealth only for its enjoyment; not to indulge in prejudices, or opinions, or in doubtful speculations, but to take measures for the preservation of their existence now, and their security in future—and that for this purpose we are calling for money, not to be raised by loan with interest, to remain a heavy burden on those who are to follow us, but by demand on capital, then ought the hoards of the penurious to be opened; then should those who, devoted to accumulation by ignorance of enjoyment, and early habits of frugality, have arisen from the lower rank and meanest employments, by rigid frugality and indefatigable industry, protected, fostered, and encouraged by that happy system of government and those equal laws which enabled them and permits any man to emerge from the bottom to the top of society, and who, in contemplating their possessions, can scarcely have a hope but that of transmitting to their posterity those blessings and comforts they deny themselves: then ought they, I say, for the recollection of the benefits they have received, and for the sake of those to which they look forward, to consider themselves above all men bound to come forward in defence of that system which afforded encouragement to their labours, nurture to their industry, vigour to their pursuits, and protection to their persons, their property, and their acquisitions; then ought such men to reflect, if they have the means, that this is the occasion on which they should come forward;

then ought they, who have an interest so great in the country, to see, that though it is impracticable to compel them, it is at least necessary for them to contribute; and that the necessity of the times is the most urgent, as well as the best of all compulsions; and come forward, not only uncompelled, but unsolicited, to offer their contribution. That some will have this feeling, and act upon it, I will not doubt—that all will do so, I am not so sanguine as to expect; but though they should neither come forward voluntarily, nor be subject to coercion, that can hardly be stated as an objection to the plan, unless something more unexceptionable can be presented in its place.

Then, Sir, there remains another, and a leading consideration—I have already stated the grounds on which I build my plan for raising seven millions of the nineteen that are necessary for the supply of the year. This leaves, as I have before mentioned, a sum of twelve millions to be raised by Loan—And here a point, separate, indeed, in its nature, but not less important in its consequences, properly claims your attention. I have stated that the sum of seven millions to be levied in a direct way by increased assessments, is intended to make the quantum of the Loan more moderate. But I shall now state another principle which would lay the security, the credit, the efficient powers, and the resources of the country on a firm and immoveable foundation—a principle that will tend not to effect a diminution of our burdens for the present, but to prevent an accumulation of them for the future. The House will recollect that, by means of the Sinking Fund, we had advanced far in the reduction of the National Debt previous to the Loans necessarily made in the present war, and every year was attended with such salutary effects as outran the most sanguine calculation. But having done so, we have yet far to go as things are circumstanced, if the reduction of the debt be confined to the operations of that fund, and the expences of the war continue to impede our plans of economy: we shall have far to go before the operation of that fund, even under the influence of Peace, can be expected to counteract the effects of the war. Yet there are means by which, I am confident, it would be practicable in not many years to restore our resources, and put the country in a state equal to all exigencies. It is impossible, Sir, but we must feel ourselves bound by duty, if we wanted the encouragement of success, to proceed in the business, and to complete the work which has already had so much success, and even to provide, if it shall be found expedient or necessary, for more rapidly accomplishing that desirable object. Not only, Sir, do I think that the principle is wise, and the attempt practicable, to provide

large supplies, out of the direct taxes of the year ; but I conceive it it to be equally wise, and not less practicable, to make provision for the amount of the debt incurred and funded in the same year ; and, if the necessity of carrying on the war shall entail upon us the necessity of contracting another debt, the principle I have in view is such, that, with the assistance of the Sinking Fund to co-operate, we shall not owe more than at the beginning. I cannot, indeed, take upon me to say, that the war will not stop the progress of the plan of liquidation ; but if the means to which I look be adopted, it will leave us at least stationary—it will leave us where we were ; and besides the salutary influence it will have upon our credit and resources at home, it will produce the happy effect of demonstrating to the enemy, that, whatever the nature of the contest may be, or whatever its duration, our strength is undiminished, our resources unexhausted, and our general situation unimpaired ; that the hopes they entertain of destroying the country through the medium of its finance, are as vain as their designs are wicked ; and that, whatever measures they may think proper to adopt against this country, they will find us not at all disabled for the contest. But, Sir, it is necessary for me to be more explicit ; and I will endeavour to make the point appear as clear to the House as it now appears to me.

If I must borrow twelve millions, four of those may be borrowed without making any additional debt ; for the Sinking Fund will pay so much. There then will remain eight millions, which would be an additional permanent capital if suffered to be funded—for these eight millions, therefore, I would make a different provision, that is to say, I would propose that the increased Assessed Taxes, the plan of which I have already laid before the House, be continued till the principal and interest be completely discharged ; so that, after seven millions have been raised for this year, the same taxes in one year more, with the additional aid of the Sinking Fund, will pay off all that principal and intermediate interest. My proposition, therefore, if carried into effect, would not only furnish a current supply, but quicken the redemption of the national debt, without bearing harder on the people than they can conveniently bear. This would speak a language to all Europe ; this would speak a language to the enemy that, by cooling the ardour of their expectations, and shewing them the absurdity of their designs, will afford the best chance of shortening the duration of the war, and of lessening the duration and weight of our taxes. If you feel yourselves equal to this exertion, its effects will not be confined merely to the benefits I have stated in the way of general policy, and in a successful determination of the contest, but will go farther ; it will

go to the exoneration of the nation from increased burdens, and to the relief of those who are to follow us from the weight of the expences of a war, waged in defence of a system which we have received from our progenitors in trust to be transmitted entire to our successors. Unless you feel you have a right to expect, that by less exertion you will be equally secure, and indulge the supposition that, by stopping short of this effort you will produce a successful termination of the war, you must set aside all apprehensions of the present pressure, and by vigorous exertion, endeavour to secure your future stability, the happy effects of which, I pledge myself, will soon be seen and acknowledged; I am aware that it will be said (for it has often been said) and I agree to it, that it would be fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced; and that it is not terminated is much to be lamented; but if we are arrived at a moment which requires a change of system, it is some encouragement for us to look forward to benefits which, on all former occasions have been unknown, because the means of obtaining them were neglected.

If, Sir, the whole sum be provided for in the manner I propose, instead of being funded, the advantages will be greater than those who have not been at the trouble to calculate it can suppose. In the mode I propose, the whole, with the interest on it, will amount to no more than sixteen millions—raise that sum, and you, and your posterity are completely exonerated from it; but if, on the contrary, you will fund, it will entail an annual tribute of 150,000*l.* for forty years, which makes a difference of not less than for millions to those who are to follow you. These are the principles, this is the language, this the conduct fit for men legislating for a country, that from its situation, its constitution, and its natural strength, bears the fairest title of any in Europe to perpetuity. You should look to distant benefits, and not work in the narrow circumscribed sphere of short-sighted, selfish politicians. You should put to yourselves this question, the only one now to be considered—“ Shall we sacrifice, or shall we save to our posterity, a sum of between forty and fifty millions sterling?” And above all, you should consider the important effect such firm and dignified conduct will have in the progress and termination of the present contest, which may, without exaggeration, be said to involve every thing dear to yourselves, and to include in it the fate of your posterity.

The House will now judge how far I have succeeded in finding a criterion by which to mark out the distinctions and the proportions in the taxes I have proposed. They will decide how far I have

succeeded in accommodating the different rates of increase to the circumstances of the different classes in society: they will determine whether I have given a plan that affords sufficient modifications, and just mitigations of the severity of the imposts. If there be any thing defective, I wish to supply it; if there be any thing erroneous, I am desirous to rectify; if I have exceeded, I am willing to retrench: it is a measure of unprecedented importance, and it must be my anxious desire to be correct in it. I therefore court investigation—but I earnestly hope there will be no difference of opinion in the House as to the principle upon which the measure is founded. As I have not been able to find in any man of any party a trace of doubt as to the sufficiency of our resources, I think I have a right to assume that there can be no difference as to our right to employ them; at least I can say that I have not heard a word of any avowed difference on that point in any corner of the country—Attested thus, I have produced a state of resources unimpaired even by this wasteful war—on any other account no difference can possibly arise upon this day. In the interval between this and the day on which I shall finally bring the subject before you, I will receive with attention any observations that gentlemen may please to suggest; and I hope all will agree with me that the question for consideration is not, whether the burdens proposed are heavy or unprecedented, but whether there is any option left to us—whether they are not dictated by unavoidable necessity, and whether any better adapted to the circumstances of the country can be devised to supply their places?

Sir, having said so much, I will not follow it up with particulars, but move a resolution conformable to the general design I have laid before the Committee. And I will postpone the particular parts of the plan to another day—the earliest that circumstances will allow.

He then moved the following resolution, which was agreed to:

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that there shall be
“ paid a duty, not exceeding treble the amount of the duties imposed by several acts of Parliament now in force, on houses and
“ windows, and inhabited houses, by the 6th, 19th, 24th, and
“ 37th Geo. III. and likewise the several additional duties of ten
“ per cent. per annum, imposed thereon by several acts of Parliament, with certain exceptions and abatements.”

Mr. TIERNEY declared, that, after having had the misfortune to be an auditor of a speech of the nature with that just delivered by the right honourable gentleman, he could never again face his constituents with confidence, if by remaining silent he gave it any sort of countenance. The whole plan of the right honourable gentle-

man's proceeding was such as the records of that House could not furnish a similar precedent ; it was that of a man determined, at all events, to raise money, while he could scarcely tell how ; of a man who only shewed his determination to oppress, by adding burdens on the Country which they were ill able to bear. One thing he must congratulate himself, the House, and the Country upon was, the dereliction of that peremptory tone which had usually accompanied his statements of the whole Supplies required for the year. He trusted he was now sensible of his former inaccuracies. He had stated in the former session, that the new sources of Supply he then proposed would not only make up for former deficiencies, but would amply meet the expences of the current year ; and yet the *Navy Bills* had increased the calculation one million and a half : he had proposed five millions for the *Extraordinaries of the Navy*, and yet, with this sum voted, which he considered as a most ample supply, it now appeared he had formed erroneous calculations to the amount of three millions, together with four millions five hundred thousand pounds — no inconsiderable sum.

With respect to the *Extraordinaries of the Army*, he apprehended the right honourable gentleman would, in like manner, find himself mistaken. But on that subject, as the account was not yet made up, no opinion could be offered. The sum wanted for the year was stated by the right honourable gentleman to amount to twenty-five millions and a half, (how far his statements were accurate, he would not now inquire ;) but even this sum he would not vouch would be sufficient unto the end of the year. He must remark, that this was the first time, on an occasion of this nature, when the right honourable gentleman had forbore to ring changes on the prosperous state of the revenue. To find the revenue of the country in a prosperous situation, he must say, was that which afforded him pleasure [*a cry of "Hear ! Hear !"*] He would repeat it, though with some surprise that this declaration should excite this kind of notice in the House, that to see such a sum as seventeen millions and a half brought into the Exchequer, in October last, was that which afforded him considerable satisfaction ; but this by no means proved that there were not several circumstances which tended considerably to diminish this source of consolation. He found a defalcation to a considerable amount in the sums calculated on the Wine Duty, and the produce of several other taxes, imposed in the year 1796, almost one half of what they were calculated to yield. He was glad to find that the right honourable gentleman had taken the Consolidated Fund and the Lottery only at 700,000l. ; he must thank him for not exceeding that calculation upon these articles, and mis-

leading the House and Country with visionary expectations. Formerly he had taken the surplus produce of the Consolidated Fund at two millions, two millions and a half, and even three millions : in all these sanguine calculations he had been from year to year miserably deceived, and he had at last condescended to take it as low as 700,000l.

With regard to the three millions proposed to be advanced by the Bank, he considered it as a most alarming circumstance, that that body should with the restrictions which proclaimed their bankruptcy should be continued, expressly with a view to financial operations. That the Minister had obtained the previous consent of the Bank to the Loan which he proposed it should advance to Government, he had no doubt. He presumed that the Bank was now ready to do what the Minister wanted, as the Minister was so ready to comply with what it requested. He found the actual state of the Bank was, that since it had stopped payment in specie, there had been a considerable increase of the amount of outstanding paper. Here, Mr. Tierney said, he should be glad if any Bank Director in the House would stand up and tell him, whether the Bank was sincere in its remonstrances to the Minister ; and, if so, on what grounds it was now ready to advance two millions and a half on the Land and Malt, and three millions more on Exchequer Bills ? The Bank had stated, that its prosperity arose, in part, from the demands made upon it by Government being reduced ; and yet now, having, by reducing the advances to Government, in a degree restored order to their affairs, they came forward with a fresh advance to accommodate the Minister of the day, and thereby, on their own former statement, to court new hazard, and incur fresh risks.

He wished to be satisfied on what grounds the Bank refused him payment in specie (which specie it had in its coffers), whilst, at the same time, it increased its advances to Government ? He would be content to abide by the opinion of any respectable body of gentlemen, whether any thing had given more cause for alarm, than that avowed connection between the Bank and Government of this Country, and its financial operations ? This present measure would occasion an emission of paper to a considerable increased extent ; and he was afraid it would have this tendency, that it would be expected of the Bank to advance still more and more, whenever future demands were made upon it.

With regard to the measure of raising seven millions towards the Supply, by additional taxes within the year, he was afraid it would have a very different effect upon the enemy than what the right honourable gentleman had supposed ; for it would serve to shew

them that the Funding System was, in the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at an end. It was a hard thing to see the same man who had brought the country to the extremity of ruin, now virtually confessing his inability to pursue former methods of raising the necessary Supplies, and crouching, as it were, to the Bank to help him out of his difficulties. This idea, the measures proposed this evening threw out, not to the House and the Country only, but to our enemies; they proclaimed that they were the result not of choice, but of necessity. Should this plan fail, the Country would not be in the same situation it was before it was proposed: and even with this extraordinary exertion to raise so considerable a part of the current expences, he much questioned whether the Minister would be able to procure the Loan that was wanted, on any better terms. This was the man who now called upon the People of this Country to sacrifice, not only many of their luxuries, but conveniences; the man who would wrest from the industrious their little savings—could he say that he had exerted himself to the utmost to save them the necessity of such burdens? He would ask, had not the war been carried on with the most unexampled profusion? Was it not a fact, that England never carried on a war on such extraordinary and lavish terms as during the last four or five years? When the right honourable gentleman wished to impose fresh burdens on the householders, it was observable how easily and anxiously he found out their haunts, their abilities, and resources; what a contrast this to the reluctance which he discovered to let these householders come in for a share in the representation! The money wanted would be raised, not merely from the people's superfluous stores, but from what was wanted to supply their real exigencies. The measure, he considered, as productive of more harm than good. He would ask, what was to be done the next year of the war? For, with the present Administration, he held it impossible that this Country could have peace; the right honourable gentleman wanted the requisites to bring about peace; he wanted the confidence and the respect, not only of France, but of Europe. It was impossible that France could have any confidence in the pacific disposition of the present Cabinet, composed as it was of men avowedly united by no other bond of union than that of hatred to the French Republic, and at direct variance on every other political principle; a Cabinet, which, if Peace was unexpectedly to arise from their negotiations, could only regard each other with hatred and contempt for having deserted the only professions by which they even were, or even pretended to be united. As to respect, they could not lay claim to it in any Court of Europe.

What neutral power was there we had not attempted to bully? Yet what neutral power was there, however insignificant, which had not set our threats at defiance, and laughed at the impotence of our menaces: of the powers with which we had allied ourselves, which of them was there which had not betrayed, or plundered us, or both together. In what Congress could an English Ambassador sit, deputed by the present Administration, which must not present to him the Plenipotentiaries of Courts which had either insulted, deceived, overreached, or deserted his employers? He would again ask, if he could even agree to the present measure, how would it operate the next year? He must observe the ignorance discovered with regard to the time of bringing this measure forward; that which should have come first, he puts last; that which, proposed at an earlier period, might have looked like an effort of our zeal, he has contrived to make appear as a confession of our weakness. But this measure is to frighten our enemies. Our enemies have had too recent experience of the right honourable gentleman to be terrified by his vaunts. Before Christmas last he raised eighteen millions, (called, from the mode in which it was raised, Loyalty.) This, the right honourable gentleman assured the House, would be quite sufficient for the service of the year; and, from the manner in which it was subscribed, must strike terror into the French. What was the consequence? The shew of loyalty, on which he so much relied, disappeared when the discount came to 10 per cent.; and before six months were expired, the inaccuracy of the right honourable gentleman's calculations were demonstrable by the necessity of a second loan to the amount of fourteen millions additional. After such an experience of the right honourable gentleman, can we expect the French to be terrified by any measure he can propose? Mr. Tierney thought this measure, if brought forward at all, ought to have been proposed earlier in the war, as it appeared to be a most extraordinary proceeding that, after exhausting the country year after year, it was now called on to shew its vigour; and every sinew having been weakened, to proceed to a trial of strength. To do this now, could be considered as no proof of our zeal, but rather amounted to a direct avowal, that all our usual resources were exhausted. He should deprecate such a measure as this going forth to the public in general, and to the constituents in particular, as meeting with the unanimity of his House. Many of his constituents might in that case justly ask him, "Why were you silent when the Minister was in your presence bringing forward his unexampled resources, and obliging us to give up our little comforts?" He would repeat it; the connection between the Paper Money and

the Bank appeared to be taken from the bad measures of French Finance; and thus the right honourable gentleman put the enemy upon viewing this country in a light not to be mistaken: they knew the consequences of pursuing some of their own financial measures, and they will recognize, in the steps now pursuing by the British Financier, what brought them to the brink of ruin.

Mr. Chancellor PITT, in reply, said, that, upon the whole, he had heard the honourable gentleman's speech with considerable satisfaction; for, knowing his ingenuity and firm determination to throw every obstacle in the way, and comparing them with the species of objection he had just heard, he was led to draw some favourable omen of the opinion of that House, the Country, and even the honourable gentleman's constituents. Some parts of that honourable gentleman's speech appeared to have little or no connection with the measure now proposed, and other parts were merely collateral. He had begun with complaining of the great excess which had taken place, beyond the amount of the debt provided for. With regard to the Navy Debt, Mr. Pitt said, he had stated that there would be an excess of that debt at the end of 1797, half of which he proposed to fund, and make provision for the interest. He therefore denied the charge of his having stated last session that there would be no excess of Navy Debt; for on every statement of the subject of Supplies, he had always stated, that in the nature of such extensive transactions, a precise estimate of expence was impossible; but he averred, that there never was a more precise statement than what was given in last session, although some excess was unavoidable. The honourable gentleman, when stating the excess of the Navy Debt, had not acted fairly—he should have compared it with the whole aggregate of expences, nor have omitted to state the whole produce of the taxes. The honourable gentleman agreed, indeed, with him as to the result, but quarrelled with him because he had not entered into a comparative state of the Revenue. It was observable that the honourable gentleman, at the same time he complained of him for withholding his statement, stated the fact, and acknowledged that he found out that the Revenue was very flourishing; but, after indulging this momentary happiness, (at which he thinks it strange that the House should seem surprised,) a gloom almost immediately succeeded; and the reason for this appeared; for, had he (Mr. Pitt) stated the flourishing state of the Finances, the honourable gentleman stood prepared with a long speech in refutation, as was obvious from his entering into various statements of the Revenue in former years, from which he drew bad presages of years to come. The honourable gentleman had relied on accounts

which had misled him; those on the table would have informed him, that the Revenue was fully adequate to the calculations which had been made by the Committee last year, and which held forth hopes consolatory to the Country; for though there had been a defalcation in the estimated duties on Wine and Scotch Spirits, yet neither of these affected the prosperity of the Country, as to the bulk of the Revenue; nor could he allow that even these articles had failed, but he still thought them capable of improvement.

The next subject on which the honourable gentleman had chosen to expatiate was, the alledged impropriety of advances made by the Bank to Government. Here he had got into another strain of eloquence, which was as novel as that which the House had just listened to on the subject of the prosperity of the Country. The honourable gentleman had entered into an invective against French measures of finance; he had, in the first instance, filled his imagination with the idea that some measure was to be brought forward for the consideration of the House similar in effect to the French assignats, the *Cedules Hypothecaires*, or some other of their modes of raising money. But he would ask, what similarity was there between the limited and voluntary advances of the Bank, to an amount which would be shortly repaid, and the depreciated millions and millions of the French Government? The honourable gentleman was very angry with the connection between the Bank and Government; but what new connection was this? He had proposed, with the consent of Parliament, to apply to the Bank for a voluntary Loan on their parts of three millions, a sum which, when advanced, was less than at any former period that Company had ever been accustomed to advance. This connection he represented as so extraordinary, that he was doubtful whether it was most proper to make it the subject of complaint, or of invective. Mr. Tierney had, he conceived, discovered the secret and the true reason of the suspension of the payments of the Bank; and these were, their having contributed to Government, and the inconsiderable issue of paper to which this measure was compared to the system of Assignats. He (Mr. Pitt) would, however, put a case; he would suppose that the three millions which he now proposed to borrow of the Bank were not advanced; he would then call upon any merchant or commercial man in the city of London to say, whether the difference of this sum was so great as to make it proper to take off the restrictions? He was confident that the answer would be, that it was not; and if it was not, then it would not, he trusted, be argued, that the advances to Government were the cause of the continuation of the restriction. He would ask, too, if the hour of peace was come, whether

it would not be possible to pay this sum so speedily, as to enable the Bank immediately to resume its payments. Would the honourable gentleman say, that the restrictions had operated as any evil to the Bank or to the Public? So far from this being the case, he would assert, that the measure, as it had been conducted, had been attended with great convenience to the Public—and if he did not repeat the words of an honourable gentleman who had said, that it had been the salvation of the Country, he would not scruple to state it as an accommodation. Would the honourable gentleman assert, that notes issued on securities of a short date, and which notes returned in the course of negotiation to the Bank to be cancelled, would he assert that three millions so issued would add very considerably to the quantity of paper in circulation? The honourable gentleman had at length, however, come to speak on what was certainly the most material question for the consideration of the House that night, the measure by which it was proposed to raise seven millions of the Supply required. On this subject, should the honourable gentleman be silent, his constituents, he said, would ask of him where he was when such a measure was proposed? [Mr. Tierney interrupted Mr. Pitt by observing, that he had said his constituents would ask where his *tongue* was on that occasion.] Mr. Pitt continued; he said it was not very material which, as he should suppose where the honourable gentleman was, there his tongue was also. Mr. Tierney had stated that his not having proposed to take the sense of the House on his scheme as soon as he had brought it forward, supposed on his part a mistrust of it. For his own part he had heard it often contended, perhaps not very justly, that a degree of dispatch in prosecuting a measure argued a mistrust of the propriety of it; he would not, however, admit that a delay, which afforded the honourable gentleman the opportunity of coming prepared to speak on that, as well as on any subject foreign to the question, implied an apprehension of the merits of the plan thus submitted for discussion. This objection to delay had been followed by an observation which appeared to furnish an answer, that the measure was new and unprecedented: for this very reason, then, it appeared proper to delay its consideration. All these arguments of the honourable gentleman were the outworks of a proposed attack against a plan which existed in his imagination.

The next objection of the honourable gentleman was to the person who had proposed the measure; this the House would readily see was not at all connected with the merits of the question. It should have formed the subject of a distinct address at some other time, when some other person should be proposed to fill the situation which

he held. But the reason which was assigned to support this was, that the expenditure had been so large. He could not, however, admit that it was at all to the purpose, whether he was the fit person to propose the measure; it was only to be inquired whether the measure was fit to be proposed: but before he proceeded to the question as far as it related personally to himself, on which he was at all times ready to meet him, he wished the House to compare the expenditure which was made the subject of this complaint with the services which had been performed for it, with the exertions which had been made, and with the expences of the enemy; upon this comparison alone could a judgement be formed. Another, and not a less strange reason, which had been urged by the honourable gentleman, why he could not vote in favour of the proposed measure was, because he and his colleagues could not procure a peace. To this the same answer applied, that it was a good reason why an address should be moved, but it formed no reason against adopting measures for the safety of the Country; the mode of argument on the objection was not less extraordinary than the objection itself. Why were his colleagues not equal to concluding a peace? Because they had not the *confidence of the enemy*—because they did not enter into the views of the enemy—because they did not spread their systems—because they did not recommend the adoption of their Revolutionary measures, in preference to the Constitution of England. If the only claim to the support of the honourable gentleman in the prosecution of the war was, to deserve the confidence of the enemy, if it was necessary to admire the French Revolution, which had been the root of all the evils of the present contest, if it was necessary to have asserted the justice of the enemy's cause, if the exertions of the war were to be entrusted to those who had, from the commencement of the war, thwarted its prosecution, then, indeed, he was glad that he had not the vote of the honourable gentleman in his favour. It had also been objected to him, that he had not the confidence of the other powers of Europe, the allies of Great Britain. On this subject he could not express himself better than by using Mr. Tierney's own words. He had complained that these powers had deserted us, had deceived us, had failed in the payment of every debt due to us, and, after all this, they had lost confidence in us. Why? Because the English Government had uniformly performed every one of its engagements towards its allies, and had met with no reciprocity of performance on their part. If such were the claims to confidence, neither he nor his colleagues could hope for the confidence of the enemies of Great Britain, nor that of Europe, nor that of the honourable gen-

tleman. On the great point, however, which was the subject of this night's debate, he had heard nothing new. The honourable gentleman had not contended that a less supply was necessary; on the contrary, he even argued that a greater sum would be required; he had not proposed a better mode of providing for the expences of the year; he did not approve of a Loan; for the scheme now before the House, there was no part which he so much reprobated as that which proposed to raise a sum of money by advances from the Bank; he had not shewn a more equitable nor a more fair mode of apportioning the burden; but he had maintained that the exertion which it was now proposed to make, should have been made sooner; that the time for extraordinary exertion should have been when we were at ease, when no necessity appeared for extraordinary resources.

According to the honourable gentleman, it had been stated, that the measure would frighten our enemies; and, according to the same authority, it was not once nor twice that this had been stated, it had been often repeated. He would, however, defy any one who had attended to the debates which had taken place in that House, to state, that either he, or any of the gentlemen in office with him, had ever said that the measures which they brought forward were such as to put an end to the war, though they might entertain anxious hopes on the subject. Had he said so to-day? No. All that he had said was, that no language was so likely to affect them as that which he had called on the House to use. And though he could not be confident that this language would produce the effect he wished, the House had the satisfaction of knowing that it was that which would be most likely to produce a fortunate issue to the war.

The next argument of the honourable gentleman was, that we should shew France that we were at the end of our resources. The honourable gentleman, had he been solicitous upon this head, might have spared the half hour which he had employed to shew that the country was in a hopeless situation. He had contended that he never avowed that we were at the end of the funding system, when, in fact, part of the proposed plan was, to prolong, by husbanding that resource. He (Mr. Pitt) had not said a word that could lead to such a conclusion, as that we were at the end of it; so far from it, he saw great resources from the funding system. The growing Sinking Fund was not only adequate to the payment of an extraordinary sum, but it had produced this effect, that in proportion as the debt had increased, the number of stockholders in different parts of the country had considerably increased during the last two years; the funded property of the country had been more generally diffused in such a proportion, that the number of stockholders in that time

amounted to near one-third, or at least one-fourth of the whole that existed before that time. Such was the flourishing situation of the funding system; and his object in not adding to the burden of it, was an anxiety not to press with too grievous a weight, but take effectual means to prevent its being exhausted.

The last argument of the honourable gentleman against the measure was, how the money proposed to be raised by it was to be paid. This tax, he says, is proposed to be paid out of capital, and not out of income. This objection would, indeed, apply to every tax. But, says the honourable gentleman, this arises wholly out of capital, and wholly out of capital which is productive of profit. Is not every tax a tax upon capital? and when does a tax arise out of idle hoards? The evil of war is, that it occupies capital, which in peace would be more productively employed. That in the present state of the country no capital can be unprofitably employed, may be judged from the state of the agriculture, the improvements, and the annual exertions, and of the productive exertions, which were never so great as at present.

Mr. TIERNEY replied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With whatever preparation I may have come to this House to-night, I think I may have credit for not having come prepared against a series of misrepresentation, in which the right honourable gentleman has chosen to indulge himself. The events of this night have shewn, that either he or myself came in a state of preparation to the House upon this occasion: who has prepared himself most against possible events, let the Committee judge. Much of what he has said does not apply to me. He appears to have got by heart a set of fine flourishing sentences to chastise any body who should doubt the excellence of his plan. This strange rant was meant for somebody, not for me most certainly; for in my life I never uttered a sentence in this House for or against the system or principles of the French. He must therefore have meant what he said upon that subject against somebody else. He has taken much pains to prove that what I said against the productiveness of the Revenue was ill-founded. I never said a word upon that neither, and therefore that part of his flourish must have been intended for somebody else. What I said upon the subject was this—unless the right honourable gentleman could shew that this impost could be had out of the opulence and superfluous wealth of the country, it must be taken from the capital of some persons whose capital employs the artificer or labourer in the country, and consequently he must diminish the productive powers of the country. Not one syllable came from him upon the nature of what he had said upon that subject, and to which

he pretended his observations to be considered as answers. With respect to what the right honourable gentleman has said concerning the confidence of the enemy, I can only observe, that he kindled into a blaze without having had any fuel from me; away he went with his grand flourish to shew that he never had the confidence of his enemies. I never said he had. I may claim credit for not being so very silly as to say so. I never did say so. What I said was this: that the enemy, knowing he acted with a Cabinet, one half of which was hostile to him in general principles of policy, and agreeing with him in nothing but hatred to the French Revolution, could never have any confidence in him with regard to his professed pacific intentions. Why should he attempt to fasten upon me an expression so contrary to common sense? I said that he was not respected in any Court in Europe as a Minister. He gives me a dissertation on the laughter of his friends who sit around him—that he calls an answer. He says, I ought to have paused before I said we have come to the end of our resources. There was no occasion for any such pause, for I never said we were come to the end of our resources, nor any thing like it; I said, on the contrary, you have great resources, and I said I was glad to see it. I said, I thought that this plan would shew that you could fund no more—that your funding system appeared, in the eyes of the Minister, to be at an end. I said also, and I say again, that I do not think your funding system is at an end; but that funding is better than this plan. I said, that he was not a proper person to bring forward this measure, and why? Because I knew, that as he had already deceived us in all his promises, the public could not confide in him in any new promise he should make. He has made many promises. Has he kept any of them? If he has not, is there any impropriety in my saying, that he is not now to be trusted? He then comes to the subject of the Bank. He asks, whether I have any evidence that connection with Government is the cause of their non-payment? To which I answer, they themselves have said so. They state, that one of the causes, at least, of their not being able to pay cash, is owing to their advances to Government. This was in the first instance the case; it is otherwise now I admit: but then I would ask any man, whether, if they are to advance three millions more, they may not be in danger of being again in the same situation? Upon this subject I feel a good deal; and if the Minister is not too fond of his own judgement, I will refer him to a book that is worthy of his attention—I mean the work of Monsieur De Calonne. I do not desire him to read all that is written in France upon the subject, but I will venture to recommend that work to his perusal. It was

written upon the subject of a National Bank, and for the information of the late King of France. That author says, amongst many excellent things, that there ought to be established in France, a Bank like the Bank of England; and to render it an excellent Bank, His Majesty was advised to take care that it should have no connection with the Government. The want of following that advice led the way to the destruction of the French finances. I have no reason to retract what I said with respect to the productiveness of the revenue in 1796 and 1797. I feel the same confidence as to what I said upon the navy. The last thing I have to say is, that if the Minister wishes to make another attack upon any man whom he is disposed to crush, he should remember, that a man may be in this House in the same situation as a man is when he goes to live in a mill; he will be a good deal frightened at first—but he will soon become accustomed to the noise. So with me; after having a dressing or two more from the right honourable gentleman, I shall care nothing for his noise.

Mr. NICHOLLS rose to claim the attention of the House to a point in which he conceived no answer to be given by the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer to the objection—the principal objection stated by the honourable Member who had just sat down—that the measure proposed, if persevered in, would necessarily create a very great augmentation of the paper money in circulation, antecedent to the calamitous situation in which the Bank had been placed by the measure of the right honourable gentleman. Formerly, when more paper was issued, more was carried in, and the evil remedied itself; but now this resource was taken away. In the last session the Chancellor of the Exchequer had attempted to limit the issue of paper, and yet there was now four times as much of it in circulation as before those measures were adopted. Besides the five millions already due from Government to the Bank, the Bank had advanced two millions and a half on the land and malt tax; and should the measure now proposed be adopted, it would doubtless be necessary to anticipate the produce of the new taxes by Exchequer bills, to be received in paper at the Bank. It had been stated by the right honourable gentleman, that in consequence of his measures the number of stockholders had been increased all over the country. He was ready to allow that the number of stockholders had been increased; but he considered it as one of the calamities attendant on the present war, and the funding system by which it had been carried on, that their number was increased. Hence no money could be borrowed by the tradesman for the purposes of his business; while the money borrowed by Government was enormous in amount

and borrowed at enormous interest, the trade of the country must be extremely prejudiced. In fact, there was now instituted a monopoly more severe, more oppressive, more extensively prejudicial than any monopoly that had ever obtained. It was the monopoly of borrowing; a monopoly entirely vested in the hands of the Government, who alone had the power of borrowing. This monopoly, now so completely established, was full of calamity and distress to the middling class of men, and was still farther increased by every measure which the right honourable gentleman introduced. If the right honourable gentleman thought proper still to persevere in these measures, he should do his duty in that House; he should think it his duty to propose to the House a resolution for bringing in a bill that Placemen and Pensioners should be obliged to contribute a larger proportion of the emoluments of their places and pensions, than any other individuals, towards the new taxes. Those gentlemen may recollect a resolution adopted in the reign of Queen Anne: it was then determined that no Placeman or Pensioner should receive more than five hundred pounds a year during the war. A law nearly of the same nature would be extremely salutary in the present juncture of affairs. He did not say that the amount ought still to be limited to five hundred pounds a year; but there was one description of men who he hoped would not contribute less than others—he meant the Members of Parliament who had declared their approbation of the war. He hoped these would not be found to be the men least disposed to come forward with their property in aid of the public emergencies. If the measure proposed by the right honourable gentleman was adopted, and seven millions were to be raised within the year, and seven millions more within a year and a quarter afterwards, he was convinced the consequences would be, that the middling classes of housekeepers would be completely crushed: there would be none left but the two classes of the highest and lowest orders of society: the strength of the country, which had always consisted in the middling class, would be wholly destroyed. Peers and Members of Parliament, he hoped, would not scruple to sacrifice their emoluments, while the middling class were so very heavily burdened; and that while the latter were in this manner almost entirely suppressed, the former would not be wallowing in riches without contributing their share.

Mr. Chancellor PITT congratulated the House on the resolution to which the honourable gentleman had come to do his duty in his place in that House. [*A laugh.*] The honourable gentleman had complained that he had not answered the principal argument of the honourable Member opposite him (Mr. Tierney). With great de-

ference to the honourable gentleman, he had not answered it, because it was not made by that honourable Member, but by himself; neither could he foresee that the honourable gentleman, who had just sat down, would use that argument. That the quantity of paper in circulation was enormous, was merely assumed upon supposition. He had stated, that three millions were to be borrowed of the Bank on Exchequer bills, at a short date, which would be paid to them in advance. Having stated this in his place, he thanked the honourable Member for the opportunity he had given him, of declaring, that he had no idea of adopting such a measure as he had described. He had no intention either of increasing the paper in circulation, or of anticipating the payments. The honourable gentleman's next observation was, that the increase of the number of stockholders was a great calamity to the country. Here the honourable gentleman had made a grand discovery: it was a calamity for the farmer, who was enabled to spare his money from the cultivation of his business, and become a purchaser in the public funds. It was a calamity to the country that the farmer should thus be enabled to spare his money, and become a holder of stock. What the nature of that calamity to the individual who thus had an overplus of money to spare from his business was, what the nature of that misfortune to the country thus enabled to borrow that overplus capital, he was at a loss to discover. The honourable gentleman next proceeded to state a motion which he intends to bring forward—this he introduced as a very dreadful threat: "If (says he) the Chancellor of the Exchequer persists in the mode of finance he has proposed, I will move for a law to take away part of the emoluments of his office." He cannot, it seems, support the additional expences of the war, unless I am either deprived of a part of the emoluments of my office, or turned out altogether. But neither the apprehension of that honourable Member's motion to turn me out altogether, nor to deprive me of part of the emoluments of my office, shall prevent my proposing the measure in question for the adoption of the House, if it shall appear to be a right measure to be proposed and adopted.

Mr. CURWEN said, that the war was now no longer a war of necessity; and it became gentlemen to consider, whether as a war of indemnity, that indemnity was worthy of the price at which it was to be bought; if it was not, that price ought not to be paid for it. Peace, without an indemnity, might, for any thing he had learnt, have been obtained long since. It was not a war in which Great Britain had been compelled to enter, for any injury sustained by herself; it was merely on account of her allies the Dutch, and to

procure indemnity for them, that we first entered into the war. Afterwards, when we might have made peace with honour to ourselves, and have received an indemnity from the Dutch, then it was not from them that indemnity would satisfy us. And now again, it is not indemnity from the French, but from our late allies the Dutch, whom we dragged into the war, that we expect. Yet how have we acted ourselves? We have fallen upon these allies, and plundered them. It is neither a war of justice, nor is peace sought for on equitable terms. And how have we succeeded in its objects? Holland was the friend of Great Britain—we have rendered her an ally of France. It was then a war of indemnification, which we can no longer obtain: and now it is surely a war which it is neither consistent with wisdom nor policy to pursue.

Mr. DUNDAS observed, with some warmth, that the House had already pledged itself to the Executive Government to prosecute the war; and the present question was only, how the necessary supplies should be raised. Much harm might arise from such speeches as the House had just heard, and it was impossible they should produce any good whatever. In France, no man would be allowed to be the Advocate of England; and yet here gentlemen were pleading the cause of France in the Senate itself. The honourable Member had talked as if the negotiation had broken off on account of terms. The French had been called upon to state their terms; but had absolutely refused any answer to our project. He wished they had answered our project; but this they refused. He would forgive the honourable Member any mistaken opinion he might form, were not the history of that negotiation before the House, and he had misrepresented it. If he had examined these papers before the House, he could not thus have vented his spleen. It was not any difference about terms that broke off the negotiation, but the implacable hatred of the enemy against this Government, that had not only broken it off, but had prevented their stating their terms at all.

Mr. CURWEN said a few words in reply, in which he, with some warmth, expressed himself as much attached to his Country as the honourable Member who had just sat down, or as any man could be. He *had* read the State Papers, but the plan that had been pursued had not met his approbation; and he had as much right from his estate, which was an hereditary one, as well as his situation in that House, to watch the welfare of the Country, as the honourable gentleman. He saw no impossibility there was of making peace, if we had been willing to prove our sincerity in the object, or make a sacrifice to obtain it.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS rose again in reply to Mr. Curwen, and said, although he filled an office under His Majesty, yet he considered his property as much his own, and as coming to him in a manner equally honourable to him, as that of the honourable gentleman; and he was equally ready to step forward with whatever small talents, or whatever property, he might possess, as that honourable Member.

Mr. VANSITTART said, that nothing could surprise him more than the statement of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Curwen), that we were now at war because France would not grant us the terms we insisted on, or the indemnity which we contended for. The honourable gentleman, he was sure, had never read the papers upon the table; if he had, he would have seen that there never was a question about terms as the price of peace—the French never would propose any; they demanded, indeed, that we should begin by giving up every thing we had taken in the course of the war, and then they would condescend to tell us what more they had to ask. Whether the honourable gentleman was prepared for such an humiliation he did not know—he for one was not; and he hardly believed there was a man in the country who would have advised such a concession.

Mr. WIGLEY said a few words on the comparative advantage of paying off the Loan of twelve millions, by continuing the new taxes according to Mr. Pitt's plan, or continuing the Loan as a fund till it was liquidated by the one per cent. provided as a Sinking Fund.

Mr. Chancellor PITT explained, that Mr. Wigley had mistaken the Loan as a perpetuity, and formed his calculation as if it were a fee simple instead of a term of fifty-two years. It was not eight millions, as he had computed, and was only to last three years and a quarter. The amount that would thus be levied would be between sixteen and seventeen millions, which, compared with its continuing fifty-two years, as would be necessary in the other case, made the difference he had stated of thirty-five millions.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt gave notice, that on Wednesday next he should move, that the propositions which he had submitted to the Committee should be then taken into farther consideration.

Monday, November 27.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said, that before the House proceeded to the consideration of the other orders of the day, he begged to give notice of a motion which he should make to-morrow. It appeared

to him very necessary, that when they were to decide upon a subject of so much importance, as the proposition which had been made relative to the Assessed Taxes, they should have the best information in order to enable them to come to that decision. The proposition he had to make was grounded upon a precedent during the administration of Sir R. Walpole, when that Minister brought in his excise bill. The Commissioners were desired to attend at the bar of the House, to give every information that the House might require upon the subject. He should therefore propose, that before the House agreed to the resolution respecting the Assessed Taxes, the Board of Commissioners should attend at the bar in order to state what, in their opinion, would be the probable result of this measure. This was the motion of which he wished to give notice, and to which he hoped there could be no objection.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that as the honourable Baronet had only given notice of his motion, he could not then regularly enter into any argument upon the subject; but as he seemed to suppose that no opposition would be made to his motion, he begged to apprise the honourable Baronet, that unless, when he made his motion, he gave some reasons why it ought to be adopted, he (Mr. Chancellor Pitt) could not assent to it. At present he could not see any reason why the Board should be ordered to attend before the particulars of the plan were before the House; and when they were, he supposed the House would be able to draw an inference for themselves without the assistance of the Commissioners.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR rose; but the SPEAKER said, as there was no motion then before the House, he could not enter into the discussion.

Viscount BELGRAVE said, that he rose for the purpose of asking leave to bring in a bill to explain some doubts which had arisen upon the construction of the Treating act, the 7th Wil. III. There had been two constructions given to the bill; one was, that the person who offended against this act was incapable of sitting in Parliament for the place where he had obtained the undue influence, for the whole of that Parliament. The other construction was, that the election was declared void, but that he was capable of being re-elected. In the last Parliament, Sir T. Beaver petitioned against the return of Mr. Hobart, for the city of Norwich—the Committee of the House declared Mr. Hobart had offended against the Treating Act, and declared his election void. Mr. Hobart stood again for Norwich, was re-elected, and suffered to take his seat. In the last session, on the contrary, the decision was, in the case of the borough of Southwark, that Mr. Thellusson, who had been declared

not duly elected upon the petition of Mr. Tierney, was incapable of representing that place at all during the present Parliament. But although the letter of the law was ambiguous, he thought the spirit of the law was clear and unequivocal, and he felt no difficulty in bringing forward his proposition, that those who had offended against this act should be declared incapable of being re-elected for the place where they had created an undue influence. If the law were not to be so construed, it would be easy to evade it, and a man might be elected by an undue influence, his election declared void, and yet be again re-elected by the operation of the same influence, and after such second election, it would be impossible to unseat him. Some might think it a hard measure that the incapacity should be extended for the whole period of that Parliament: but if not, it might be evaded with a little manœuvring. A man might get a friend to be elected, and after a short time, his friend could contrive to make a vacancy, to which he might, by a previous undue influence secure his admission. The other parts of the act were perfectly clear in themselves, and nothing which he could say could in any ways amend them. His Lordship then moved, that the act of the 7th Wil. III. should be read; which being done, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the same.

Mr. YORKE did not rise to oppose the motion, but he rose to state what he thought would be an objection to it in the case of counties. It would be impossible in cases of county elections to avoid all acts of hospitality, and which, by a rigid construction, might be brought under this bill. If Members were so very scrupulous not to allow those little gratifications to county electors, many of whom came from distant parts, the consequence would be, that the majority of electors would not attend, and the election must be the act of a few, and not the expression of the sentiment of the majority of the county. He just threw out this for the consideration of the House.

Mr. HOBHOUSE agreed with the noble Lord in the propriety of restraining all treating at elections; and he would moreover submit it to the consideration of the House, whether it would not be better to extend the punishment still farther, and enact that the person convicted, should be incapable of being returned for any place whatsoever during that Parliament. He could not conceive any offence more heinous than that of corrupting electors. He did not agree with the opinion of the honourable gentleman who spoke last; for if treating was allowed at all, it would be impossible to tell to what latitude it might be carried, while the spirit of the act would be evaded.

Mr. MARTIN, Mr. H. BROWNE, Mr. C. DUNDAS, and Captain BERKELEY, each said a few words, and leave was given to bring in a bill.

Tuesday, November 28.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, foreseeing it would be impossible that all the papers and accounts, which it was his desire should be before the House, previous to his entering farther into the details of his financial operations for the ensuing year, could be in a sufficient state of readiness before Friday next, he must beg leave to postpone, till that day, his intended motion on this subject.

Mr. HUSSEY observed, that as the right honourable gentleman thought proper to defer the farther consideration of his financial plan to a later day, he trusted the serious importance of the subject to which he now wished to allude, would ensure to him the indulgent attention of the House, to a few observations, which he felt it his duty to offer on the occasion. He must, in the first place, observe, that when the right honourable gentleman brought forward his new financial plan, he, contrary to all usual and established custom, did not follow it up by moving any specific resolution. He had moreover insinuated, that if his plan was objected to, the objections that were made to it should have no weight, unless those who urged them could suggest a less objectionable and more practical plan than that which he himself had proposed; if any such plan were now to be proposed, the right honourable gentleman might also say that the proposal came too late. The dread of this observation should not, however, deter him from declaring to the House what is, and had been, his opinion on the subject. It was with sorrow, therefore, he had to observe, that the Land-tax bill had been hurried through the House without any attention having been paid to it as a subject of new taxation—it was now in one of its last stages in another House, where, if it was thought expedient, some obstacle might be made to its farther progress—if then, from any accident, it should again be brought under the consideration of this House, it was his opinion the tax should not remain as it now stood, at four shillings, but should be so increased as to compass every object which the present exigencies of the State rendered the accomplishment of inevitable necessity. Land, in his opinion, afforded a better fund of supplies than any other which could now possibly be resorted to.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he was not now disposed to discuss what was, or what was not, the least objectionable mode of raising

the necessary supplies—on that suggested by the honourable gentleman he would deliver no opinion, nor did he think that it was altogether orderly on the part of the honourable gentleman to have alluded to the duty and proceedings of another House of Parliament.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR begged leave to defer the motion which he intended to have brought forward this day, till to-morrow, especially as the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had postponed the farther developement of his financial project.

The Deputy Clerk of the Crown having appeared at the bar with the return lately made of the election of a burges to serve in Parliament for the borough of Tewkesbury,

Mr. BRAGGE moved that the return be now read, which being read accordingly, he entered into several legal arguments, to prove that no election had properly taken place, as no proclamation had been made within the time prescribed by an act of Parliament; he therefore would now move, That the Speaker do now issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for the election of a burges to serve in Parliament, in room of William Dowdeswell, esq. who has accepted the place of Governor of the Bahama islands.

Mr. MARTIN seconded the motion.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS (Sir R. P. Arden) opposed the motion as contrary to the spirit of Mr. Grenville's bill; he himself had assisted in drawing up that bill, and in his opinion the present case was included in its provisions. He would therefore move, as an amendment, to leave out the words that stood after "That," in the original motion, and to substitute in their stead, "Those who question the present return should question the same within fourteen days from the return of the writ into the Crown Office."

Mr. Chancellor PITT seconded the amendment, which after a few observations from the Speaker, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Bragge, was agreed to.

The SPEAKER said, that he thought it material not to dismiss the present subject without intimating to those concerned in it, that though the indulgence of the House would not permit them to censure the Returning Officers for any thing like corruption or partiality, or any other unworthy and indirect motive, yet he felt it his duty to admonish them of the inadvertency and ignorance of the laws which they had betrayed on the present occasion.

Wednesday, November 29

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said, that it was his intention to have moved that the Commissioners of Taxes be called to the bar, to lay before the House an account of all taxes for some time past, and to give to the House such other information as might be in their power to give, and necessary for the House to receive; but there had happened this morning a circumstance that had prevented him from making that motion. A paper, purporting to be the genuine act of the Executive Directory of France was published, the object of which was to explain to all Europe its intention of invading this country, as being the best mode of bringing the contest to a conclusion; that it is their intention to establish what they call the Freedom of the Seas, which was, in other words, the destruction of our naval power; and also to make this Country pay the expence of the contest, which was, in other words, to make this Country tributary to the French. Upon such an occasion, and under such circumstances, he felt it incumbent on him as a Member of that House, and a well-wisher to his Country, not to press any thing that could tend to shew that there existed at this time any dissention in that House. Therefore although he was extremely desirous to have the information which he believed the Commissioners could supply the House with, he should not press his motion; he was contented with having freely and honestly stated his reasons for declining it.

Mr. Chancellor PITT thought it necessary that he should detain the House by delivering a few, and they should be very few, words upon this subject. The motives of the honourable Baronet for not taking a step, which in his opinion tended to disturb that disposition which marked the unanimity of the House, he should not dispute, doubtless they operated with him as reasons for declining his motion. But when the honourable Baronet assigned the last Proclamation of the Directory as one on which his motives were founded, he could not help observing that the Directory had set forward by that Proclamation nothing but what they had formerly and frequently avowed, and there was hardly a man in this Country or in Europe to whom these sentiments of the Directory were new. It was not the first time they had stated themselves to be placed at the head of a conspiracy to obtain what they call the Freedom of the Seas, that was, the destruction of our naval power, and avowed an hatred to our Government, and had stated not only how much we shall be obliged to pay for our own defence, but also for our ransom, and these are their objects in continuing the war. He thought he might say, that the honourable Baronet, although only convinced

this morning of the object of the enemy, was only convinced of that which was the confirmed opinion of almost the whole of this nation long ago. He was glad, however, that the honourable Baronet was at last convinced; and he, in common with the House, rejoiced that the Directory had renewed their avowal of this spirit by their last Proclamation, because it kept us on our guard, and let us know what we are to trust to. At the same time it was but fair that he should say, that if he felt the same necessity for the attendance of the Commissioners as the honourable Baronet did, if he drew the same inference with respect to the materiality of the information of the Commissioners, as the honourable Baronet did, he should certainly persist in making his motion. He should therefore be sorry to find that the honourable Baronet should be deterred from bringing his motion forward for the reasons which he had assigned for declining. He should add, however, that if the motion was brought forward, he should oppose it; not because he thought it dangerous in the view which the honourable Baronet had of it, but because he thought it would be unnecessary; not that he thought the Commissioners could give the honourable Baronet no information, but that the House, and every Member in it, was as competent to form a judgement of what ought to be done to support the State as the Commissioners were. The subject was to be discussed upon a view of the general state of all classes of persons in this country, which was matter for general reasoning, upon which it was not respectful to the House to suppose that the Commissioners of Taxes were better prepared to form a conclusion than the Members of the House. He must add, however, that the last Proclamation of the Directory had not, in his opinion, altered the case in the least degree.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR had not altered the opinion he had delivered as to the importance of the last Manifesto of the Directory. He had, indeed, read the other papers to which the right honourable gentleman alluded, and from which he did not draw the same inference as from the last. He owned they did not make the same impression upon his mind, as they did on that of the right honourable gentleman. However, as the Minister paid more attention to these papers than was possible for many other Members of the House to do consistently with their other avocations, it was reasonable to suppose that he understood them better. But since the right honourable gentleman thought that the motion ought not to be withdrawn, he ought to bring it forward; and if he should, he had the authority of the right honourable gentleman for so doing.

Mr. Chancellor PITT hoped that the honourable Baronet would remember what he said. He did not think the motion proper; and therefore if it was made, he should oppose it, for he had only said that the reason which the honourable Baronet alledged for declining it did not appear to him a good one.

The other orders of the day were deferred to Friday.

Thursday, November 30.

At four o'clock, there being only seventy Members present, it was impossible to proceed to business, as it was a day appointed for a ballot; but by virtue of a late regulation, directing that the House be called over the day following, in case a ballot be not formed on the day appointed, the House was ordered to be called over tomorrow.

Friday, December 1.

The House proceeded to ballot for a Committee to try the merits of the Newton Election Petition; when the following Members were appointed:

R. Pole Carew, Esq. Chairman.

A. Strahan, Esq.

Earl Temple

Richard Ellison, Esq.

Sir John Stuart, Bart.

William Elford, Esq.

Thomas Jones, Esq.

W. H. Fellowes, Esq.

Lord Macdonald

William Meeke, Esq.

James Dawkins, Esq.

William Stuart Rose, Esq.

Nominees,

Daniel Parker Coke, Esq.

Nicholas Vansittart, Esq.

Mr. Chancellor PITT postponed his farther propositions respecting the means of raising a supply, to Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, December 1.

At three o'clock the House met, and a message being sent to the Commons for their attendance, the Lords Commissioners, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Earl Spencer, on the arrival of the Commons, gave the royal assent to the small Notes, and the Navy and Army Seduction Bills.

The Duke of PORTLAND brought an order from His Majesty, which was read, "that it is His Majesty's pleasure the Peers are summoned to attend in their robes on Tuesday the 19th instant, at eight o'clock in the forenoon, to accompany His Majesty to St. Paul's, in the usual form, &c. &c. when the House adjourned to Thursday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, December 2.

A message being received from the Lords, desiring the attendance of the House, Sir Francis Molyneux, attended by the Members, went up to the Lords to be present at the royal assent being given by commission to the small Notes, and Army and Navy Seduction Bills.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Amount of the Duties on WIN-
DOWS and INHABITED HOUSES, imposed by acts 6th,
19th, and 24th Geo. III. for One Year, ending 5th April
1797; distinguishing the Amount in each County, and in the
Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of South-
wark.

COUNTIES.	Inhabited Houses, 24 Geo. III.			Houses and Win- dows, 6 Geo. III.			Inhabited Houses, 19 Geo. III.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bedford	3,140	6	0	2,372	19	2	256	10	6
Berks	7,818	19	11	6,020	13	3	1,342	6	2
Bucks	6,059	0	3½	4,619	13	8½	626	10	3¼
Cambridge	5,165	2	6	3,695	14	6	722	1	0
Chester	7,432	5	0	4,724	16	2	911	4	7½
Cornwall	5,521	9	6	3,345	18	10	630	13	4
Cumberland	3,228	9	0	1,308	7	6	405	4	1
Derby	5,525	16	6	3,345	0	11½	515	12	7½
Devon	13,212	19	0	8,582	9	8	2,696	1	11
Dorset	5,500	7	0	3,789	10	0	741	18	7
Durham	4,676	0	6	2,711	5	2	785	12	9¼
York	31,650	8	3½	19,571	0	4	4,157	15	1
Essex	15,606	12	6	11,926	9	1	2,115	11	5
Gloucester	10,699	1	8	7,830	19	10	1,797	7	3
Hereford	4,073	14	0	2,798	15	3	343	16	9
Hertford	7,728	14	5	5,876	2	6	1,043	2	5
Huntingdon	2,024	11	2	1,431	9	2	217	4	3
Kent	24,771	14	8	18,255	17	1	4,871	8	8½
Lancaster	19,940	4	6	12,542	9	8	6,502	15	5¼
Leicester	6,458	8	3	4,376	5	6	474	19	0
Lincoln	11,059	8	5	7,115	15	4	1,208	18	1
Norfolk	14,384	2	2	10,419	17	3	1,996	1	1½
Northampton	6,804	4	5	5,185	14	0	424	11	8
Northumberland	5,812	13	0	3,689	18	10	1,456	12	8
Nottingham	5,308	10	6	3,481	11	8	568	8	10
Oxford	6,355	11	9	4,962	4	5	884	6	4½
Rutland	921	4	0	664	4	4	37	13	0
Salop	7,793	3	2½	5,472	13	5	960	1	8½
Somerfet	20,984	18	0	15,302	17	4	7,430	8	11½
Southampton	14,270	19	7	10,724	16	4	3,211	11	7¼
Stafford	9,095	1	8	6,002	7	10	826	17	3
Suffolk	11,312	0	3	8,188	18	5	1,080	15	7½
Surrey	15,375	14	0	11,979	18	5½	4,074	14	9
Sussex	9,611	19	0	7,352	16	2	1,190	10	8¼
Warwick	11,227	17	0	8,514	10	4	2,062	1	3
Westmoreland	1,310	5	0	607	12	2	89	0	2
Wilts	9,588	16	3	7,189	0	2	1,350	8	0
Worcester	6,656	16	6	5,018	2	3	914	8	5

COUNTIES.	Inhabited Houfes, 24 Geo. III.			Houfes and Win- dows, 6 Geo. III.			Inhabited Houfes, 19 Geo. III.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Anglesea	626	0	6	246	10	10	39	13	0
Brecon	870	5	8	393	3	4	57	3	0
Cardigan	588	14	0	195	3	2	39	12	9
Carmarthen	1,365	11	4	466	0	2	103	11	10½
Carnarvon	609	0	0	228	11	8	21	10	6
Denbigh	1,612	8	6	789	15	1	101	4	8
Flint	779	8	2	352	12	2	36	12	3
Glamorgan	1,753	19	6	874	2	9	283	14	4½
Merioneth	555	12	0	103	8	4	12	3	6
Monmouth	1,434	4	8	843	7	11	194	3	2½
Montgomery	1,214	5	10	478	5	4	57	0	3
Pembroke	1,235	2	4	579	16	6	148	12	3
Radnor	456	8	0	188	15	0	17	8	6
London	30,822	5	10½	23,695	13	6½	18,652	14	0½
Westminster	42,264	11	5	32,132	7	0	30,974	1	3
Middlesex	75,508	15	0	57,068	9	9	45,644	13	3
Southwark	12,426	14	9	9,561	1	9½	6,775	12	5½
£.	532,230	16	11	379,196	0	4½	164,084	16	7

N. B. The Returns of the Duties on Inhabited Houfes, 37 Geo. III. are not yet received.

Office for Taxes,
28th Nov. 1797,

J. HUNTER.

CHAS. DERING.
BARNE BARNE.
EDWD. MEDOWS.
H. HAYES.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of PERSONS who pay ASSESSED TAXES; distinguishing the same into Classes, according to the Amount, from Six Shillings to Four Hundred Pounds and upwards, Annually.

Under 6s.	6s. and under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 1l.	1l. and under 1l. 5s.	1l. 5s. and under 1l. 10s.
190,122	129,563	57,716	40,218	33,055	32,064

1l. 10s. and under 1l. 15s.	1l. 15s. and under 2l.	2l. and under 2l. 5s.	2l. 5s. and under 2l. 10s.	2l. 10s. and under 2l. 15s.	2l. 15s. and under 3l.
28,283	24,171	22,060	17,451	16,517	15,563

3l. and under 3l. 10s.	3l. 10s. and under 4l.	4l. and under 4l. 10s.	4l. 10s. and under 5l.	5l. and under 6l.	6l. and under 7l.
25,846	18,856	16,753	13,881	22,220	15,468

7l. and under 8l.	8l. and under 9l.	9l. and under 10l.	10l. and under 12l. 10s.	12l. 10s. and under 15l.	15l. and under 17l. 10s.
10,500	8,164	7,378	12,711	7,991	5,035

17l. 10s. and under 20l.	20l. and under 25l.	25l. and under 30l.	30l. and under 35l.	35l. and under 40l.	40l. and under 45l.
3,389	4,211	3,417	2,544	1,701	1,106

45l. and under 50l.	50l. and under 60l.	60l. and under 70l.	70l. and under 80l.	80l. and under 90l.	90l. and under 100l.
807	1,006	704		268	193

100l. and under 150l.	150l. and under 200l.	200l. and under 250l.	250l. and under 300l.	300l. and under 350l.	350l. and under 400l.	400l. and up- wards.
318	111	38	13	2	4	2

Total number of persons paying Assessed Taxes 791,802

Office for Taxes, }
28th Nov. 1797. } J. HUNTER

CHAS. DERING.
BARNE BARNE.
EDWD. MEDOWS.
H. HAYES.

ACCOUNT of the Total Amount of the ASSESSED TAXES for One Year, ending the 5th of April 1797; and deducting therefrom the Charges of Management.

This account contains the Duties on Inhabited Houses, 24 Geo. III.—Houses and Windows, 6 Geo. III.—Inhabited Houses, 19 Geo. III.—Male Servants, 25 Geo. III.—Horses, 25 Geo. III.—Additional Horses, 29 Geo. III.—Farther additional Horses, 36 Geo. III.—Horses and Mules, 36 Geo. III.—Dogs, $\frac{3}{4}$ year, 36 Geo. III.—Four-wheel Carriages, 25 Geo. III.—Additional four-wheel Carriages, 29 Geo. III.—Two-wheel Carriages and Carts, 25 and 35 Geo. III.—10 per Cent. 31 Geo. III.—10 per Cent. 36 Geo. III.

COUNTIES.

	£.	s.	d.
Bedford —	12,381	17	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Berks — —	31,609	9	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Bucks — —	23,215	5	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Cambridge —	19,359	12	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Chester — —	26,812	12	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cornwall —	19,945	15	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cumberland —	10,310	8	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Derby — —	20,294	18	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Devon — —	49,416	7	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Dorset — —	20,309	18	2
Durham —	19,271	17	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
York — —	119,898	9	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Essex — —	62,873	13	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Gloucester —	38,899	18	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hereford —	15,363	6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hertford —	31,121	10	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Huntingdon —	7,934	8	8
Kent — —	87,820	13	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Lancashire —	66,929	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Leicester —	23,425	3	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lincoln —	43,832	9	1
Monmouth — —	5,472	14	1
Norfolk —	55,540	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Northampton —	25,366	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Northumberland —	25,096	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Nottingham —	20,232	17	8
Oxford —	25,786	18	9
Rutland — —	3,902	9	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salop — —	29,427	8	9
Somerfet —	75,178	18	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Southampton —	55,812	12	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stafford — —	32,132	4	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Suffolk —	42,727	16	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Surrey —	60,692	18	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Suffex —	35,034	1	8

An ACCOUNT of the Number of PERSONS who pay ASSESSED TAXES; distinguishing the same into Classes, according to the Amount, from Six Shillings to Four Hundred Pounds and upwards, Annually.

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807	1,006	704		268	193

100l. and under 150l.	150l. and under 200l.	200l. and under 250l.	250l. and under 300l.	300l. and under 350l.	350l. and under 400l.	400l. and up- wards.
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Total number of persons paying Assessed Taxes 791,802

Office for Taxes, }
28th Nov. 1797. } J. HUNTER

CHAS. DERING.
BARNE BARNE.
EDWD. MEDOWS.
H. HAYES.

ACCOUNT of the Total Amount of the ASSESSED TAXES
for One Year, ending the 5th of April 1797; and deducting
therefrom the Charges of Management.

This account contains the Duties on Inhabited Houses, 24 Geo. III.—
Houses and Windows, 6 Geo. III.—Inhabited Houses, 19 Geo. III.—
Male Servants, 25 Geo. III.—Horses, 25 Geo. III.—Additional Horses,
29 Geo. III.—Farther additional Horses, 36 Geo. III.—Horses and
Mules, 36 Geo. III.—Dogs, $\frac{3}{4}$ year, 36 Geo. III.—Four-wheel Carriages,
25 Geo. III.—Additional four-wheel Carriages, 29 Geo. III.—Two-
wheel Carriages and Carts, 25 and 35 Geo. III.—10 per Cent. 31 Geo.
III.—10 per Cent. 36 Geo. III.

COUNTIES.

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Cornwall —	19,945	15	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cumberland —	10,310	8	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Derby — —	20,294	18	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Devon — —	49,416	7	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
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Monmouth — —	5,472	14	1
Norfolk —	55,540	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Northampton —	25,366	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Northumberland —	25,096	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Nottingham —	20,232	17	8
Oxford —	25,786	18	9
Rutland — —	3,902	9	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salop — —	29,427	8	9
Somerset —	75,178	18	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Southampton —	55,812	12	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stafford — —	32,132	4	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Suffolk —	42,727	16	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Surrey —	60,692	18	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Suffex —	35,034	1	8

COUNTIES.

		£.	s.	d.
Warwick	—	39,167	1	4½
Westmoreland	—	4,735	8	11
Wilts	—	37,039	16	9½
Worcester	—	25,298	7	5½
Anglesea	—	2,035	10	5
Brecon	—	3,165	3	6½
Cardigan	—	2,072	2	0½
Carmarthen	—	4,750	7	2
Carnarvon	—	2,077	18	11¼
Denbigh	—	6,345	3	2
Flint	—	3,218	10	6⅓
Glamorgan	—	6,446	13	0¼
Merioneth	—	1,771	7	5¼
Montgomery	—	4,495	18	7
Pembroke	—	4,690	10	6
Radnor	—	1,633	12	6½
Middlesex	—	273,398	1	7½
London	—	101,530	8	11½
Westminster	—	167,609	18	8¼
Southwark	—	40,870	1	1
		£. 1,975,783	1	9¼

Charges of Management calculated
at 8½d. in the pound — —

69,974 0 0
£. 1,905,809 1 9¼

Office for Taxes,
38th Nov. 1797.

J. HUNTER.

CHAS. DERING.
BARNE BARNE.
EDWD. MEDOWS.
H. HAYES.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Persons who pay the Duties on WINDOWS and INHABITED HOUSES, imposed by Acts 6th, 19th, and 24th Geo. III. ; distinguishing the same into Classes according to the Amount, from Three Shillings to One Hundred Pounds and upwards, as far as the same can be made up.

At 3s.	3s. and under 6s.	6s. and under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 1l.	1l. and under 1l. 5s.	1l. 5s. and under 1l. 10s.
246,527	19,679	26,342	42,367	43,280	26,557	21,974

1l. 10s. and under 1l. 15s.	1l. 15s. and under 2l.	2l. and under 2l. 5s.	2l. 5s. and under 2l. 10s.	2l. 10s. and under 2l. 15s.	2l. 15s. and under 3l.	3l. and under 3l. 10s.
12,826	14,989	13,628	10,156	6,203	8,966	12,935

3l. 10s. and under 4l.	4l. and under 4l. 10s.	4l. 10s. and under 5l.	5l. and under 6l.	6l. and under 7l.	7l. and under 8l.	8l. and under 9l.
16,515	10,297	8,047	9,487	7,943	7,613	5,862

9l. and under 10l.	10l. and under 12l. 10s.	12l. 10s. and under 15l.	15l. and under 17l. 10s.	17l. 10s. and under 20l.	20l. and under 25l.	25l. and under 30l.
5,060	6,767	3,387	1,907	1,155	1,182	580

30l. and under 35l.	35l. and under 40l.	40l. and under 45l.	45l. and under 50l.	50l. and under 60l.	60l. and under 70l.	70l. and under 80l.
320	187	131	94	84	60	29

80l. and under 90l.	90l. and under 100l.	100l. and under 150l.	150l. and under 200l.	200l. and under 250l.	250l. and under 300l.	300l. and under 350l.
16	9	15	2	1		1

350l. and under 400l.	400l. and upwards.	TOTAL — £. 587,480				
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N. B. The Returns for the Duties on Inhabited Houses,
37th Geo. III. are not yet received,

Office for Taxes, } J. HUNTER.
1st Dec. 1797.

Monday, December 4.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the order of the day for calling over the names of the defaulters on Friday last, be discharged—which was accordingly done.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Hobart in the chair.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then rose and said, that, as upon a former day he had fully stated to the Committee, the outline and general plan of the mode by which he proposed to raise a considerable part of the supplies for the ensuing year, for an increased assessment of the Assessed Taxes, what he should have to offer now upon that subject, would be confined within a narrower compass, and he should scarcely have any thing more to do than explain the proportions which he proposed to attach to the several classes of individuals, according to their income, and submit them to the consideration of the Committee, in the shape of distinct Resolutions. Before he proceeded to do this, however, he begged leave to recapitulate the general grounds on which he meant to bring forward his propositions, observing, that, according to his own opinion, he believed they would stand a fair and candid trial, and he wished them to be tried. The present was a moment which demanded an unusually vigorous exertion; and every gentleman, he trusted, was assured, that the cause of this exertion did not arise from any neglect or carelessness of our own, to prevent the farther prosecution of hostilities, but from the animosity, obstinacy, and ambition of the enemy. But if any sense of the freedom, spirit, and courage of Englishmen remained, he trusted every means for frustrating the perfidious designs and declarations of an enemy so revengeful and obdurate, would be supported—and supported firmly. From every symptom of radical wealth, from every symptom of true loyalty and patriotism in the country, and from every additional proof of our energy and power, it was evident there never was a moment in which we were better able to do justice to the cause which we supported. He had stated, upon a former day, that if there were any one point which more particularly demanded caution and circumspection than another, it was to avoid, by every possible means, a farther accumulation of our funded debt; for that was the point against which the machinations of the enemy were directed, and thence it was, their hopes of the conquest of this country were derived. It was his principal object therefore, to prevent an increase of Government paper in the market, and at the same time also, to prevent an accu-

mulation of the permanent debt. These were the ground works of his plan. He was bound to effect these salutary purposes in the best and simplest manner he was able, and he had the means of effecting them, by the adoption of the plan he had proposed. If gentlemen would look to our permanent advantage; if they would look at our universal credit, the stability of that credit, and the safe existence of the country, they would be convinced, that we were not only able to obtain these objects, but they would also be convinced of our ability, as he had stated upon a former day, to provide for the redemption of the Loan, which would be farther necessary to discharge the annual expenditure, by a temporary continuation of the measures he suggested, aided by the assistance of the sinking fund. If he were asked what would be the best plan for attaining these objects, he should reply, that an universal call on the income and property of the country might be imprudent if not dangerous. It was his duty, therefore, to find out some criterion by which a contribution, proportioned to the wealth and power, together with the ease and enjoyments of the various classes of the people, might be made. If he were asked, what criterion he could find for such a regulation? he should reply, that none appeared to him so equal in its calculations, as the return of the Assessed Taxes. The best plan that occurred to him, therefore, was, an increased assessment of the Assessed Taxes; and the fairest criterion for judging of the proportions which ought to be paid by the various classes of society according to their income, was the return of the Assessed Taxes, as far as they could be made up and estimated for the present year. His first reason for giving the preference to an increased assessment of the Assessed Taxes, was, as he had stated the other night, because he should therefrom deduce a considerable contribution from a large class of housekeepers, whom he conceived to be both able and willing to pay, amounting to 800,000. All of these were masters of families, and comprehended under their roofs a population of 4,000,000.

His next reason for choosing this mode was, because it excluded all the inferior and labouring classes of society, who are unable to contribute to the exigencies of the State, and whose poverty, in consequence, required an exemption. Thus far the Committee would perceive his plan had the utility of embracing whatever ought to be embraced, and omitting whatever ought to be omitted. As the purchase of some conveniences were necessary, and some a voluntary expenditure, his next duty was to draw a line of distinction between these objects, and endeavour to allow some modification and abatement to the former. This object would also be ob-

tained by the measure he proposed, and, as he believed, in a very fair and equal proportion. He would now state to the Committee the manner in which he intended to arrange and subdivide the proportions; and, in doing this, he had two extreme difficulties to overcome; first, to take especial care that no person, who possessed the means of paying, should escape the due proportion of their contribution; and secondly, to be careful to afford a large and ample relief to every individual, whose situation and circumstances entitled them to such a claim. He now reminded the Committee, that he had stated the product of the Assessed Taxes at present to be 2,700,000*l*. Some had not hitherto been collected, but he believed they would not fall far short of their estimate, which was taken at 600,000*l*. These were the additional assessments of last session; and although the actual returns could not yet be made, Government had accounts which would justify his calculation. It was now necessary to apprise the Committee, that the Assessed Taxes consisted of two descriptions, which deserved a separate consideration. The first description comprehended the tax on houses, the tax on windows, the old assessments upon houses, the commutation tax, and the two additional 10 per cent. duties upon the whole amount, making in all a general sum total of 150,000*l*. This the Committee would perceive was but a small proportion of the whole sum collected by the Assessed Taxes; and it consequently shewed that every care had been taken to avoid too hard a pressure upon those individuals, whose situation and circumstances claimed relief. The other description contained all the same charges upon houses, windows, the commutation act, and the 20 per cent. additional duties, while 1,300,000*l*. was raised upon male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches. It was his intention therefore, as these were chiefly articles of luxury, to triple the duties upon the latter, while he took care to have the proportions of the former modified. In that division, however, the only difference from the division he had submitted to the House, would be a transfer of the duties upon dogs and watches to the first class; because they might, in general, be considered as tests of affluence. A single dog or watch, however, would be comprehended in the modification as articles of convenience, and not of luxury. Here the Committee would observe that there would be no defalcation in the estimated produce of the tax upon the higher orders, by the reduction of the contributions upon those who merely subscribe for conveniences, since it was evident the higher orders would not only be taxed for the enjoyment of their luxuries, but for the enjoyment of their conveniences also. He now undertook to state to the Com-

mittee the different proportions of contribution which he should affix to the different classes of those housekeepers who came under his first description, of subscribing only to the house and window tax, the commutation tax, and the additional 20 per cent. duties, till the gradations ascended to the treble rate. Such persons as inhabited houses, without apportioning a part thereof to lodgers, he concluded, would not wish for exemption or relief. His next consideration then was, to endeavour to determine at what rate the proportions should be made, until the gradations did attain the treble rate. All housekeepers, who paid the duties only upon houses, windows, and the commutation tax, would not find a triple rate of the assessment attach, unless they already paid at the rate of 3l. a year to the Assessed Taxes. Thus for instance, all who inhabited houses, without apportioning a part thereof to lodgers, he conceived could not wish for exemption or relief. His next duty then was, to determine at what rate the different proportions should be fixed upon those housekeepers, who subscribed rather for convenience than luxury, till the gradation ascended to the treble rate. Where the present rate was under 1l. (for gentlemen would perceive, by the papers on the table, that so low a contribution as 3s. only was made in the country) he should propose to make an assessment only of one half of the present rate, and circumscribe the payment to 10s. Where the present rate was one pound, and under two, he should propose the increase of a single rate, or 20s., and where the present rate was two pounds, he should make the assessment only double. Thus where persons paid 2l. at present to the Assessed Taxes, they would pay 1l. more, and where they paid more than two, but under three, they would pay only 1l. 10s. Now gentlemen would see by this statement, how favourable the plan was to the poor and industrious classes of society, and how was its extension of abatement and relief; nearly 330,000 housekeepers would only pay one half of their present rate, in addition to what they already pay, which was only one-sixth of the tax imposed upon the higher orders: 130,000 would only subscribe a single rate of their present assessment, or one-third of what the superior classes would contribute; while in the higher orders of society, the duties levied would be more than treble the amount of what they now subscribe. There would be 70,000 persons to whom the increased assessment would be only double, and 530,000 to whom the modifications of abatement and relief would be extended. Notwithstanding these modifications, however large and comprehensive as they were, he had the satisfaction to inform the Committee, that upon a more minute investigation, he had every reason to believe

that the diminution of the product of the tax, by such abatements and relief, would be less than he had allowed for on a former day. There was another abatement, however, still to be allowed; for, while they endeavoured to raise a contribution necessary for the exigencies of the times, it was their duty to prevent any of those contributions from pressing too hard upon those persons, whose condition was entitled to indulgence and consideration. But before he described the nature of this abatement, he would state the proportions which he intended to affix to those classes who subscribed beyond the tax which he had already mentioned, as a limit ascending to that class of persons who kept horses and carriages, and who could not conscientiously demand the same modification, as they, who at present, paid no more than 3*l.* for assessments. He begged leave to remind the Committee, that according to the statements which he had laid before them, there was one class of people, consisting of the poor and the laborious, which would not contribute in any degree; and he acquainted the Committee, that the subscription of the second class would not exceed 3*l.* It was now his duty to subject all those who paid at present for any of those luxuries which he had specified, namely, horses and carriages, to a treble assessment, because it must be inferred from their appearance, that their incomes would justify such an assessment. The limits of this class would come in the following order: All who paid at present more than 30*l.* a year to the Assessed Taxes, he should suppose could not be worth less than 1000*l.* a year, and could, of course, contribute a treble amount of their present subscription. A heavier rate than a treble increase of the present assessments ought, in due proportion to the supposed increase of income, to be laid upon those persons who pay at present more than 30*l.* per annum to the Assessed Taxes; and, therefore, for those who at present paid from 30*l.* to 50*l.* he should propose the increase of a treble assessment and one-half; and for those who paid more than 50*l.* an assessment to four times the amount of their present contribution. This statement comprised the whole of the charge, in proportion to the supposed income of the different classes who were to defray it; and in making that proportion, he assured the Committee he had endeavoured to fix it as equally as he could, though it was certain some cases would occur, which might hereafter require correction. Some farther criterion, for instance, was necessary to prevent the tax from pressing too hard in particular cases upon persons already contributing beyond their due proportion; for it so happened, that the Assessed Taxes, as he had stated upon a former day, pressed much harder upon people of the same class

in the metropolis, and large towns, than in the country; and he had recently been informed that on account of local situation, a residence in a street, or certain peculiarities of trade, there was a grievous inequality. Some persons, on account of these circumstances, he understood paid from 1 to 2, 3, 4, or 5*l.* per annum, more than others of the same class and income. The only mode of correction which he could suggest, was that of allowing an abatement below the charge of the assessment, on a declaration of the person so surcharged, not of the precise amount of his income, which might be an imprudent and dangerous request, but on a declaration that his income was not sufficient for such a contribution. Upon such a declaration, made before four Commissioners appointed for such purposes, the party should be relieved in a given proportion to his competency. Whether the duties proposed were affixed at one half of a single rate of the present assessments, or rose in proportion to treble their amount, it was his intention to propose a resolution to the Committee, that if the party assessed should make a declaration in the manner above described that his annual income did not amount to 60*l.* he should be exempted from the additional assessment. If his income amounted to 60*l.* he should only pay at the rate of a 120th part of that income, which would be a proportion of 10*s.* And so he proposed to go on varying his propositions in a regular ratio to 200*l.* above which he did not intend to allow any abatement of the treble duty, unless a declaration should be made, purporting that the charge exceeded one tenth of the party's income, as he never intended to burden an income of 200*l.* and upwards, with more than one-tenth. As gentlemen, however, might not have clearly understood him, he would, for the sake of perspicuity, recapitulate the leading divisions. An income, as he had before observed, under 60*l.* was to be exempted.

<i>Income.</i>	<i>Share.</i>				<i>Annual Sum.</i>		
60 <i>l.</i> should pay a 20th, or a proportion of					£.	0	10 0
80	-	-	60	-	-	1	6 8
100	-	-	40	-	-	2	10 0
125	-	-	33	-	-	3	15 0
150	-	-	20	-	-	7	10 0
200	-	-	10	-	-	20	0 0

This abatement, he said, he had made to prevent any accidental pressure upon persons whose condition might not be able to sustain it, and he trusted the Committee would admit it to be as equal as the criterion he had to go by would allow.

His next consideration was, in what manner the modification was to be applied. He proposed that it should be applied as the case of the individual and circumstances might require. In regard to what mode the abatement should be made, and upon what proof, he knew of none better than that which he had before stated, a Declaration of the person's inability to pay, or of the undue proportion of the assessment to his income. This Declaration should be confirmed, if it were thought necessary, by oath: and he should wish to have it made before persons residing in the same parish with the person who makes the Declaration, who must in consequence, be supposed to be better acquainted with his local situation and condition, than others of indifferent appointment. In order to render the payment of the tax more secure, he should wish to have the names of the persons applying for abatement, together with their declaration, and the amount of the relief which they should apply for, made public. For, as he conceived the Committee would agree with him in the desire not to have a greater burden imposed upon any individual than he was able to bear, so on the other hand, he conceived that every person applying for relief would be contented to declare what the amount of his income was. This was the extent of the proposition which he should afterwards submit to the Committee upon that subject. On a former day he had proposed that no exemption should be made in favour of those persons who had contributed to the Assessed Taxes in any considerable degree during the present year, unless a change of circumstances rendered such an exemption necessary, and a declaration were made to that effect. He had since been induced to believe that such an exemption would neither be necessary or advisable, and therefore the only privilege he should affix to persons in that condition would be, leave for them to make a declaration in the ordinary way. He next informed the Committee of his intention to propose, that it should be enacted, that in stating the income to the Commissioners, there should not be a statement on the opposite side of the taxes among the other articles of expenditure, and his wish to exclude the statement of the taxes paid by the person applying for relief, was, because there were many instances where other people paid a larger rate than the proportion of their income. Of this class were innkeepers, who, on account of the extent of their buildings and the number of windows, paid five or ten times as much as other people of a similar rank and station. The same thing would apply to many other trades; but as he wished to avoid a complicate detail of the exemptions which should be afforded to different people of this class of different incomes, he chose rather to leave the whole of

these modifications and abatements to the decision of the Commissioners upon a declaration. In respect to the appointment of the Commissioners, he wished to have the investigation assigned to them, who, from local situation, and other contingencies, might be supposed to be most familiar with the true state of the person's condition who came to make the declaration. For this reason he should wish to have them appointed out of each parish, and to select those housekeepers who already paid the largest proportion to the Assessed Taxes, and who, from their situation and circumstances, would not be likely to want relief themselves. If more of these were nominated than the necessary number, he should wish to have the appointment assigned by lot, and appoint the sub-division to another district. This included all the regulations which he should at present submit to the Committee. He had other resolutions to offer, which he should reserve to a subsequent period, as they did not now apply. Where a favourable change of circumstances had produced an increased rate of the assessed taxes in the present year, and such changes did happen every year, it was his intention to propose a resolution, that the additional Assessment should fall on the increase, and where cases occurred of an increased income, he should propose to treble the rate of the present assessment.

He would now state how far the different modifications and abatements were likely to affect the general produce of the tax; and here he begged leave to remind the Committee, that he had estimated the produce at 2,700,000*l.* only; though a treble increase of the present Assessed Taxes, supposing them to be of the amount which he had estimated, would be 8,161,000*l.* From the present amount, the charge of collection was to be deducted, which amounted to 90,000*l.* The charge of collection, however, for the new Assessment would be small in proportion, as the same persons would be able to collect both. But yet they would have a claim to some remuneration for their trouble and exertion, though they could not expect to be paid for that increase of trouble at the same rate of poundage. As the present charge of collection amounted to little less than 100,000*l.* the triple amount of that sum, which would then only be in proportion to the assessment, would be 300,000*l.* but he would only take 2-3*ds* of that amount for the charge of collection, namely, 200,000*l.* leaving the other 100,000*l.* to be applied to the other modifications. The general amount then, he trusted, would not be less than he had stated, that was, upwards of 8,000,000*l.* but gentlemen would recollect that it was not possible to obtain any accurate account of what the abatements for the whole of the kingdom would amount to, as he had

been able to collect the accounts for 4-5ths only. Supposing, however, that the remaining counties would form an average with those which had already delivered their accounts, he believed the loss would not be more than 900,000*l.* or 1 million. The losses upon certain classes of the abatement certainly made the increased assessment in particular instances fall far short of a triple assessment; but as a rate of three and a half and four times the value of the present assessment would be raised from those persons who at present paid more than 5*l.* a year, that would make the additional between 4 and 500,000*l.* more in the general produce than a triple assessment, and make the general average amount, as he had before said, to little less than 8,000,000*l.* Now it was to be observed, that where a person had not an income of 6*l.* a year, he could claim exemption; and however his income might be limited up to a certain amount he received a diminution. But here it was to be recollected, that he could not make any accurate calculation, for the only ground of proceeding was the supposed actual income. If the calculation of income could be made with accuracy, the criterion of the present Assessed Taxes would be unnecessary, and the actual state of income might have been taken in the first instance. What the abatements might be, therefore, was merely conjectural; but what was not conjectural, would be the relief which the plan would afford in certain cases, in proportion to the income, and the modification which he had stated, appeared to obtain so essential a relief, that he should propose a resolution for it. As this abatement would only apply to those who did not possess an income of 20*l.* a year, there would not be many, he conceived, who would claim it, for there were many persons who resided in the country, who paid but 6*l.* or 7*l.* a year to the Assessed Taxes. What the amount of such abatements might be, therefore, he did not know; but as he had taken only 7 millions for the general amount, though the average of a triple assessment would be 8,000,000, he trusted there would still be room left for his abatements. Against this expected reduction, much might be said also upon a more rigid enforcement of the due collection of the tax. The present plan was not the first which led to the discovery of evasion, but the investigation made, in order to render the plan more accurate, had certainly confirmed it. He was sorry to say, that a most shameful evasion did exist, and gentlemen would see, in looking over the accounts upon the table, many persons of the same class as themselves who contributed in a very disproportionate degree. He was resolved, however, if possible, to put an end to this sort of fraud; for as on the one hand he had discovered a considerable fraud in the returns of dis-

ferent counties of the number of horses, so he had every reason to hope, that the returns of the other counties which were not yet made, would lead to others. He was afraid to mention the instances of evasion he had detected, for the sake of the persons and the places to which they belonged; but he thought if the parties had any sense of shame remaining, they ought to look with shame on their past conduct. Apprehensive of the fear of punishment, some of them, perhaps, might hereafter come forward, and endeavour to atone for their fault, and therefore he thought some indulgence should be given retrospectively to those who paid the amount of their arrears. A fine should be imposed upon the rest. He had nothing more to offer to the consideration of the Committee, except one other modification, which he would recommend to their attention. Where the taxes were increased by a large and numerous family, he thought there should be some exemption. In what proportion that exemption ought to be made he should leave for a subsequent discussion. But where the family was large, and the children unmarried, he thought the rate should be taken one or two classes below the income, and where there was no family, the rate ought to be taken one or two classes above it. It was not necessary for him to state more at present. All he should add, was some general observations on his plan. If it was right to make unusual and vigorous exertions, it was a matter of necessity also, that those exertions should be confined within reasonable bounds. The principal point of inquiry then was, what mode was best? That certainty which ascertained the proportions of contribution as nearly as possible to the actual amount of property and income. Could there be a call then upon income more general, more effectual, or more comprehensive than that which he had proposed? Could there be a plan which embraced more necessary abatements, which allowed more just and necessary exemptions, which was founded on a more accurate criterion, or which regulated the proportions of wealth, circumstance, and situation, with more fair and equal justice? Or could any plan be suggested which would be better than this applied to the same criterion? The demand was, to be sure, a great one; but the demand must be a great one, for there was no way of drawing 7 millions out of the pockets of the subjects without making them sensible of the grievance. The question was, ought we, or ought we not, to encounter great and extraordinary difficulties for the defence of our country, the preservation of our property, the safety of our families, the security of our freedom, and the innumerable other privileges which we enjoy? Ought, or ought we not, to determine to make any voluntary sacrifice, rather than submit to the insolent

dominion of an enemy who would exult in our destruction? And should we not consent to the loss of our present ease and the loss of a part of our property, however large, to enjoy repose in future with the remains, the whole of which would be completely swallowed up, if we did not act with more vigour and exertion? If gentlemen were satisfied upon these points, he gave notice that he should not listen to points on general grounds, such as that the present increased assessments were grievances. All taxes were grievances; but a sacrifice of part of the public property, was occasionally obliged to be made for the preservation of the whole, and for the security of those who came after. Let gentlemen look carefully, diligently and manfully about them; let them examine the dangers they had to avoid, the difficulties they had to encounter, the exertions necessary for the evasion and conquest of such calamities, and then let them inquire whether any better remedy could be found than that which he had suggested. If they were assured of the approach of evil, which required a prompt and effectual resistance, and if they conceived the plan which he proposed would be both prompt and effectual, then let them look with a firm determination to perform their duty equal to the novelty of the crisis, and the situation in which they stood.

He did not think it necessary to add more, but should move his resolutions.

Mr. HOBART then proceeded to read the first resolution.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that though it was not perfectly regular, he should propose to read all the resolutions before the Committee proceeded to the discussion of any of them.

Mr. HOBART then read the resolutions as follow:

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, every person assessed to any of the duties now payable on male servants, on carriages, or on horses, either separately or together, with any other duties now placed under the management of the Commissioners for the affairs of taxes, shall be charged annually, during a term to be limited, with an additional rate or duty, in proportion to the amount of the duties (except the land-tax) to which such person is assessed, according to the last yearly assessment or assessments, made in pursuance of any act of Parliament now in force, prior to the 5th day of April, 1798, and the proportion thereof shall be as follows, viz.

“ Where the amount of the said duties now payable shall not exceed thirty pounds, a duty equal to three times the amount thereof.

“ Where the amount of the said duties now payable shall exceed thirty, and shall not exceed fifty pounds, a duty equal to three times the amount, and one half the amount thereof.

“ And where the amount of the said duties now payable shall exceed fifty pounds, a duty equal to four times the amount thereof.

“ And that where any person shall be so charged to any such assessment, made for a less term than a year, the additional rate or duty shall be computed on the aggregate amount of the sums contained in such assessments, and of such farther sum to be added thereto, as would be payable thereon, if the same were made for a whole year.

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, every person assessed to any of the rates or duties now payable, and placed under the management of the Commissioners for the affairs of taxes, such person not being assessed to any of the duties on male servants, carriages, or horses, shall be charged annually, during a term to be limited, with an additional rate or duty in proportion to the amount of the duties (except the land tax) to which such person is assessed, according to the last yearly assessment or assessments, made prior to the 5th day of April, 1798, in pursuance of any act of Parliament now in force; and the proportion thereof shall be as follows, viz.

“ When the amount of the said duties shall be under one pound, a duty equal to one half the amount thereof.

“ Where the amount of the said duties shall amount to one pound, and shall be under two pounds, a duty equal to the amount thereof.

“ Where the amount of the said duties shall amount to two pounds, and shall be under three pounds, a duty equal to twice the amount thereof.

“ And when the amount of the said duties shall amount to three pounds or upwards, a duty equal to three times the amount thereof.

“ And that where any person shall be so charged by every such assessment made for a less term than a year, the additional rate or duty shall be computed on the aggregate amount of the sums contained in such assessment, and of such farther sum to be added thereto as would become payable thereon, if the same were made for a whole year.

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that every person charged to the additional rate or duty, to be imposed towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, shall, upon proving to the satisfaction of Commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, that the amount of his or her annual income, after deducting the amount of the duties contained in the last assessment of the duties now payable,

is less than the sum of 60*l.* be exempted from the said additional duty; and in all cases where such annual income amounts to 60*l.* or more, such person shall be intitled to such an abatement of the additional duty to be granted, as may be necessary to reduce the same in each case respectively, in the proportion hereinafter stated; that is to say,

“ Where the said annual income shall appear to be not less than

£.	£.	
60 but under 65	to a sum not exceeding 1-120	part of the same.
65	70	1-95
70	75	1-70
75	80	1-65
80	85	1-60
85	90	1-55
90	95	1-50
95	100	1-45
100	105	1-40
105	110	1-38
110	115	1-36
115	120	1-34
120	125	1-32
125	130	1-30
130	135	1-28
135	140	1-26
140	145	1-24
145	150	1-22
150	155	1-20
155	160	1-19
160	165	1-18
165	170	1-17
170	175	1-16
175	180	1-15
180	185	1-14
185	190	1-13
190	195	1-12
195	200	1-11
200	—	1-10

“ And where the said annual income shall appear to be not less than 200*l.* every such person shall be entitled to such an abatement of the additional duty now granted as may be necessary to reduce the same in each case respectively to a sum not exceeding one-tenth part of the said income.

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, every person whose last assessment shall be increased by any surcharge to be allowed, shall be charged, in respect of such increased assessment, in the like proportion as if such surcharge had formed a part of the original assessment.

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, every person who shall by any assessment to be made after the 5th day of April, 1798, be assessed in respect of the duties now payable to a greater amount than the amount contained in the prior assessment, shall be charged with a farther additional rate or duty, in proportion to such latter assessment, from the commencement of the year in which such latter assessment shall be made.

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raising the supply granted to His Majesty, every person not assessed within the year ending on the 5th day of April, 1798, to any of the duties now payable, and who shall be assessed to any of the said duties in any subsequent year, shall be charged with the like additional rate or duty, on the amount of such assessment, from the commencement of the year in which such assessment shall be made, and subject to the like abatement as if such person had been assessed to the said duties within the year ending on the 5th day of April, 1798.”

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY said, that when the right honourable gentleman brought forward his proposition on a former night, he (Sir William) did not trouble the Committee, because the right honourable gentleman had not proposed any specific resolution to be agreed upon then, but had merely stated the general outline of his plan, and allowing time for its mature consideration. He highly approved of the right honourable gentleman's conduct in this particular; it was certainly right to give, not only the Members of that House, but the public at large, time to consider of the burdens which it was intended to propose. He knew the orders of that House would not allow of petitioning against tax bills, but he could not approve of the principle upon which that Resolution was founded. It was founded upon an unjust supposition, that the People were averse from paying taxes. Formerly, when the system of raising money was so totally different from what it is now, and before the system of borrowing had been introduced, by which money was got so cheaply, at least at the present, the People were certainly averse to taxation; but since the mode of taxation by loans had been introduced, he was convinced that the People were

more indifferent upon the subject. Whenever the People entertained an opinion that they were well governed, they would, he was sure, pay their taxes without reluctance. Upon this principle, he thought there should always be time given to them to consider of the burdens which were to be imposed upon them; and it must give the Public great satisfaction to find that they were not to be taken short upon a subject which so intimately concerned them, but that the Government placed confidence enough in them to consult them upon so important a subject.

With respect to this plan of taxation, he approved of it very much; he thought the system of raising the supplies of the year within the year, was extremely proper, and therefore he should support the right honourable gentleman's proposition, as far as it went. This was not a new opinion of his, he had expressed it upon a former occasion; and he was not disposed at present in any degree to alter the opinion he formerly entertained. He therefore thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer entitled not only to the support, but to the approbation of the House, not only for the general plan, but for the modification he had suggested. There could be no doubt but that the burden ought to be imposed upon those who were the best able to bear it. But he was afraid, that notwithstanding every modification that could be suggested, there would be still considerable inequality in the operation of this tax. There was no doubt but some men of large property spend less than men possessed of much inferior fortunes, and consequently would pay less to this tax. But still, where a burden was extended over a great country, as it would be by this tax, its operation would not be so severely felt as in many other cases. In many of the taxes, the burden fell only upon the honest part of the community, for the smuggler and contraband dealer paid nothing. But though some inconveniencies might result from this plan, still he did not from thence mean to argue that the plan ought to be rejected, because many alterations and amendments might be made in the various stages of the bill; but that was a subject for future discussion.

He was inclined to carry this principle of providing the whole of the supply, farther than the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done; and he was sure that the burden would be less felt by the community at large, if the plan had been formed upon a larger scale. He did not expect to find many gentlemen who would go to the whole extent of his ideas upon this subject, but he thought it his duty to state them, for the consideration of the House. The great difficulty that would arise from carrying the present plan into execution, would be, that many persons now lived up to the full

extent of their incomes ; and if that was the case, how were they to find the money to pay an additional tax, to so large an amount ? The law required, and very properly, that the King's taxes should be paid first ; but if a man had no money, what was he to do ? Could he borrow any money ? Certainly not — and for a very obvious reason ; Government gave such exorbitant interest, that an individual could not possibly expect any body to lend him money at 5 per cent. So that after all the modifications that had been proposed, and I admitted that great care had been taken to suggest every possible modification, yet the distress arising from this measure, in its present extent, might be very serious indeed. Suppose, instead of raising a sum of seven millions in the manner now proposed, the right honourable gentleman had proposed to raise the sum of nineteen million, or even twenty-one millions in the year, he (Sir William) was convinced that it would be felt lighter by the Country than raising the seven millions. In the first place, if the whole sum had been raised within the year, Government would not have had occasion to borrow any money ; and if they did not borrow, then individuals might.

A man who wanted money, might borrow it at 5 per cent. ; but in the present case, as Government were going to have a loan, nobody would lend his money to an individual for 5 per cent. when he could get so much more by lending it to Government. He was aware that this idea of his raising the sum of twenty-one millions in the year might appear rather extravagant ; but he had considered it minutely, and was convinced of its practicability. There were many propositions which, at first sight, appeared objectionable, and were impossible, which, upon more mature consideration, would turn out to the extremely beneficial. He had revolved this subject very much in his mind, and was convinced that this Country would derive great benefit from its adoption ; but in the extent that it was now proposed, he did not think it would be so advantageous.

The right honourable gentleman had stated, that there was to be a loan of twelve millions ; every body knew what large interest Government must, in the present state of the Funds, give for money ; then how could a private person borrow any money, who was not allowed by law to give more than 5 per cent. ? It was very well known, that the consequence of People getting such large interest in the Public Funds was, that the Country was in a manner drained of money — If the plan was adopted, in the extent he proposed, this inconvenience would be avoided ; and as the Public would have no occasion to borrow, then a private person might be able to get it. It appeared to him to be a great and noble plan, and

one that would enable the country to carry on the war for many years to come. The saving that would be made by the adoption of his plan was obvious; for Government now paid 8 per cent. for money, and that expence, of course, fell upon the Public at large; but in the way he proposed, instead of 8, the Public would only have 5 per cent. to pay. The right honourable gentleman had certainly gone very far in proposing it to the extent he had done; he was entitled to great merit for the manly manner in which he had come forward. This certainly was a mode of raising money which could not have been practised when the funding system first began; but the situation of the Country was materially altered since that period; and he was sure it might be now adopted, not only without hardship, but with ease to the Public, even to the extent of the whole sum necessary for the supplies of the years. He was even convinced, that it could not only be done this year, but for some years to come. This was a new idea, and certainly might, at first view, appear rather objectionable; but he was convinced that it might easily be carried into effect. He was perfectly willing to draw out his plan in detail, and would give both his time and attendance in order to bring it to perfection, without requiring any reward for his trouble, except the pleasure he should derive from the consciousness of serving his Country. But there were some other points which would naturally occur to those who considered this subject. It would be asked, and with propriety, what security the Public had, that, after advancing so large a sum of money, it would be better disposed than that which they had already given? The right honourable gentleman had stated, on a former night, that great reductions had been made in the expenditure of the Country, without making diminution in its force. The right honourable gentleman had estimated this saving at no less a sum than six millions. Would not the People very naturally ask, why these six millions had not been saved before, if it could have been done without reducing the force of the Country too much? For his part, he was perfectly convinced that we should not have a man less employed. This proved, that the Public gave their money too readily, and too liberally.

He was aware, that at this juncture the People of England must come forward with energy; but he was convinced we could not crush the enemy by carrying on a defensive war, and therefore he was for more decisive measures. The tone which the enemy had taken up lately, was enough to animate every man. He should not consider the question now as a question of the conquest of an island or a fort: for the language the enemy had used to us was such as to

make every man who had the feelings of a man, willing to risk his all to continue the contest. These were his opinions ; but he did not approve of the idea of a defensive war, because he did not think it could be carried on longer with advantage to this Country. He was willing to believe, that the finances of the enemy were much more deranged than ours were ; but then they did not mind breaking their faith, and public credit they knew nothing about ; but it was impossible for this Country to do as they did ; we paid every body, and religiously kept our faith ; and therefore he was of opinion that we could not bring them to reason by the mere operation of a defensive war. Who were our allies ? We had Portugal ; but she was an ally whom we must defend at an enormous expence. But had we an ally upon the Continent ? Had not the French increased their dominions to a most enormous extent ? There could be no doubt how these questions must be answered : then it would naturally be asked, if we had taken due pains to awaken the other powers on the Continent to a due sense of their interest, and to secure their alliance ? In the reign of Louis XIV. the Duke of Marlborough was able to form and to keep up a powerful alliance to check the ambitious projects of that Prince, and surely no body could say that Europe was in so perilous a situation then as at present.

What was the reason that, at such a crisis as the present, we had not been able to preserve one ally ? Our enemies, indeed, talked of the domineering spirit of the enemy, and accused us of enriching ourselves at the expence of the rest of Europe ; but these were charges for which there was no foundation. He knew Englishmen when abroad were apt to assume a high tone, and to behave with some degree of pride ; but then foreigners knew them to be an honest, open-hearted, generous people, and always thought well of them. But as to the lofty and imperious tone assumed by people in office to Foreign Powers, he thought very differently about it, and was not surprized at Foreign Powers being offended at it. As to what the Directory had said of our enriching ourselves at the expence of other nations, it was perfectly absurd. It was well known that the only means we had of enriching ourselves, was by selling them our commodities at a cheaper rate than they could get them elsewhere. It was therefore perfect nonsense to charge us with unfairly enriching ourselves at their expence. There must be some cause why we could not retain our allies, as well now, when they had so much more interest in remaining faithful to us, as we did during the reign of Louis XIV. These were points which would very naturally, and very properly occur to the public, when they

were called upon to pay large sums of money. But if we persisted in this plan of a defensive war, might it not be inquired—What the enemy were likely to do, in the mean time, with Hamburgh and with Switzerland, to whom their conduct was very suspicious? Why were we not endeavouring, at this moment to stir up the Powers of the Continent to support a cause in which they were infinitely more interested than we were? With respect, however, to the plan before the Committee, it had his approbation; the only fault he found with it was, that it did not go far enough. If it were carried to a greater extent, he was sure it would not only be more productive, but its operation would be less severely felt by the public; and, besides, it would have a tendency to promote the agriculture and the trade of the country. In the extent in which it was now proposed, notwithstanding every modification that could be devised, it would fall upon the lower orders of the people; for suppose a man chose to give up his coach, would not that ultimately fall upon the coach-maker, and the persons employed by him? Most undoubtedly it would. He thought it right to throw out these observations for the consideration of the House, and he trusted gentlemen would attend anxiously to the subject during all the stages of the bill. There was one other observation that occurred to him, which was, that there were some landlords who let their houses upon the condition of paying the Assessed Taxes themselves. He supposed this tax could not be intended to operate upon them, because it was intended to attach only upon expenditure. Upon all the grounds which he had stated, he should support this measure, though he should have done it with greater pleasure if it had been carried to a greater extent.

Earl TEMPLE rose to give his entire assent to the measure now proposed. He thought it was one highly deserving of the approbation of the House. He was the more pleased with it and the manner in which it was introduced, because Government had now assumed that tone of confidence which he thought became them, and which he was sincerely sorry they had not assumed sooner. At the same time he could not but lament that this plan was not more general and more extensive. He was perfectly aware of the risk he had at stake in the present contest, and felt, as he hoped every man in the House and every man in the Country felt, willing to give up a part to preserve the remainder. He was sorry to observe that there were many Capitalists in this Country who by no means contributed their fair proportion to the public exigencies, and he was afraid that this tax would fall most heavily upon persons of two, three, and four hundred pounds a year, who lived in the country,

and who were certainly a most useful and most respectable body of men. He should have been extremely happy if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have suggested a plan that would have avoided these difficulties ; but at present he should give his vote in favour of the resolutions now proposed.

SIR ROBERT MACKRETH disapproved of the plan, and submitted to the Committee a new one which he wished to be substituted in its place. York and Middlesex were the only counties in which property was registered, this regulation should be extended to all the other counties ; it was well known that all the lands in the kingdom were mortgaged for two-thirds of their value. In the single instance of the first Lord Mansfield, it was a well authenticated fact, that he had not less than four or five hundred thousand pounds secured by mortgage ; he would therefore propose a tax on mortgages as one that was highly equitable, and must prove very productive ; an equal Land Tax should be adopted, and he would abolish all others. The forests and mortmain lands should be sold, and the produce thrown into the Sinking Fund, for the purpose of discharging the national debt. This plan, he contended, would destroy the corrupt influence of the Crown, and was one which the present state of the country absolutely required.

Mr. NICHOLLS, from what had been said by His Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer, felt himself called upon to object to the measure. It did not appear to him, nor did he think it either just, necessary or expedient. If it was to be considered as a tax upon luxury, it was not just, because it was not optional ; in all such cases Government says, " if you choose the luxury, you must pay for it ;" the individual should be left to choice, but here the power of choice was excluded, the tax was therefore unjust, because it was retrospective. If it be considered a tax upon expenditure, it was also unjust, because expenditure was not proportional to property. The right honourable gentleman calculated that a man who paid thirty pounds, was a man of one thousand a year ; now the largest sum paid is to be four hundred, and of this there were only two instances ; according to this rule, then, there would be only two persons who spent thirteen thousand a year, and surely it would not be contended that there were not many more in this country of much more considerable fortune ; but the right honourable gentleman has said, that it would be expedient to lighten our Unfunded Debt, and to raise the Supplies within the year. This declaration comes with a bad grace from a gentleman who had, during his administration, increased our national debt one half, by an addition of not less than 185,000,000*l*. The tax was not expedient ; it could

not be expedient to crush the middle orders of the people ; he professed his intention to spare the lower orders, but the fact is otherwise, all are equally oppressed, but with this difference in the operation, the higher orders of the middle class are crushed directly, and the lower indirectly. Take the case of a coach-maker, which had been already mentioned ; at present the artizans in that branch of business were not employed three days in the week, that is, they come late to work, and left off early, which upon an average did not amount to more than half employment ; but if the present tax be adopted, they will have no employment at all ; they will be in the same situation with the watch-makers, with the unfortunate artizans in that trade ; it could not be expedient to crush them ; they must become beggars, and be obliged to fly to another country, to America for refuge. But take it in another light : he was reproached the other night for saying, that in borrowing, Government had acquired a most *cruel monopoly*. In this assertion, he was now supported by the honourable Baronet (Sir William Pulteney) who preceded him ; he therefore continued of the same opinion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on that occasion, boasted that money was drawn from the country, to be lodged in the public funds. That was, in his mind, a very great calamity. Productive property was diverted from the country into the public funds ; it was drawn from shopkeepers and manufacturers, tempted by the great interest it would there produce. The country was consequently distressed for money ; this gentlemen would be sensible of, from the difficulty which would attend the collection of their rents. The man, who besides more than six per cent. interest, had also the prospect of an increase of capital, who expected for his 40*l.* to make 55, by a rise in the funds at the end of the war, would not be likely to lend it in the country. In other countries, *Mounts of Piety* were established to aid and assist the people ; here it was the very reverse ; the Chancellor of the Exchequer chuses a totally different course ; for his part, he did not think it either just or wise ; he could not conceive it to be the duty of the Committee to consent to a tax that may crush and destroy the Commons of England. Though the Minister affected to spare the lower orders, it was plain that they were indirectly subject to the operation of the tax, and must share the same fate as the higher orders. Farther, the tax was neither just nor necessary ; it was not necessary, because the war was not necessary. [*A laugh.*] “ Sir,” said Mr. Nicholls, “ I stand here as one of the representatives of the people. If I am not allowed to assign my reasons here, I must submit to power ; but I must find some

other means to declare it to my constituents." I now announce it, and I will state my opinion."

Mr. Nicholls then said, he did not believe sincere measures had been pursued for the attainment of peace: until Ministers disavowed the opinions they had expressed at the beginning of the war, he never would believe them sincere in their endeavours for its discontinuance. His reason was this: some of them coincided in opinion with the late Mr. Edmund Burke; and his opinion was, that the representative Government of France should be annihilated; for if not, French principles might be propagated here, and the Commons might assume a power they did not possess before. Now, what was the system the Commons of England might wish to overturn? Here Mr. Nicholls read the following extract from the 71st page of Mr. Burke's charges against Mr. Fox, article 42d, viz.

" This charge, the party of Mr. Fox maintained, article by article, beginning with the first; namely, the interference of Peers at elections, and their nominating in effect several of the Members of the House of Commons. In the printed List of Grievances which they made out on the occasion, and in support of their charge, is found the Borough for which, under Lord Fitzwilliam's influence, I now sit. By this remonstrance and its object, they hope to defeat the operation of property in elections, and in reality to dissolve the connection and communication of interests which makes the Houses of Parliament a mutual support to each other. Mr. Fox and the Friends of the People are not so ignorant as not to know, that Peers do not interfere in elections as Peers, but as men of property—They well know that the House of Lords is by itself the feeblest part of the Constitution; they know that the House of Lords is supported only by its connections with the Crown and with the House of Commons; and that without this double connection, the Lords could not exist a single year. They know, that all these parts of our Constitution, whilst they are balanced as opposing interests, are also connected as friends; otherwise nothing but confusion could be the result of a complex Constitution. It is natural, therefore, that they who wish the common destruction of the whole, and of all its parts, should contend for their total separation. But as the House of Commons is that link which connects both the other parts of the Constitution (the Crown and the Lords) with the *mass of the People*, it is to that link (as it is natural enough) that their incessant attacks are directed. That artificial representation of the People being once discredited and overturned, all goes

“to pieces, and nothing but a plain French Democracy or arbitrary Monarchy can possibly exist.”

In this article Mr. Nicholls said, Mr. Burke clearly admitted, that in the month of September 1793, he (Mr. Burke) sat in this House under nomination of Earl Fitzwilliam; and from that same petition and article it farther appeared, that more than one hundred and fifty Members owed their seats to the nomination of Peers. The fact was so; the charge was made, and not being contradicted, it must now be taken as true. Mr. Nicholls then went on to state, that Lords interfered in elections as owners of property, though it was declared an high breach of the privileges of this House for a Peer to interfere at elections.

Earl TEMPLE called the honourable gentleman to order; he could not see what the interest of Lord Fitzwilliam had to do with the question of supplies, then the subject of discussion.

Mr. NICHOLLS insisted he was perfectly in order; he was stating his reasons against the tax. The war was not necessary; no endeavours had been sincerely used to attain peace. The Minister was well aware of the consequence of peace, the loss of his *usurped power*. If he was not allowed, he must submit to power, but otherwise he would proceed without being deterred by insults—he would now return to his argument. Considering, then, their opinions and their wishes, Ministers were not sincere; and if they never were sincere, they never *can* be sincere. Those Peers who had usurped the power of election from the commonalty, were not prepared to relinquish their usurped power; he believed it on his soul.

Mr. DENT called Mr. Nicholls to order; it was irregular to interfere with the other House.

Mr. TIERNEY supported Mr. Nicholls. He said the honourable gentleman was defending the standing order of that House, forbidding Peers to interfere in elections, and believed in his soul that his conduct deserved the thanks of an English House of Commons.

Mr. NICHOLLS said he was called to order unjustly; he never said any thing against the House of Peers, but only against individuals; he spoke against Peers interfering in elections, and ever would—he would take the instance of Lord Fitzwilliam. Did not Edmund Burke sit in that House nominated by Lord Fitzwilliam? He would put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he would ask if that was not a violation of the Constitution.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNGE had been fourteen years in that

House, during which time he had studied its Constitution. To introduce the name of a noble Peer on the evidence of a printed book, as if it were legal evidence, and then to state him on the authority of such an authenticated document as guilty of a breach of the privileges of that House, appeared to him to be entirely out of order.

Mr. NICHOLLS believed himself perfectly in order. He put the question, if the Law of the Land was not violated?—It was the authority of Edmund Burke.

Mr. Chancellor PITT rose to order. He condemned himself for having preserved so long a silence upon what he conceived to be one of the grossest violations of order. The question before the Committee was not whether an attack should be made upon a Peer for an alledged breach of privilege, but whether a debate upon the mode of raising the supply for the service of the year was the proper time for bringing forward such a subject as that upon which the learned gentleman had at such length dilated. Because Mr. Burke had stated a fact upon the representation, did that learned Member mean to found an argument upon it, that the continuance of the present war not necessary? For his own part, he had waited for him to come round from such digression to the subject before the Committee, to which he desired him to say that a discussion about boroughs, or a printed book, could have the smallest reference.

Mr. NICHOLLS, in continuation, persisted in delivering it as his opinion, that the continuance of the war was not necessary, because His Majesty's Ministers had evinced no sincere desire, nor made any sincere endeavours for the attainment of peace. In the course of what he had been offering to the Committee, he had attempted to shew, from the opinions of those Ministers, that they never could be sincere; he therefore conceived himself to be perfectly in order. He gave his vote most decidedly against the tax. He did not think it necessary. He did not think the war necessary. "Remove those great proprietors of boroughs, and peace may be obtained. Such is my opinion, and that opinion I will deliver, notwithstanding all the obloquy and insults to which I may be subjected. Dismiss the present Ministers, and the war then may be terminated. There are known to be Peers confederated in sentiments with Mr. Burke. They are the proprietors of boroughs, which they will not abandon, unless they are forced to do so by the Commons of England. Sir, the very spirit of the tax is unjust. If the continuance of the war is so indispensable, let the Minister come forward with a tax upon landed property; that is the fair and

manly way. I speak from no motives of interest. Such a tax would fall heavier upon me, because the greater part of my property is in land; but I would rather pay the full amount of four shillings in the pound than consent to such a tax as this; because it must crush the middle and lower ranks of the People. Sir, I have discharged what I conceived to be my duty. If I have not discharged it so well as I might have done, gentlemen will attribute it to the frequent interruptions I met with during the course of those observations which I have submitted to the Committee."

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR could not but observe, (what he believed must have been observed by almost every gentleman in the House) that the honourable Member who spoke last had completely failed in making good either of his assertions, namely, that he had been perfectly in order throughout the whole of his speech, and that the train of arguments he had endeavoured to introduce, were properly connected with the subject under discussion. Indeed, the speech of the honourable gentleman has so widely branched out into such a variety of irrelevant and extraneous matter, that it would be wholly to no purpose either for him or for the House to follow the honourable Member through all his discussions. He would, therefore, content himself with a few short remarks on what seemed in any shape to touch upon the question; for almost the whole of his observations were entirely out of the scope and view of the business before the Committee. Among many other assertions, he declared it to be his avowed and sincere opinion, that the war, neither in its beginning, nor in its intended continuance, was necessary; but, however extravagant such an assertion might appear at any time, it must undoubtedly appear peculiarly so at the present moment, and under the present circumstances; but should the honourable gentleman succeed in making out that point, sure he was, that both the House and the Public must feel themselves highly indebted to his exertions. But to what was it that he attributed the continuation of the war? Was it not to the insincerity of His Majesty's Ministers in their endeavours at a pacification? If they had been sincere in these their pretended pacific attempts, the honourable gentleman contends that the restoration of peace must have been the consequence; for, whenever in such cases people are sincere, they can never fail of accomplishing the wished-for object. But surely, the honourable gentleman must have been not a little off his guard in hazarding this observation, as it must bear equally hard on the candour of the French Directory, whose conduct on all occasions some gentlemen were so anxious to defend. For had the French Di-

rectory been sincere in their wishes for peace, (as doubtless the honourable gentleman thinks they were), then peace would necessarily have been obtained. The honourable gentleman next directs his attack against those who had at the beginning of the French Revolution expressed their disapprobation of the principles upon which it was grounded, and of the objects which it had evidently in contemplation, and he now called on those who held these opinions, and very pointedly on himself (Mr. Windham) to renounce those opinions as obstacles to the restoration of peace. And at what moment was it that he wished them to renounce their opinions? Was it not at the very moment when those opinions were founded on stronger reason than ever; when they were supported by a long train of facts, and confirmed by every day's experience? Was it not at a moment when the French system was working the ruin of their own country, and all the other countries that permitted themselves to be dazzled by its false allurements and deceived by the high sounding words of Liberty, Equality, &c. &c. Was it not at the very time when it glaringly appeared to be the favourite object of that insidious and destructive system to grasp at general aggrandizement and universal empire? Was it not at a moment when they breathed against us a spirit of peculiarly envenomed hostility, and when they openly and unreservedly declared, that the existence of our Government was wholly incompatible with the existence and predominancy of the French Republic? Their conduct, indeed, from the commencement, has uniformly spoken that language; it spoke it in terms by no means ambiguous, or that could leave a shadow of doubt as to the scope of their designs. But not content with expressing and manifesting them by their conduct, they have now, to the shame and confusion of those who have all along stooped to be their advocates, they have now broadly and openly declared their sentiments in a late Proclamation, the tendency of which it is not difficult to understand. The doubts, therefore, which some gentlemen continue to entertain of such being the sentiments and designs of the French Rulers, must now, he presumed, be relinquished and cast away. Such, however, was the light in which he had always viewed them; his opinions were at first grounded on conjecture, and on the unambiguous tendency of the French proceedings, but they were now fully confirmed by their acknowledgement, and by a complete knowledge of the fact. Our ruin as a nation, and the destruction of our Constitution, from which principally were derived all our national advantages, was the main object to which they now directed the whole of their exertions; it was the last great labour which remained for their valour and am-

bition to achieve. After taking this view of the avowed designs and efforts of the enemy, designs and efforts which their own language so unequivocally declare, how could he be precipitate in his endeavours at peace; how could he think of relaxing our efforts to obviate, counteract and frustrate the hostile attempts which their rancorous animosity was aiming at our destruction? How could he but deprecate the return of peace, if Parliamentary Reform was to be its immediate consequence, and that too a Parliamentary Reform to be endeavoured at and effected on the principles avowed by the honourable gentleman, who took the present occasion to call on Members of that House, and particularly on him, (Mr. Windham), to renounce opinions which were first founded on cool and deliberate reflexion, and which now stood fully confirmed by facts and experience? But on these topics he was not disposed any longer to dwell. He would now come to what the honourable gentleman seemed to regard as the great question; namely, that he, and those who thought with him concerning the inevitable effects of the French Revolution, were still staunch in the assertion of those opinions, and that this perseverance on their part must be an invincible obstacle to the attainment of peace. These sentiments he for one would not renounce, however he might here again have his ears stunned with the Rights of Man, with the loud sounding names of Liberty, Equality, &c. &c. and all those hackneyed phrases that were now exploded, and their substance at least extinguished even where they first took birth, and of which, when he trusted that we should now hear no more in this House, saw the enemy eager and determined to attack us with every species of hostility which it was in the power of their bitterest enmity to exert; when he saw them determined to annoy us by every species of hostility, heightened and enflamed by their jealousy at our wealth, our prosperity, the flourishing state of our commerce, the rank we hold in the political world, and the real liberty we enjoy, must not the support they have heretofore received from some gentlemen in this House, now become a standing disgrace? Must not all sides now agree that the enemy is resolved to bear down on us with all the activity and rancour both of rivals and of enemies? When he viewed all this, it surely was impossible for him to disclaim his first opinions, whatever the honourable gentleman or others might think of such perseverance. For would not the peace which was so anxiously looked for, be replete with danger to the country; and did not the honourable gentleman give still farther proof of this danger by telling us that this peace would be followed up by a Parliamentary Reform, or in other words, with a Revolution? Mr. Windham was proceeding to

shew the impolicy and danger of making peace with France, when he was interrupted by

Mr. WILBERFORCE, who called him to order on the ground that he was deviating into extraneous matter as much as the honourable gentleman who had preceded him.

Mr. WINDHAM contended that he was strictly in order, and that he was only following the arguments of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Nicholls). He then would ask, what had our sincerity to do either with retarding or accelerating this great object of peace? Was it not the nature of the terms proposed, that must decide that point, and not the nature of our sentiments? If the terms were deemed suitable, would not peace have followed, whether the Directory thought us sincere or not? Why did they not carry on the negotiation to a point that might prove this sincerity? He could see no connection between our sincerity and the attainment of peace, nor could the honourable gentleman prove that there existed any. He must also beg leave to touch on the notion, that the enemy would make no peace with the present Ministers. What did the honourable gentleman mean? Does he wish us to choose Ministers recommended by the enemy? this would be an odd recommendation. Mr. Windham took up the question in a moral point of view, and asked, if we were to set at nought all the principles of religion, morality, of prudence, and of policy, that had hitherto been a bond of union between all the states of Europe, and which had moulded them together into one family? And for what was all this to be sacrificed? Was it not in order to conciliate the enemy, to promote the cause of Parliamentary Reform, to introduce amongst us universal Philanthropy, and French Liberty; in a word, to stoop to every thing which would argue a total oblivion of every sentiment that should actuate us as men, and distinguish us as Englishmen? He hoped for his part, that there was no man in that House or out of doors, who was prepared for this degradation; such had always been his opinion, and he now saw nothing to induce him to retract them.

Mr. PLUMER believed that money must be raised in some way, but he did not think the mode proposed, to be the best. It was unjust in its principle. If the tax to be raised was upon luxuries, an opportunity ought to be afforded to persons to retrench those luxuries. He meant no offence to any one; but what he understood was, that the Assessed Taxes had increased gradually till they had reached a point in which the Minister said, "if you chuse to keep horses, carriages, &c. you must pay a certain sum to the State for keeping them." I say then, before the right honourable gentle-

man trebled the duty, he should have given an opportunity to persons to see whether they could do without any of those luxuries. There was no person with whom he had conversed upon the subject who did not say that an option ought to have been granted to those to be affected by it. With respect to the modification proposed, he thought that there was a class of men out of that exemption who would not be able to pay the tax. He had heard it insinuated, that no man was to venture to talk of peace with France and a Reform in Parliament without wishing for a Revolution. Notwithstanding this insinuation, however, he certainly wished for peace on fair and honourable terms; and when peace had been obtained, he wished for a Reform in the Representation of the People, without which, he did not think the Country could be saved.

Mr. HOBHOUSE then rose, and spoke as follows:—
Mr. Hobart, I am, happy, Sir, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by not pressing the Committee to come to a vote on the former night, afforded me an opportunity of carefully weighing, and thoroughly examining, his grand financial scheme for the supply of the public wants. With the leave of the Committee, I will submit to them, in the best manner I am able, the result of my patient, and I hope I may say, unbiassed investigation. It is, however, with the greatest diffidence that I rise to convey my sentiments upon a subject of no less difficulty than importance.

I shall not, Sir, after the example of some of the honourable gentlemen who have preceded me in this debate, inquire whether the war originated in the unprovoked aggression of our enemies, or whether by their boundless and destructive ambition it has been prolonged, or whether His Majesty's Ministers opened the negotiation at Lisle with sincere dispositions for peace. These questions would, in my opinion, Sir, have been more seasonably discussed when the documents relative to the late negotiation were laid before the House.

Before I enter, Sir, upon the main business which is submitted to the consideration of the Committee, I cannot avoid contrasting the language which has now been used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with that which he employed when he opened his former budgets during the war. No more we hear of the prosperous state of the East-India Company. No longer do we see 500,000*l.* on their part among our ways and means. No longer are we presented with a pompous display of our exports and imports. Probably if the list of them, which at an earlier period of the last session was moved for by one of His Majesty's servants, could be now examined, it might appear that, since we had no occasion to make re-

mittances to our *good* and *faithful* allies, our exports had been considerably diminished; and thus the nature of that *beneficial* trade, which had always been spoken of so vauntingly, might be discovered. We hear no more, Sir, of the advantage of subsidizing foreign Princes: no longer are we told, that one million spent in that manner is worth three expended in any other way, because it is the most effectual, as well as the least expensive mode of carrying on this arduous and unfortunate contest; but rather are we led to congratulate ourselves upon a reduction in our expenditure, in consequence of the loss of all our allies. No longer is it boldly asserted, that the French are on the verge, or in the very gulph, of bankruptcy. Instead of predicting the approaching dissolution of the French finances, the Chancellor of the Exchequer calls upon us in the most solemn manner, to exert ourselves for the preservation of our own, against the crafty designs of an arrogant and powerful foe. How different, Sir, is all this language from that to which our ears have been long accustomed!

The first question which naturally presents itself is, whether the estimates under the different heads of services be correct. Judging from past events, I should rather think that they cannot be relied upon; for the Chancellor of the Exchequer is too apt to underrate the expence, for which it is necessary to provide. Has he not constantly exceeded the sums at which he has rated the services? Why, Sir, the excess of last year, in the single article of navy, amounts to 3,000,000*l.* For this sum, no provision is made in these supplies; so that, independent of any other loan which may be necessary during the year, we have to raise 28,500,000*l.*

But let us take it for granted that the estimates are as accurate as the nature of circumstances will allow, and proceed to what is more important—the Ways and Means.

2,750,000*l.* are to be raised in the usual manner upon the land and malt tax. Here it is unnecessary to make any comment. The growing surplus of the consolidated fund and the lottery are taken together at 750,000*l.* But instead of boasting of the growing surplus of the consolidated fund, it would be more the language of truth to speak of its growing deficiency. By the papers on your table, it appears, that in 1796 and 1797 there was a deficiency of more than 250,000*l.* It is our duty, therefore, instead of valuing ourselves upon the productiveness of our consolidated fund, to make some provision for the amount of the deficit.

The next mode by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to raise his supplies, is an advance of three millions by the Bank of England. I am one of those, Sir, who are extremely

averse to the close connection subsisting between the Bank of England and the Government of the Country. It appears from the printed correspondence between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Bank Directors, that the latter are constantly complaining of the inconveniences and embarrassments they experienced, in consequence of such extensive accommodations to Government. In February, 1797, they request the Chancellor of the Exchequer to permit that part of the then intended loan, which was appropriated to the liquidation of the Bank advances, to remain at once in the Bank, without passing through the Exchequer to the Bank. They express a hope that this indulgence might be granted to them, if it could be made compatible with the forms of office; and the reason which they give for soliciting this favour, is deserving of attention. They say, that in some instances they had suffered not a little inconvenience from delay, and that in one particular instance they had been totally disappointed of an expected payment. Is it not wonderful, Sir, that the Bank Directors, after having invariably attributed all their former difficulties to the large supplies which they had been obliged to make to Government, and after having shewn such strong tokens of distrust of the right honourable gentleman, should still be ready to make farther advances, and to give renewed proofs of their confidence? Do they rely upon the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer speedily to repay the money to be advanced? How often has he been obliged to break his faith with them? How often have they been disappointed when the time for the fulfilment of his promise of repayment was arrived? In one case it appears by the same correspondence to which I have before alluded, that when he had absolutely set aside a considerable sum for liquidating part of his debt to the Bank, he was driven to appropriate it to the public service. Such are the grounds on which I found my disapprobation of any farther advances from the Bank to Government.

I come now to that part of the subject which deserves our most serious consideration; I mean the seven millions to be raised by an assessment upon the assessed taxes. The right honourable gentleman has assigned two motives for adopting this novel, and, as he has justly stated, for a century at least, unprecedented scheme of finance. He asserts, that raising the supplies within the year will convince the enemy of our energy, and will strike terror into their hearts by shewing them, that our resources are great, and every way adequate to the crisis. He adds at the same time, that in adopting this mode, he is influenced by a regard for posterity. As to the impression to be made upon the enemy, I agree with an honourable friend of

mine (Mr. Tierney) who contended the other night, that the effect will be the very reverse of that which is desired. The French must naturally conclude, that the fear of depressing our funds still lower, and weakening our public credit still farther, is the cause of this deviation from the usual mode of borrowing upon public securities. Instead of regarding such a plan of assessment as any proof of our prosperity, will they not say that extraordinary distress has driven us to the adoption of extraordinary means? With respect to the right honourable gentleman's regard for posterity, I shall only observe, that as it shews itself, after having laid up for them, by way of inheritance, an immense accession of national debt, and an enormous load of taxes, it comes, at least, in a very questionable shape.

After having thus slightly touched upon the motives assigned by the right honourable gentleman for having had recourse to this scheme of finance, I proceed to make a few remarks upon the measure itself, which, by whatever name it may be called by others, or by whatever softer appellation it may have been introduced to the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is no other than an absolute requisition of the tenth of every man's annual income. It is founded upon a past assessment; it leaves no option, but compels persons to pay for what they would wish to lay aside, and would never have adopted, if they could possibly have foreseen so severe a contribution. While I am upon this part of my subject, I cannot help remarking a striking inconsistency in some parts of the speech of the right honourable gentleman. He presumes, that almost every person within and without the House will approve of his plan, and that few, indeed, will be unwilling to concur in measures so necessary for the public safety, or to contribute a comparatively small part of their property, with a view to the preservation of the remainder. But in another place he asserts, that if past assessment were not made the basis of the new contribution, the benefits to be expected from it would be frittered away by concealment and evasion. What is this, Sir, but to say, that the nation at large will and will not approve this tax, and will and will not most cheerfully pay it?

My next objection to this proposed advance upon the assessed taxes is, that it will fall unequally. Large capitalists, who live upon a little, and continue from year to year to place the remainder out to interest, will pay but a trifle; while the generous man, who lives in a style equal to his rank in life, and by his expenditure promotes the subsistence and happiness of the tradesman, and the artisan, will be liable to a large quota. Indeed the right honourable gen-

tleman seems to have anticipated this objection, for he declared the other night, that he should wish to make the avaricious capitalist pay his proportion, but that he had not found in any treatise of political economy, or had been able to learn from those who are conversant in matters of that kind, any mode by which property so held in hand could be made subject to taxation or assessment. But, Sir, if the right honourable gentleman does not scruple to make use of a declaration as to the extent of a man's income, why should he be so scrupulous in having recourse to a declaration as to the extent of his capital? As well might he rely upon the declaration in the one case, as in the other; and what difference is there between a compulsory disclosure of the actual amount of a person's whole property, and a required statement of income, which leads to the knowledge of capital? As to the idea that capitalists, inspired by genuine patriotism, will voluntarily come forward to the relief of the state, that man, who can seriously entertain it, must be strangely ignorant of the nature of the human mind, and the force of a ruling passion.

The inequality of this tax is, also, discernible in its operation upon the different classes. Those in the middling walks of life will pay a full tenth of their income, while those in the highest will not pay a fifteenth, a twentieth, or even a twenty-fifth. The largest sum which is paid, at present, by any individual for assessed taxes, is 400*l.* and upwards. This appears by a paper laid but a day or two ago upon your table. The account is kept progressively by fifties: for instance, there is a column for those who pay 300*l.* and under 350*l.*; another for those who pay 350*l.* and under 400*l.*; and a third for those who pay 400*l.* and upwards. Now, Sir, let us take the uttermost, namely, 450*l.*—450*l.* quadrupled is 1,800*l.*; which sum is the tenth of 18,000*l.* If, then, 450*l.* be the highest sum paid for the present assessed taxes, and the highest advance required be a quadruple, then those who have a yearly income of 20,000*l.*, 25,000*l.*, and so on to 50,000*l.*, cannot pay any thing like a tenth, while the middling tradesman pays the complete tenth, the amount of the legal exaction. But what do I say? such a tradesman must frequently pay more than a tenth. If the demand amount to more, he will comply with it, rather than, by a disclosure of his circumstances, give a mortal wound to his credit.

This measure, Sir, will also fall unequally upon different trades. Many persons carry on trades in large buildings with less profits than those who carry it on in small counting-houses; the former must contribute a larger proportion than the latter. In a word, I

fear that this tax will ruin almost all the trade of the country. When the collectors have made their first round, I shall dread to look into their report. It will detail a greater list of killed and wounded than ever happened among our vanquished troops in the field of battle. But such as survive, cannot long struggle against their fate. A spirit of economy will pervade all ranks. Optional conveniences and luxuries will not only be avoided, but the scale of necessities will be as contracted as possible. If persons deal but little, or not at all, in the commodities to which they have before been accustomed, the tradesman will find his profits diminished, and must soon, perhaps, shut up his doors. There is one case so hard, Sir, that I cannot omit to particularize it. An honourable Baronet (Sir W. Pulteney) has alluded, in the course of his speech, to builders. I, too, have had occasion to consider the circumstances of that description of men. I learn by letters from Bath, that a mason, who has saved 200*l.*, borrows 700*l.* or 800*l.* upon mortgage of the intended buildings, and erects a house upon speculation—he lets it for a certain sum, and undertakes to pay all taxes, never contemplating such an extensive demand as the present. How hard will it be, if such poor builders (and there are many such in Bristol, London, and other cities) be assessed, according to the right honourable gentleman's plan, while the rich occupiers of the houses escape all contribution. I hope that, in the future stages of this business, some regulation will be adopted, in favour of that class of tradesmen, of whom I have been speaking.

It has been said, Sir, that this tax will not affect the poor. I know that it is the object of the right honourable gentleman's plan to exclude the indigent from its operation: he may shelter them from the immediate, but he cannot from its remote, effects. The British nation has been always characterized for the liberality with which its charitable foundations are endowed, as well as for the spirit with which benevolent subscriptions are always promoted. But this tax will prevent the diffusion of that philanthropy for which the nation is so justly distinguished. Persons will no longer have a superfluity, which may enable them to relieve their distressed brethren; they must look only to provide a sufficiency for the tax-gatherer. A selfish will succeed to that generous and compassionate disposition which has hitherto marked us as Britons. The tax upon wine has occasioned many of those who had been in the habit of assisting the poor with wine, to discontinue the practice of affording them that help under sickness. If a tax, therefore, when laid to pay the interest of a loan, produced this evil effect, the mischief must be

greater, when it is designed for the discharge both of principal and interest.

But, in mitigation of these distressing consequences, we are desired to remember, that this high advance upon the assessed taxes is no more than a temporary sacrifice: but should I grant that it will expire at the period proposed, I deny that it is only a *pro tempore* loss. If I pay 60*l.*, or 100*l.*, or 200*l.*, or a still larger sum than I now pay for assessed taxes, might not that amount have been rendered a permanent productive capital for the advantage of myself and family? I think this cannot be disputed.

Hitherto, Sir, I have considered this tax, as far as it affects individuals. I shall now endeavour to shew the manner in which it will operate upon the public revenue. A spirit of parsimony, as I before observed, will take place. Some goods will no longer be purchased, others but sparingly; and as most goods are taxed to the support of Government, the old taxes may decrease in produce, to a greater amount than the sum intended to be raised by the new. But if this additional assessment should answer the expectation of the right honourable gentleman, it can be made productive but once. Persons having felt the smarting consequences of a retrospective assessment, will avoid every expence which renders them liable to assessed taxes, lest, at the end of fifteen months after the expiration of the year 1798, they should again be served as now, and a second time be duped.

In representing, Sir, the consequences of this tax, both in a private and public light, I have constantly proceeded upon the supposition that it *cannot* be evaded. But what will be the effect of the allowed declaration? I cannot better describe it than by calling to the recollection of the Committee, what passed during the late revolutionary proceedings in Holland—A loan of the fifth part of the property of the country was required by the Government, and an interest of two and a half per cent. was to be paid. As landed and public securities produced but two and a half, the Dutch gave a fair and honest testimony of the amount of their fortunes; but when they were afterwards called upon to advance a tenth part, and principally with a view to pay the interest of the first exaction, they moulded their consciences to the circumstances, and a great deal of perjury was practised; for it was found that a tenth part, which ought to have produced half as much as a fifth, did not produce one quarter so much. Such, Sir, are the inseparable consequences of all forced contributions, accompanied with declarations, giving a claim to exemption or abatement. They introduce a great deal of falsehood and immorality into a country, and but very little money into

the public coffers. If this reasoning be just, the right honourable gentleman must desist from congratulating the nation, that the expence of collecting will be inconsiderable, because no new officers will be wanting. In this metropolis, and in the different parts of the kingdom, innumerable persons must be stationed to receive the declarations of those who will be ready to affirm that the demand exceeds a tenth of their annual income.

The next branch of the right honourable gentleman's project is the twelve millions by loan. The sinking fund, he says, will, in the course of the year 1798, be productive of a saving of four millions; which sum will cancel as much of the funded debt as the four millions, part of the twelve millions, shall have created. The remaining eight millions he proposes to extinguish, by continuing the forced assessment fifteen months beyond the year 1798. Good God, Sir, what a prospect is this for the country! If another supply be wanting during the year 1798, or the war should be prolonged beyond that year, we shall be paying the present assessment in discharge of a past debt, and have to provide millions, and millions besides: our triple must be tripled, and our quadruple must be quadrupled. Is it possible that the people can support such accumulated burdens? It is likewise to be taken into the account, that provision must soon be made by us for the payment of the Imperial dividends. Our *good* and *faithful* ally, the Emperor, when we deducted the interest due to us out of the fresh sums which we had agreed to lend to him, was, indeed, a most punctual paymaster. But now he has made an alliance with the enemy, and has failed in paying the dividends at the time when they became due, can you reasonably entertain the least hope of recovering either the principal or interest? Assuredly not. What a heavy accession of taxes, then, must soon fall upon our shoulders! Will not the pressure be too great for us, notwithstanding the vaunting accounts of the productiveness of our revenues, and of the flourishing state of our manufactures and commerce? Seventeen millions and upwards are undoubtedly a large sum to raise within the year; but this last year ought to have produced more than any former, in consequence of the additional imposts. But have not the taxes fallen far short of the sums at which they were laid? In February, 1795, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rated the average produce of the old taxes at more than 14,000,000l.; but the paper I have in my hand, which was delivered in to this House a day or two ago, shews the amount of these taxes, in 1797, to have been very little more than 13,758,000l. And this deficiency would be still greater, if one article, which never ought to have been introduced, be erased—

I mean the article "for loss on the duties of the distillery which subsisted previous to 1791, 252,414l." The distillers, Sir, prepared great abundance of the materials of their trade during the legal suspension of it. The moment the restraint was taken off, they worked with redoubled vigour, and thus repaired, in some degree at least, the loss which the revenue had sustained. But if the loss were not by these means compensated, it surely must have been balanced by the increased produce of the tax on malt and the breweries. In proportion as spirits were less drank, malt liquor became more in use. Hence the article I have alluded to, ought not to have been inserted. The taxes imposed since the war have been estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at above six millions and a half; but they have produced little more than four millions. Thus the taxes of the year 1797, which have amounted to somewhat more than seventeen millions, ought to have amounted, according to the right honourable gentleman's estimates, to twenty millions and a half. Some gentlemen appear to doubt this statement. If I am incorrect, they will oblige me by pointing out my error.

With respect to the prosperous condition of our manufactures, I can only say, that my information leads to a very different conclusion. In many parts of the country, the warehouses of the manufacturers are full; and the men, turned out of employ, either enter into the army or navy, and swell the list of the *killed off*, or become chargeable to the parish.

As to our commerce, no doubt "it may have surpassed its former limits," because a new trade may have been opened with some of the places, which we have taken: but will any person pretend to say, that the accession of commerce, furnished by our conquests, can at all balance that which we have lost, in consequence of being shut out of the ports of France, the Belgic provinces, Holland, Spain, Italy, and, may I not add, the whole Mediterranean? None, sure, will advance such an absurdity. But it is an incontrovertible proof of our wealth, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that such numbers of persons, possessed of capital in different parts of the country, are constantly investing their property in the funds. Is the right honourable gentleman serious in urging this fact as a proof of opulence? Does he not know, that if there be many purchasers, there must unquestionably be as great a number of sellers? Nay, the state of our funds demonstrates, that the proportion of those disposed to sell, must be greater than of those inclined to purchase; for otherwise the stocks, instead of sinking, must have risen.

I am sensible, Sir, that I have presented the Committee with a very gloomy picture ; but I am confident that the colouring is not, in the smallest degree, heightened. If for having offered to the Committee so melancholy a statement I should incur a severe rebuke from a right honourable Secretary (Mr. Dundas), and he should charge me with being an advocate for the French, I shall not feel disturbed. Conscious of the uprightness of my intentions, and knowing myself to be no less attached to the British Constitution than the right honourable gentleman, or any other gentleman within or without these walls, I will not be deterred from the discharge of my duty by boisterous and ill-founded accusations.

I ought to beg pardon of the Committee for having taken up so much of their time. I will trespass no longer upon their indulgence. I have endeavoured to state my objections to the various methods proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the supply of the public wants ; and I have dwelt more particularly upon that part of his plan, in which he deviates from his usual course of raising money by loan, because I think it injudicious with respect to the impression it will make upon the enemy, unequal and oppressive in its operations at home, and big with the most ruinous consequences. But I will frankly own, that if I could think more favourably of the Minister's financial schemes, I should, with great reluctance, confide to him the expenditure of the public money. The Ministers have, in the speech they put into the mouth of their Sovereign, recommended to this House to persevere in the same principles and conduct which have hitherto been pursued. To this eulogy, which they have bestowed upon themselves, I can by no means assent. They are the authors of all our calamities. By intermeddling in the interior concerns of other States, they have plunged this country unnecessarily and wantonly into a ruinous and expensive war, which they have been unable to conduct with success, and which they often might have terminated with honour and advantage—they have attempted to bully foreign nations into a compliance with their demand to make common cause with us against France, but, upon the least shew of resistance, have withdrawn their ineffectual menace—they have borrowed upon the most exorbitant terms, and spent with the greatest profusion ; so that a vast addition is made to our public debt, and an immense load of taxes thrown upon the people—they have subsidized many of the European Courts, in order to enable faithless potentates to fight their own battles, and defend their own territories ; and have sent money out of the country without the consent, and even during the sitting, of Parliament—they have introduced a system of *espionage*, of setting man against man, and brother

against brother—they have invaded the just liberty of speech, and of the press—and have cut off from the lower classes their only source of political information. Can you wonder, Sir, that, feeling these sentiments so strongly as I do, I should be unwilling to trust the public purse in the hands of the present Administration?

After the observations which I have made, it is almost needless to add, that I shall give my hearty negative to the proposed resolutions.

Mr. PIERREPOINT. I believe I am speaking the sentiments of every Englishman when I say I feel great regret at the very heavy burdens which are about to be laid upon the people of this country. But I fear there is no remedy for it. I shall only ask a single question, and I beg the most serious attention and consideration of the Committee to it—Is there justice, is there frankness, is there propriety, that part of these heavy burdens should not be felt or borne by any part of the royal family or their dependents? If they were to come forward it would have a good effect; although the sum could not be much, yet I think it would endear them to their country.

Colonel WOOD said, that after the present Government of France had declared their intentions, not only to subvert the liberties, but to destroy the Constitution and Government of this Country, holding out at the same time the plunder of its inhabitants as an excitement to their soldiery to embark on their mad and frantic expeditions, he did not expect to hear any difference in opinion relative to the necessity of great and extraordinary supplies, to enable the Executive Government to adopt every measure of security, to repel with energy and effect so great a calamity. He did not think at present that doubts could remain in the breast of any man that there was now any alternative left, but either unconditionally to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Directory of France, or else to come forward with that degree of liberality and manliness characteristic of the people of this country, and give up some small portion of their property for the security of the whole, as also for the preservation of those blessings to themselves and children, of living under a mild and free Government. The only difference which he expected, was solely regarding the most eligible mode of raising so great and extraordinary supplies, that they may be least burdensome to the lower and middling classes of people, and be chiefly borne by those whose great stake in the country, as well as situations, would most likely subject them to the least inconveniency. Were the expences of individuals universally regulated upon any principle of extent of the means which they possess, in such cases

the plan proposed by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be, in every respect, unquestionable; but when gentlemen consider the numbers of very opulent and wealthy men in this country, whose expences are small and inconsiderable, and who contribute little or nothing to the necessities of the State, could there possibly be any doubt as to the necessity of some more equitable mode of contribution; so that the man of moderate income, who at present can with difficulty support a numerous family in that circle of society, and with that degree of comfort in which he has been accustomed to live, may not be compelled either to abandon all his former acquaintances and connections, or else to submit to what few men would, of declaring himself a pauper. He was well aware of the objections which there are in a free and commercial country to any universal disclosure of the property of individuals; and did not those objections exist, still the difficulty of forming any practical or efficient plan of finance, where several millions of people were concerned, whose property was daily fluctuating, forbid any sanguine expectation on such a ground: but although such plan might be objectionable, on an extensive scale, yet, under limitations and injunctions of secrecy, he conceived such plan not only practicable, but that it would be highly productive and advantageous to the State, without being at all injurious to individuals.

In times of great and urgent necessity such as the present, it was not from the petty miser or economist that the country could expect to be much benefited, but from the opulent, who possess great wealth, with but little disposition to expence, and who therefore cannot suffer much personal inconveniency from any temporary sacrifice to be made. Those men who are advocates for raising the present extraordinary supplies, by continuing the usual mode of funding, ought, in the first place, to have considered the very low and depreciated state of that species of property; and how very unjust it would be, that, at the time the land-owner, bond-holder, and various other species of proprietors, felt in a small and inconsiderable degree the inconveniences of the war; that the public creditors only should bear the whole of the burden.

The Colonel observed, that it might be a matter of some difficulty to determine at what particular point the line should be drawn, but would suppose, for instance, at 5,000l., and that no person whose property, whether in lands, bonds, funds, goods, or whatever else, was less than that sum, should be called on, but be permitted to continue to pay the same taxes and assessments as at present—but that every person, the value of whose property exceeded 5,000l.,

should be required to contribute a certain portion of this property, whether a half per cent., or one per cent., as may be adequate to the services of the State, in place of all taxes and assessments whatever. Were such contributions raised under the superintendence of a Secret Committee, every objection to a disclosure of property would be done away; and unless its being known that every individual possessed more than 5,000*l.*, no one would be able to determine to what extent such excess might be. He said, that it would be very desirable could any certain estimate be made of the great wealth of this very opulent country, and equally so to be able to apportion the share of this wealth possessed by people, whose property exceeded the regulated sum: but this was not absolutely necessary, as, after the first year, it would be clearly understood what rate would be equal for the exigencies of the State.

The value of the landed property in this island had, many years back, been estimated at six hundred millions; and if another hundred millions be added for the increased value of land, the sum would not appear to be by any means exaggerated. A late publication, of considerable merit, (upon the Police of the Metropolis), estimated the value of moveable and floating property only at one hundred and seventy millions; to which, if be added the value of the great and opulent buildings, manufactures, and other species of property, they may be estimated fairly at half the landed property, or three hundred and fifty millions; and estimating that the other opulent cities, towns, &c. through the whole country, only equal to London, including the land, they will together make a sum of one thousand four hundred millions. To this if be added the amount of the national debt of four hundred millions, and taking the West-India property at seventy-five millions, the Bank of England, East-India, and other capitals, at twenty-five millions, and that the other great manufactories throughout this kingdom, shipping, stores, &c. only amount to another hundred millions, it will make a total of two thousand millions—a very small per centage on which would soon relieve this country from all her embarrassments. He observed, that even one per cent. of this capital would be more than the Minister could possibly raise by any other means; and no man could possibly object against the justice and equity of this principle of raising the public supplies—Whereas he was afraid that the mode proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not only be unproductive, but give rise to great heart-burnings and discontent, at a time when the unanimity of every man in the country was so essential. He should therefore object to that plan, unless it should be very materially modified and amended.

Mr. DENT said, it had been observed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a former evening, that the number of stockholders had been increased among the middling classes, who had lately been tempted to lay out their money in that way. He had also stated, that the great proprietors could not be laid hold of, so as to be made to contribute to the exigencies of the State in proportion to their property. Mr. Dent was of opinion, that this was by no means the case, and that it was as easy to make great capitalists contribute to the national expenditure, as to tax men in any degree in proportion to their income.

Mr. BURDON said, the question now was, not what might appear agreeable to men's wishes, but what was necessary to be done. A gentleman over the way (Mr. Nicholls) had begun by putting entirely out of sight the necessity of the war. He should rather have pointed out something like a reason upon which he denied that necessity. He had said much against the necessity of the war, and declared his determination to oppose the measures of Administration. But he had long conceived, what was now evident from the language and manner of the French. They had now thrown off the mask, and it appeared that their views were most pointedly directed against this Government. They were, indeed, the same plans they had ever kept in view; at all times regarding the fate of this Country, and regarding the general balance of Europe; although it had appeared still more by their late conduct than at any former period. That honourable gentleman had considered it his duty to his constituents to oppose the present measures, to oppose the war, and to oppose the Administration. He felt it to be a sacred duty both to himself and to his constituents, to support them. He considered himself, not as that honourable Member had spoken of himself, as the representative of a few, or like a right honourable Member (Mr. Burke), now no more, from whose work he had read an extract, and whom he had described as representing a single individual in that House. He considered himself as the representative of the People at large. He thought it his duty to support the war; he thought it his duty to support the present Administration, because he thought they would crush the enemy; and he thought they would not crush the lower ranks of society as that honourable Member had stated. He by no means agreed that the withdrawing a small part of the capital of individuals necessarily prevents their capital from being employed in the conduct of their own concerns. It is at their option to disclose or not to disclose their circumstances, and therefore it did not necessarily destroy the source of industry, or subtract from capital so as to prevent the lucrative employments of

their respective vocations. Every man on whom the tax was liable to weigh at all heavily, had the means of relief by a partial disclosure of his circumstances, that is, by a disclosure to a certain point of what his income was. With regard to His Majesty and the royal family coming forward, as the honourable Member had proposed, this surely was too trifling an object, in the article of finance and of national resources, to merit consideration. His utility consisted in the execution of his office, and of the laws of the country. It was too trifling an object to look to as a matter of supply, and he was sorry such an observation should have fallen from the honourable gentleman.

Mr. PIERREPOINT rose merely to set the honourable gentleman right in regard to what had fallen from him concerning the royal family. He had said that it was not just that the royal family and *all their Dependents* should be exempt from the tax. Such an exemption, when the country was so generally oppressed, was really shocking.

Mr. ELLISON said, that if the honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Nicholls) would prove the tax to be unnecessary, he should go away extremely relieved. But how did he attempt to prove that assertion? By saying that the war itself was unnecessary; and he was so far of a contrary opinion in this respect, that he was proud to say, that he was one of those who had supported it from the beginning. It was a war in which the enemy had been originally the aggressor, and had continued the aggressor throughout: and it was a war which had been supported by the bold, manly conduct of that House, and sanctioned by the wisdom of Parliament. Another honourable gentleman had declared on a former evening, that he could not go from that House and look his constituents in the face unless he opposed the measure to the utmost of his power. He was bold to say, he should blush to face his constituents if he did oppose it. He recollected that we had to do with an enemy who, while they themselves were the aggressors, constantly declared us to be so, and constantly protested that they would even make us pay the expenses of the war. It was a war upon which the prosperity and even the existence of the country depended. It was a war, to support which he was ready, not only to give up one-tenth, but one-half of his property. He recollected that our ancestors had bequeathed us a Constitution, which was better than any wealth or inheritance they could have left us possessed of—They had left us a Constitution for which he would sacrifice the last shilling of his property and the last drop of his blood; and he should then consi-

der that he left his children a better thing than all the accumulated wealth he could transmit them.

Gentlemen had heard a great deal about the usurped power of Administration, and about the Reform of Parliament, as if the present contest were a contest merely for the Reform of Parliament, and not for the very existence of the Country. Gentlemen had heard of the losses of coachmakers and of manufacturers. There was not a man in that House, and he should be very sorry it should go out of that House, that there was a man in it, who would go farther to protect the property and prosperity of the Country, than himself. He believed that there still existed in this Country the same spirit as formerly. He believed that spirit possessed a kind of elasticity, which would rise till it conquered this enemy.

The last declaration of the honourable gentleman was one which had converted an honourable Baronet in that House; and in regard to this, he would dwell more upon the effect than the substance. It had been well stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the real object of the war arose from the hatred, the jealousy, the animosity, and the ambition of the enemy; and the point which they considered as their rallying point was the destruction of this Country and Government. If happiness and peace, and social comfort, were ever to be introduced again into the world, this nation, he hoped, would be the rallying point around which they would assemble.

With respect to the plan of finance now proposed, he was decidedly for it, because he thought it a necessary measure. If it should be found necessary hereafter for every man to declare the amount of his property, he should, for the same reason, support that measure. In that case, every thing that was property ought to be taken into the account; land, mortgages, stock, funded property, all were equally property, and ought equally to pay for protection.

Instead of blaming the measure now proposed, if the honourable Baronet could discover a means whereby to raise the whole supplies within the year, as he had said was practicable, he and every man would thank him most cordially for his plan. By such a mode of employing his abilities, he was sure he would render his country a very important service. Till such a plan was proposed, he should approve that now before the House. That plan was such as to relieve a large portion of the subjects by the modification which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had so judiciously introduced, and which were such as to admit of any necessary degree of alleviation to the subject. He was of opinion that His Majesty's Ministers had throughout the war conducted the vessel of the State with great wisdom; and he doubted not they would ultimately bring it safely into

the haven of peace. But while the commanders were piloting us with security, it became the duty of the mariners to be firm upon their post. Let us look over the mode of relief which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed for the lower classes. It was such as effectually to relieve those who were least able to contribute to the exigencies of the State; and in this view of the subject, he was confident it was such that every man must be satisfied the House had done their duty.

Mr. TIERNEY. After the considerable length of time which the honourable gentleman who spoke last took to answer what had been said by my honourable friend, and also what I said myself on a former occasion, especially as he had an opportunity of speaking with me in private, I expected something more explicit from him. He alluded to the case of the *Lives and Property men*, and to the opinion I gave upon that subject. I hold the same opinion of them still. He has not stated that opinion correctly; I never did say that my objection was to the Loyalty Loan; but when that loyalty fell to a discount they seemed inclined to wish they had withheld their efforts, and afterwards desired to be reimbursed for losses, the risk of which they never intended to incur.

The honourable gentleman was also pleased to allude to what I said concerning the misfortune of being present when this plan was opened. I did say, that having the misfortune to be present, and God knows I feel much reason to lament I did not turn my back on this House with those who have done so, for surely that is the wisest course to take, when a House, calling itself the Representation of the People, reverses all the well-known established and acknowledged rules of taxation. But having the misfortune to be present, I did assert that I could not face my constituents without being prepared to assure them I had done every thing in my power to oppose the present plan. Whether the inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, or the inhabitants of the city of Lincoln will be best satisfied with the conduct of their representative may be soon discovered. From what I have already heard, and from what I feel, I apprehend that honourable gentleman will not long be popular with his constituents. I did not mean to say any thing this night on the conduct of the Minister in the management of the present war. I cannot now, however, help observing, that it was a little singular that my honourable friend should be called to order in speaking on the present war, and that a right honourable gentleman who followed him should have spoken for half an hour upon nothing else. That, however, was not the fault of his friends, for I think I could perceive uneasiness in some of them while he was speaking. Indeed that right

honourable gentleman is in a situation of some embarrassment. He has been for a long time their opponent, and if now under the necessity of maintaining that nothing is more consistent than the whole of their conduct. I do not wonder that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be alarmed at some of the expressions of his right honourable friend; they are extremely different in their dispositions; the Secretary at War is a man of plain manners, and of rigid attachment to his principles, and we are sure to have from him a true description of his feelings; however, when he speaks again, as we have an opportunity of hearing him but seldom, I hope he will be provided with a better set of reasons to support his doctrine than those which he has laid before us to-night. I consider him as a person who wishes to fill up the gap occasioned by the absence of Mr. Burke; but unfortunately we see nothing remaining of that statesman but his violence. So at least do I feel it, and so I think this country will. What other impression can the sentiments of the right honourable gentleman convey? He tells us plainly it is of no importance what the French may think concerning the sincerity with which we attempted to negotiate. He avows, as becomes him, since he feels it, that the war was entered into with a view to oppose French principles. He tells us plainly that he saw at the commencement of their Revolution that their principles were hostile to all law, all order, all religion, and all subordination in society. I leave it to him to explain why, under such a conviction, he, as one of the Cabinet, consented to sending an Ambassador to treat with persons who cherished such principles. I leave it to him, for it concerns him and not me, to explain why he submitted to the opening a negotiation under such circumstances, and which must either be fruitless or he must abandon his own principles. These principles, however, it is manifest he has not abandoned, for he has told us this night that he has not altered his opinion. He told us most distinctly and emphatically, that French principles were hostile to all law, all order, all religion, and all subordination in society; for, says he, concisely and in a pithy manner, "I thought so once, but now I know it:" by which he conveys to us an idea that the French Revolution was at first, in his opinion, a dreadful disorder; but that now he has the comfort of declaring it incurable.

When the question of Reform in Parliament was mentioned this night, I observed great uneasiness, and indeed it was treated by some as matter of impertinence to introduce it. I know no reason why it should be so considered, nor of any irregularity in mentioning it, when heavy burdens are about to be imposed by this House on those

whom it is our duty faithfully to represent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when that subject was proposed by an honourable friend of mine, opposed it indeed ; but how ? Not by stating that he was an enemy to all Reform, but that it was a question which could not be prudently agitated until the war was at an end. I always understood him to profess at least that he is a strenuous advocate for Reform. [Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer signified some disapprobation. Mr. Tierney proceeded :] I do not know whether I am too charitable towards that right honourable gentleman, when I conceive him to be incapable of an entire dereliction of his original principles ; they certainly were the cause of all the popularity he ever had. If now he thinks it good to abandon them, it is his own concern. But the right honourable Secretary at War is so far from approving or encouraging a hope of any Parliamentary Reform, that he states plainly, one great reason with him for continuing the war is to prevent Parliamentary Reform ; for he tells you that Reform cannot be had without a Revolution. Here is an assurance of continuing the war to a period which no man can calculate without horror. The people of this country and the enemy learn from the speech of the Secretary at War to-night that there is one man, at least in His Majesty's Cabinet who thinks that the war must be persevered in, and with a candour which does him honour, he states that the principles and system of the French are totally incompatible with the safety of this and of every other country, and that the motives he had originally for abetting the war still animate his mind and influence his conduct. The right honourable Secretary is manly and open. I could see, however, that his colleagues did not think him perfectly discreet. He told somewhat too much. He made it known that they were not sincerely disposed to peace, and he justified the jealousy of the French Government with regard to the intentions of our Ministers. He was interrupted, indeed, in his disclosures, for his less ingenuous friends saw the dilemma into which he had got. If he thought that no peace ought to be made with principles so dangerous, and that he never wished for peace, upon what ground of honour and consistency did he give his consent to two negotiations with the Directory for peace ? After this night, who shall say that the distrust of British sincerity was unfounded ? And after this, who will say that we shall soon have peace ? While he is consistent with himself therefore, and consistent with himself, I have no reason to doubt he will be, the people of this country and the enemies of this country have his assurance that there is in the King's Cabinet one man at least who is

not sincerely desirous to obtain peace for the People of this Country, for fear that they should thereby obtain a fair representation in Parliament.

I feel myself called upon, otherwise I should not, to make some observations, in addition to those I have already made on the measure which is now before you. I hold it to be an act of legislative impudence in those who propose this measure, and indeed to be unparliamentary language, to say to those who oppose their measures, "produce better yourself, Sir."—If I had the talents, be it recollected that I have not the information requisite for that purpose. I cannot examine all nor any of the collectors of the revenue. The right honourable gentleman can; his resources, therefore, ought to enable him to produce a good plan. My duty confines me to opposing a bad one. That duty I discharge as well as I am able. I am struck with the insufficiency, with the inequality, and, above all, with the injustice of the present measure. I say, therefore, that before I am called upon to contribute my share, and before I shew my zeal as the Minister demands it, I should be satisfied that those who are higher in the scale of society than myself are to contribute their due proportion, and that those who move in a lower sphere are not to be ruined, else it is my duty to oppose the measure. I own it does not seem to me that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be able to strike such terror into the French as he pretends he will do by the adoption of the present plan. True it is he boasts sufficiently of the flourishing state of our revenue, and of the readiness of the people to support him in the war, but yet he will not trust to their zeal. He does not expect to get a shilling of his boasted revenue without an exciseman at every man's elbow. Is this the way to strike terror into the French? Certainly it is not. I shall be subject again to misrepresentation; that I know; but I will perform my duty. We live in times when men who wish to serve their fellow-creatures can never be said to be well prepared to perform their office, if they are to be deterred by the clamour that may be raised against them.

With respect to what has been said by an honourable gentleman concerning the propriety of the King's setting an example,—[Here there was a call to order.]—Well then, I will say, concerning the propriety of the different branches of the royal family setting an example: I own it is an idea which I approve of, for it would be some consolation to me to feel that these illustrious personages, as well as their attendants, are bearing part of the burdens at the moment when I am called upon to vote away the comforts of my own family, and of my constituents. There is not one among us who

ought not to feel as I do upon this occasion ; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be aware of the effect he was likely to produce by the words which he lately put into the mouth of his Sovereign. His Majesty declares that " he will make common cause with " his people, and that they must stand or fall together." I was glad to hear this sentiment. But how does the Chancellor of the Exchequer intend carrying it into effect ? He proposes a triple assessment upon all Assessed Taxes, the only species of tax to which no part of the royal family, nor any of their most menial attendants, contribute any thing. I do not like to use disrespectful language, but this mode of proceeding really appears to me to be calculated to bring that right honourable gentleman's royal master and family into disregard. This plan takes not a single farthing out of the pockets of the meanest of his household. Every individual, from the highest to the lowest in all the royal households, will be totally exempt from this duty. It is not for the sum, it is to the principle of the exemption that I object. It is the appearance of the thing that makes it odious. I will go farther, Sir, and say, that not only should the royal family contribute to this new burden, but your " Lives and fortunes men" should be made to come forward. They have now an opportunity of manifesting the sincerity of their zeal. It was by their ardour the war was carried on. I am sorry I see no particular attention paid to them, and that they are not called upon to contribute in proportion to that ardour. I see several honourable gentlemen in this House, one in particular, who, I think, ought to contribute largely. He is so lavishly bedaubed with places and sinecure emoluments, that he, I am sure, ought to contribute largely ; nay, he has occasionally said he would. I believe that not one of these places or sinecure emoluments will be affected one single farthing by this triple assessment ; for the Secretary of State inhabits the House, and rides in the carriage of the Treasurer of the Navy, and the President of the Board of Control is seen in the same vehicle.

This measure is defended, at least it has been attempted to be defended, as a tax, the principle of which is an impost upon luxury. I conceive, that if it be so, its having a retrospective effect is unjust. It was a principle in our legislation, not to compel a man to pay for luxury, unless he chose to indulge in it. It was always, until very lately, understood in England, that a man was not bound to pay even for his luxuries, unless he consented to enjoy them. But now, with a spirit of plunder, for, indeed, it is nothing else, every man is called upon to pay in the ensuing year for luxuries which he enjoyed in the last, even although prudence may have induced him to aban-

don them. Last year I kept two carriages; now I must pay for eight. This may appear to some as a trifling mode of reasoning; but it appears to me to be just. There are many men to whom it is essential to keep up appearance. They would strain many points in private; they would regulate their private concerns by good domestic management, for the sake of not appearing less advantageously in public than formerly; by this plan they are not permitted to do so. My objection goes still farther; it reaches the common mechanics. A poor man accustomed to wear his silver watch, was asked some time ago by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Will you give up your watch, or pay me half a crown a year for leave to wear it?" The poor man, accustomed to the use of that article, necessary in many cases, even to exactness in business, would answer, "Yes, I will pay you half a crown for leave to wear it;" but now he is to be called upon for a double assessment, upon that leave, and finds it actually mortgaged to its full value.

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer calls this a tax upon income, and that he deems a just principle. He says, that the expenditure in general is a good criterion of wealth. In these principles he was powerfully supported to-night by an honourable Baronet, who spoke so warmly in favour of his plan. That honourable Baronet proceeded farther than the Minister; he went even beyond your "Lives and fortunes men." He seemed to think, that not only 7,000,000*l.* might be raised within the year, but that 21,000,000*l.* might. I can assure that honourable Baronet, I am glad to find him so ready to contribute to such an impost as this. Let him, and men like him, come boldly forward, with their great wealth, to support the State, and they will, indeed, strike more terror in the enemy than any plan to tax the middle order can possibly produce. But as I understand the honourable Baronet is proprietor of a greater number of houses than any man in England, I rather suspect he will find this impost a little heavier than he has hitherto conceived it to be, and consequently will have to pay more than, with all his patriotism, he intended to contribute.

My chief objection to this plan is, that there is in it no fair criterion of income. I keep, as I have said already, two carriages—I am now to pay for eight. [Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that no person was to be charged with more than five.] Well then, I must pay for five. I may keep five servants; others keep a much larger number. I say there is no equality, taking property to be the basis, in the principle of this tax; for those who keep a much larger number are not charged according to their relative condition in society. It is not to the number of servants which a man

may keep, nor to the number of carriages, so much as to the manner in which they are kept, that we ought to apply the principle of this tax. I order my carriage to be patched and vamped, and my servants are hired to perform useful offices. A man of a larger fortune has his carriages splendidly decorated and has two or three new coaches every year. His servants are employed in taking care of an enormous mass of plate, of splendid furniture, in preparing costly entertainments, and in the general display of his prodigious wealth, and of his taste and fashion. Such a man, I say, ought to be called upon to contribute upon a much higher scale than such a man as me, according to the principles upon which this measure is professedly introduced.

But let us consider the effect which is likely to follow this measure upon the middle class of society. I apprehend much danger in that view of the subject. If you prevent the middle orders from keeping up that appearance to which they have been accustomed, you will destroy that noble pride which has been so much the guardian of their morals, and drive them to a state which leads directly to a desperate contempt of prudence. This consideration is very important in a national view.

The right honourable gentleman misconceives the effect of taxation altogether—it is evident from his conduct in imposing the duty upon wine. His first duty upon that article was a good one: it certainly was a fair object of taxation: but by the additional duty, he occasioned a defalcation in the revenue which cannot be easily made up: it now appears that it produces less than it did before the first impost. I did not upon a former occasion, nor shall I now, enter into the detail of the right honourable gentleman's budget, because I conceive that he himself said, that at a more advanced part of the session he would be able to give us more perfect estimates. Certainly, as he did open the business, there were many great lines of expence totally overlooked. He said nothing of the Imperial Annuities; and yet they must be provided for, for they amount to above 500,000*l.* a year. He said, that he would want 350,000*l.* a year as taxes for the 4,000,000*l.* which he means to fund; and he would also want 250,000*l.* of taxes for the 3,000,000*l.* of navy, which was also to be funded; so that we have still to look for taxes to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* in addition to this triple assessment, even according to the view which the right honourable gentleman is now able to form of our probable expence. What it would amount to, we must wait till the month of April; it is then only he is able to see clearly into the whole of our expence; for there is always a film upon his eyes before

Christmas, which prevents him from seeing beyond the month of April.

Supposing this to be right, as a taxation upon income, I say the right honourable gentleman errs in forming his criterion. He says, that no person, in any case, will be taxed beyond a tenth of his property; and this, he says, is to be regulated by the oath of the party in the event of his being over-rated. I am really quite astonished, that in a commercial capital like this, such observations should be made in this House: it calls upon men for that sort of disclosure upon which no dependance ought to be placed, for reasons that are too obvious to make it necessary they should now be mentioned. I said, this was a war against the principles of the French Revolution, in which I am supported by the sentiments of the Secretary at War, candidly expressed this night. I say that, with all our professed hatred to French principles, our Ministers are following the French system. Should any man doubt this, I would ask him, whether this plan does not appear very much like the domiciliary visits which took place there, and which have been from time to time so loudly reprobated in this House? To-night, indeed, we have had it stated to us, that these principles are to be adopted here. Nothing could be more specific upon that head than the sentiments of a noble Lord who spoke in this debate; he said in as many words, "We must attack the capitalists." The words were hardly out of his mouth before another honourable Member proposed the sale of the Crown and Forest Lands. This is really proceeding upon French principles; for it is saying to the People of this Country, that the Government will have, at all events, one-tenth of the property of every man in the kingdom. I see no reason why it may not be followed up with a determination to have one-eighth, then a sixth, afterwards a half perhaps, and finally the whole of the property of every man—the principle certainly leads to that. Were I sure that the plan would stop here, I own that even then I should have some difficulty in assenting to it; for I do not see how it can be safe for me, how I can consent to deprive my constituents of all their comforts; so I must if I assent to this plan, when I know and feel that the whole sum to be raised by it is to be entrusted to the care and management of the very man whose profligacy and profusion has already brought us into this extremity. I say this is a war which if I countenanced for an hour I should betray the interests of my constituents. Before I consent to take money out of the pockets of the English people, I ought to be well assured that it will be fairly applied for their interest by a good English Administration. Above all, I ought to be well assured that those in the

highest stations among us are ready to set to the lowest a patriotic example. Instead of which, I see every man who possesses place, pension, or sinecure emolument, carving, not for the public interest, but his own. When I see these places, pensions, and profligate emoluments daily increased instead of being diminished, I cannot, without betraying my duty to the public, call upon them to come forward and assent to this proposition. I think, that not only the Royal Family and the Lives and Fortunes men, of whom we have heard so much, but also all the Nobility of this country, should come forward and assist us in our present state; they might then, with confidence, address the People, as the Consuls of Rome spoke to that People, when the victorious Hannibal was at the gates of their city, and menaced it with destruction; they might then safely rely on the exertions of this People, and those desirable circumstances would be best secured, by His Majesty and the Royal Family coming forward and contributing to ease the burdens of the People; and also the Nobles of the Land and Men of Property coming fairly forward, and convincing the People by their contributions and their conduct, that they really made a common cause with them, in repelling the attempts of the enemy. Impressed as he was with these sentiments, he must give the propositions before the Committee a decided negative.

Mr. ELLISON rose up in consequence of what Mr. Tierney had said respecting the unpopularity of his conduct, but misapprehending what he had said, Mr. Tierney repeated, that his words were, that when they severally returned to their constituents, it would be seen which conduct was the more popular.

Mr. SPEAKER addressed the Chairman of the Committee from the gallery. I do not, Sir, rise to trouble the Committee with any opinion on the resolutions that have been opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but in consequence of an observation that fell from the honourable gentleman who spoke last. I applaud the manner in which he speaks of the sentiment expressed by His Majesty, that he was resolved to make common cause with his people. I am sure that sentiment was congenial with his own benevolent nature, and I am persuaded that it will have a becoming influence on the heart of every man in his dominions. I perfectly agree with the honourable gentleman that there is no possible criterion of income that can apply to all cases. Neither this, nor perhaps any other that could be devised will embrace the income, or be a test and measure of the means of all descriptions of persons in this country. There are many opulent men who from taste, and from considerations of different kinds, from particular situations, and from

a variety of circumstances which gentlemen might easily conceive, did not live in a way to make their expence and outward appearance a just criterion of their ability to contribute to the exigencies of the State: I am confident, however, that there are many persons of this description who would disdain to take advantage of the economy with which they regulate their domestic expence to avoid contributing their just proportion to the wants of the Government by which their property was protected. I am sure that many, and I hope all the persons of this description will be forward to shew that they are sensible of the regard and delicacy which are manifested in not searching minutely into capital, and will voluntarily come forward to make such a contribution above the amount of their class of assessment as shall be equal to their real property. Confident that this is the feeling of a large description of opulent men, I think that a clause might be beneficially introduced into the bill to give to persons of this description, as well as others, an opportunity of coming forward with a voluntary contribution, in which they should not be confined within the strict limits of their assessments. This clause might either be brought in at the first, or in the progress of the bill it might be introduced. I have often meditated upon the idea, and I am sure that if this opportunity were given to the country, it would operate with a most beneficial effect. I am persuaded also that certain persons to whom the honourable gentleman has alluded, and who from their peculiar situations cannot make their Assessed Taxes a criterion even of their expence, would be forward in the expression of their zeal and eagerness on an occasion when their duty called upon them to demand so heavy an exaction from the country. I know the sentiments of many honourable persons of this description, and I think I can presume to say their conduct would prove that the honourable gentleman's distrust of their liberality was at least premature.

Earl TEMPLE said, that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had imputed to him the use of French phrases. He had no doubt but the honourable gentleman was better acquainted with French phrases than he was. He had used the word *capitalist*. He did not know that Capitalist was a French word; "and I wonder," said the noble Earl, "why the honourable gentleman has fallen foul of me."

Mr. MARTIN said, that conceiving great exertions to be necessary, he must support this measure, if a better could not be obtained. It was extremely objectionable, and he wished that a better plan might be devised. It would fall with dreadful weight on the

middle classes of society, and he feared would check all the sources of industry—but money must be obtained.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY said a few words in explanation.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR wished that the resolutions might be printed and distributed before the report was made, that, on a subject of so important a nature, they might have time to deliberate on the measure.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that when gentlemen considered how nearly the time was approaching when the new assessments were to be made out, they would see the necessity of passing the bill before the holidays. He wished, therefore, that all possible dispatch might be given to its progress. It would be an inconvenient delay to print the resolutions before the report. He should move to print the bill, and, in every stage of it, modifications might be introduced. He should propose, therefore, to report the resolutions to-morrow.

The Committee then divided on the first resolution, Ayes 214, Noes 15.

The above resolutions were then passed.

List of the Minority who voted against the Assessed Taxes, December 4, 1797.

Mr. Tierney,	Lord Stanley,
Mr. Plumer,	Mr. Wigley,
Mr. Huffey,	Mr. Combe,
Mr. Kemp,	Mr. Vaughan,
Sir John Sinclair, Bart.	Mr. Nicholls,
Sir G. Shuckburgh Evelyn, Bart.	Mr. B. Edwards,
Mr. Bouverie,	Mr. Brogden,
Mr. Dennison,	Mr. Hobhouse (Teller).

Tuesday, December 5.

Mr. Chancellor PITT rose for the purpose of postponing the consideration of the report of the Committee of Finance, which had been appointed for Thursday next. He said that he apprehended that the business now before the House would not leave sufficient leisure for the consideration of so many important topics as that report involved, so soon as that day—he therefore thought it would be better to defer it till the bill of supply now depending was dispatched—and he therefore moved to discharge the order for taking

the report into consideration on Thursday, and to fix it for Monday se'nnight, which was agreed to.

Mr. HOBART brought up the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, and the resolutions contained in it were read a first time, and ordered to be read a second.

Mr. WIGLEY said, that as it was admitted that the system now adopted was entirely new, and as the sum was extremely large, while the number of those upon whom it was to fall were very small, it would be proper to delay the passing of it into a law in order to give time to the Members of the House to consult their constituents, and to consider whether the different classes would be able to pay the several quotas laid upon them—Over and above this he had a positive objection to the measure. It had been part of the propositions of the right honourable gentleman to exempt intirely from the tax all those who hitherto paid no more assessed taxes than 3l. a year. [A cry of No, No, from the opposite side.] After apologizing for this mistake, he proceeded to state that there were some of those who possessed sixty pounds a year and paid no more than three pounds a year; this would exempt 600,000 persons, which would leave almost the whole of the enormous sum of seven millions of money to be levied upon no more than two hundred thousand persons; he wished the regulations to be well considered in this respect, and for that purpose, hoped that some time would be allowed before its going to a final decision; if he was found in the end to be wrong, no injury could arise from delay; if he was right, nobody would deny that the delay ought to be granted; neither could he conceive how it was necessary to pass the bill so soon. It had last night been stated that many persons of high station in the country would come forward voluntarily to subscribe to the full amount of the tax, proportioned to their property; he did not at all doubt that this would be the case, but he did very much doubt that those subscribing willingly, would justify the House in taxing the others to the utmost extent of their means. It was much better, in his opinion, to devise some practicable mode of ascertaining the property of the highest ranks of society, and to tax them to the utmost, rather than to let it rest so much on the lower and middle ranks. He said there was one resolution which he conceived to be more than commonly censurable; he meant that which obliged those who claimed a right to exemption from the tax, to make a public discovery of their pecuniary circumstances—on this account too he wished for delay, and said, he was sure, that with the exception of those who were in the confidence of Administration, not one man knew till last night what were to be the particular provisions of the bill,

Mr. JONES (Member for Denbigh) said, that although unaccustomed to public speaking, and ill qualified to do justice to the subject before the House, or to his own feelings upon it, he conceived it to be his bounden duty to break through the embarrassment natural to such a situation, and to make some observations upon the Minister's plan, and the unhappy circumstances that gave rise to it. As a new and unprecedented mode of finance it might possibly be thought to require more time for consideration than what was usually allowed in ordinary cases; this time he thought had been allowed, for it was some time since notice was given, and the outline of the plan laid before the House. It was not to be concealed that the tax was very heavy, as well as the mode of assessing it new; he, therefore, should in all probability have opposed it, were he not in his heart and conscience convinced that there existed a strong necessity for adopting it. He would not take upon him to argue these points which had already been so ably and irresistibly enforced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he only wished to impress on the minds of the House, and to engrave on the hearts of all Englishmen, in characters never to be erased, that every shilling of British money which had been expended, and every drop of blood which had been shed in this most horrible, but most important contest, was to be attributed entirely to the wicked, frantic, unqualified, and *now* undisguised ambition of France—that is to say, of the French Government. He said these were his own sentiments, the pure result of his observation and common sense, unbiassed by personal interest, or party prejudice—for he was not connected with the gentlemen to whom the Sovereign had entrusted the Administration of Government, nor was he connected with those who were in the habits of opposing their measures—he therefore spoke his own mind; and he was sure he said no more than every gentleman present must know was founded in fact, no more than France herself acknowledged, when he asserted that the French Directory were influenced by mad and unprincipled ambition only, and that the People of England and of France too were suffering for that madness and ambition. He had heard it said last night by gentlemen in that House—and he was so oppressed with long attendance to the business of the House that he was at the time unable to express his feelings upon it—he had heard it said, and he could hardly persuade himself at the moment that he was in a British House of Commons; he had heard it said that the tax was neither prudent, just, nor necessary, because the war was neither just nor necessary. He would not give way to his feelings—now on such an avowal, but barely state that in his conscience he believed it to be as prudent as

tax as, considering all circumstances, could well be adopted. And what did gentlemen mean by saying the war was not necessary? Were we to crouch and humiliate ourselves for ever at the feet of France? Was the insolence of France to be for ever tamely endured by us? Were no bounds to be put to her overbearing ambition? Were her cruelty and her tyranny to have no limits but the destruction of the laws, liberty, and religion of the whole world, and the total extinction of England, whose Government and Constitution they abhorred, because it shamed their tyranny by contrast? Like Satan, and like Moloch,

————— Besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parent's tears;
Tho', for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unhear'd.

The Directory consoled themselves with the reflection, that if they cannot subdue England and overthrow its throne, they can, at least, disturb and impose upon it the necessity of carrying on the war——

————— By proof we feel
Our pow'r sufficient to disturb his Heav'n,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
Tho' inaccessible, his fatal throne;
Which, if not victory, is yet revenge!

Every motion, every speech, and every action of the French Revolution, evinced this abominable, hellish spirit, and, from the very outset, shewed that the destruction of this, the most sterling free country in the universe, was their sole object. There were two words, the watch-words of that Revolution, which carried with them more mischief than any form of words that ever was composed out of the four-and-twenty letters—perhaps he himself would lie under the imputation of one of them; for, when a tax, or any other measure for the maintenance of lawful government was proposed and supported by any one, *Aristocrat* was the word. But he cared not; he despised the enmity as much as he detested the principles of those who would hunt a man down for doing his duty conscientiously: and if Ministers, be they who they might, did their utmost for the public weal, he would give them his earnest and hearty support. Having said thus much, he would trouble the House no farther than to remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that, on a former occasion, he might have taken thirty six instead of eighteen millions, and to recommend to him to profit by that experience on the present occasion.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that he was induced, by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, having alluded to a description of persons who would probably come forward to subscribe more than by the tax they would be obliged to pay, to rise and declare, that he would not only cheerfully pay the proposed assessment, but would certainly come forward with something more, to enable Ministers to carry on the war.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said, he had intended to trouble the House with some observations on the principle of the system, but as those were to shew that raising the whole of the supplies within the year was not so good a mode as raising them by loan, and as the principle of the measure had been already discussed and disposed of, and as his observations would not apply so properly at this time, he would not enter into them. He was far from opposing the measure on the idea that our resources were not adequate to the demands of the contest; on the contrary, he was convinced that the supply necessary to the exigencies of the State might be raised on this, and still more on the funding system; but it was with astonishment he heard reflections thrown out the other night on the funding system, a system to which the country owed much of its strength, its durability, and its happiness. He thought that it was a subject that ought to be touched with delicacy, as the funded property in this country was now four hundred millions sterling—and he had no hesitation to say, that it was a resource to which we should soon again recur for assistance.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he could not but admire the singular mode of speaking adopted by the honourable Baronet throughout the whole of this business. The honourable Baronet had said, that the funding system ought to be treated with delicacy, because the funded property amounted to four hundred millions, assuming what was not the fact, that an attack had been made upon it; and then very sagaciously had proposed to continue the system, and thereby increase that four hundred millions in order to strengthen it. He said, he was glad to hear from such good authority as that of the honourable Baronet, though the observation was not altogether new, that the funding system had not been exhausted. It happened, however, rather unluckily for the credit of the honourable Baronet's delicacy, that the measure which seemed to have excited his apprehensions, rested on a principle in the highest degree favourable to the security of the funded property—for while it recognized the powers of that system by raising nearly two-thirds of the supply (twelve millions) by way of loan, it took seven millions in direct taxes, to prevent a too sudden and heavy accumulation and increase

of that debt, at once relieving and making a reasonable use of the funding system. The honourable Baronet had said, that we should be obliged again to have recourse to the funding system—but surely a degree of sagacity inferior to that of the honourable Baronet might have hit upon this discovery by going no farther than the provisions of the present scheme, where it would appear that recourse was had to that very system for a large part of the supply. Upon the whole, he was rather disposed to suspect that the honourable Baronet had either mistaken his premises, or not completely digested the observations he had intended to make.

Mr. R. POLE CAREW said, that although he had given his vote for the war and the support of it, he would not agree to any measure that clashed with the funding system—for it was the funding system which had enabled us to resist the ambition of the Monarchs of France, and which could alone enable us to resist its Republican tyranny.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR rose to explain.

Mr. HUSSEY said, he was against the resolutions now before the House—not because he did not think it was necessary to raise money—money must be had, and a great deal of it. Neither was he averse from the idea of raising seven millions within the year. But he disapproved of the plan now before the House, because he thought it a bad one, and that a better one might have been devised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But it was not his object to discuss the matter now; he rose chiefly to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to explain what he had said on a former night, respecting the application of the sinking fund for the reduction of the national debt.

Mr. Chancellor PITT entered into an elaborate statement of the different calculations which he laid before the House when he opened the plan of triple assessment, and expatiated upon the advantages of applying the produce of the sinking fund to the reduction of the debt. He recapitulated his former observations upon that head. He said, he wondered that any idea should have gone abroad any where, that any interruption was to be made to the operation of the sinking fund. It had been beneficially applied for the reduction of the debt now for eleven years, four of which were years of war; it was to be continued in its full vigour. If this example of national firmness should be followed in any future war, and we should be able to terminate the present contest in a way that shall afford us a chance of having a secure interval of peace—real, genuine, not a nominal or delusive peace—for a considerable

length of time, the operation of the sums that might be applied, as those of the sinking fund had been, would be wonderful.

Mr. HUSSEY was satisfied with the explanation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the sinking fund, but was very much afflicted to hear him say any thing of a "nominal or delusive peace." For God's sake let us have peace, said he. A nominal or delusive peace! I confess I do not well understand what the right honourable gentleman means by that expression. I remember, full well, hearing him say, that this country had a prospect of continuing long to enjoy the blessings of a profound peace. I thought so myself at that time, and the right honourable gentleman made many very flattering calculations on the prospect of it. I am alarmed to hear him talk now of a delusive or nominal peace. Let us have peace for God's sake. Without it there is no earthly security for this country. With peace and good management we may possibly go on; without it, that will be impossible.

Mr. Chancellor PITT.—"I remember the declaration to which the honourable gentleman refers. It was made by me in the year 1792. It was at a time when I proposed, what was extremely agreeable to me, a diminution in the existing burdens of the Public, and a continuation of the sum allotted to the discharge of the public debt. I did not pretend to assure the House that peace was at all events to be uninterrupted for any given number of years—that would have been an extravagant and ill-founded assurance—but I thought, under the then apparent obvious political circumstances of all Europe, there never appeared a fairer prospect of the continuance of peace for a long interval. That in that conjecture I was disappointed, is most undoubtedly true; for which, however, I ought not to take shame to myself upon the suggestion of the honourable gentleman, since he himself acknowledges he was deceived also. Why were we both deceived? Because many of us beheld, with a degree of favourable feeling, the rising establishment of what was then a popular government in France, and saw principles of a pleasing nature in their appearance, but the extent of which, and the views of their professors, were not then developed—principles which professed economy at home, and peace abroad. We did not then see the seeds of that wide-spread harvest which has since been reaped; of that unbounded ambition abroad, and profligate profusion and plunder at home. What then is the inference? Because I thought that there was a prospect of peace in 1792, when appearances were in its favour, was I to conclude that I should be disappointed by a subsequent appearance of ambition, turbulence, and phrenzy? Are

we to say now, that we ought to have scruples in opposing that violence? That we are not to judge of present as well as past appearances? I am as impatient for the hour of peace as that honourable gentleman, or as any man in this House, or in this country. I have as much reason as any man in this country can have, for wishing to see peace return, when it is accompanied by security. But when I say, I do not wish to see a "nominal and delusive peace," it is because I value peace. I do not wish to have peace proclaimed for a moment, in order to unnerve your strength, to slacken your efforts, to disband your force, to expose you to sudden and violent hostility, without your present means of defence or any effectual resistance. Should peace be proclaimed without security, you may indeed have a peace that is nominal and delusive. I wish, for the benefit of Europe; I wish, for the benefit of the world at large, and for the honour of mankind, as well as for the happiness of the people of France, although now your enemies, but who are objects of compassion; I wish, I say, that the present spirit of their rulers, and the principles they cherish, may be extinguished; and that other principles may prevail there. But whether they do so or not, is more immediately their concern than ours. It is not to any alteration in that country, but to the means of security in this, that I look with anxiety and care. I wish for peace, whether their principles be good or bad; but not to trust to their forbearance. Our defence should be in our own hands. In that we shall find the bulwark of our safety against France, whatever may be the pride, ambition, or animosity of that power against us, and which it has manifested in almost all the periods of its history; and I agree with what has been lately said, that its tone was never higher than it is at present. Certainly much depends upon the posture in which you converse of peace. What is the real foundation of the strength of a nation? Spirit, security, and conscious pride, that cannot stoop to dishonour. It comprehends a character that will neither offer nor receive an insult. Give me peace consistently with that principle, and I will not call it a peace "nominal or delusive;" and there is no man who will go farther than I will to obtain it. To any thing dishonourable I will never submit; nor will this country ever submit to it, I trust. There can be no man who has an English heart within his bosom who can wish it; or to wish that you may, by an untimely diminution of your strength, expose yourselves to the renewal, with aggravated insults, of those evils which we have already had too much reason to deplore.

The resolutions were then read and agreed to, and bills were ordered to be brought in, in pursuance of them.

Viscount BELGRAVE moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill to explain the Election-treating Act.

Mr. YORKE did not wish to prevent the bill from going into a Committee, but he hoped that it would be properly attended to there, for it might be of considerable importance. The construction placed upon the Treating Act, by some of the late Committees, he could not approve; for the act only declared elections rendered void by treating. He wished to prevent the House from making such a decision as would prevent gentlemen from being returned for places really attached to them, in which their friends might have opened a few houses. There was a wide difference between such treating and bribery.

Mr. SIMPSON approved the principle of the bill, but objected to the construction of it, as it would tend to the contradiction of several received legal doctrines and decisions. He wished the noble Lord to withdraw his bill, and, in that case, would himself, if no other gentlemen adopted the subject, bring in a bill, which would carry the noble Lord's principle into effect.

Mr. WILBERFORCE thought the House greatly obliged to the noble Lord, and fully agreed with the principle of his bill; but was of opinion that its purposes might be better answered, either by a new bill, which would be free from the objections urged by the last speaker, or by an instruction to the Committee to receive a clause with some considerable additions. He wished the provisions of the bill to be extended to counties, which were more likely than boroughs to produce heavy expenditures to candidates; but assured the House, that he had been three times elected for the county of York, without having offended against any of the provisions of the act in question.

The SPEAKER said, that a clause might be received in the Committee, without any instruction from the House.

Viscount BELGRAVE said, that the bill went only to amend a single clause of the act, where the letter and spirit were at variance, as had been proved by the different decisions of Committees of that House. The provisions of the bill, generally viewed, were salutary. It was not his wish to illustrate these. This would, in fact, be shedding *light* upon *light*, till at last the House would be left in total *darkness*.

Mr. C. DUNDAS objected, in the first instance, to the bill, as it went to declare the law in opposition to some of the most respectable Committees of that House. He thought that the line was not drawn with sufficient accuracy. The bill would not prevent the practice of treating in county elections, unless a clause was intro-

duced to make it a defecazance of the right of the elector, as well as of the candidate.

The question was then put, and the bill ordered to be committed on Thursday se'nnight.

Mr. C. DUNDAS gave notice, that he should move for the addition of other clauses, particularly of one which should alter the nature of the oath to be administered to the electors.

Wednesday, December 6.

Mr. Chancellor PITT acquainted the House, that he had it in command from His Majesty to give them notice that it was the intention of His Majesty to go to St. Paul's Cathedral on Tuesday the 19th instant, in order to return thanks to Almighty God with all the solemnity usually observed in former times, and on similar occasions, for the three glorious naval victories which had so eminently distinguished the present war.

Mr. TIERNEY expressed a wish to know when it was the intention of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to introduce the new assessed-tax bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT replied, that it was his intention to present that bill to-morrow, and to move that it be then read a first time, and that it be printed; it was likewise his intention that it should be read a second time on Monday, and that it be committed on Tuesday.

Mr. TIERNEY was also desirous to be informed, if the three millions to be advanced by the Bank were to be included in the sum estimated for the supplies of the current year? because if that were the case, the supplies must be deficient, as agreeably to the compact made with the Bank, the three millions so advanced were to be repaid by the month of August. Either, then, the Bank is not to have its engagement with Government fulfilled; or if it be fulfilled, there must be a deficiency of three millions in the estimated supply.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that what he had proposed in the first opening of his plan was, that three millions should be advanced by the Bank for the public service at limited periods; and that he intimated at the same time, that if no circumstances should occur to alter the state of the Country, or the present favourable situation of the Bank, a similar advance might be made by the Bank to Government at a later period of the year subsequent to the month of August: but if any such change should take place in the condition, either of the Bank or of the Country, which would make it impos-

fible for such an advance to be made, then the matter would be open to discussion, and some other mode for raising the three millions might be easily resorted to.

Mr. Chancellor PITT gave notice, that he would on Friday next, in the Committee of Supply, move that three millions be granted to His Majesty on Exchequer bills, to answer the advances made by the Bank.

Thursday, December 7.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS moved, That the act of 29 Geo. II. chap. 5, for employing French Protestants in His Majesty's service, be read ;

Mr. Secretary Dundas said, that by the act which had been read, a corps called the North American Rangers had been established, formed of persons abroad, the subjects of His Majesty. It was now the intention of Government in the same manner to establish a corps to be stationed exclusively in the West Indies for the defence of them. This corps was to be composed of foreigners, chiefly Germans, who were at present to be disbanded. As the West-India islands required considerable supplies of Europeans, it was deemed expedient to establish a corps for the express purpose ; and this, with the 60th regiment, already destined exclusively for that service, would make the whole force there rendered permanent in the West Indies five thousand men, and supersede, in some measure, the necessity of sending other regiments to that quarter. He therefore moved for leave to amend the above act in relation to this object.

Sir W. YOUNGE begged leave to suggest to the honourable gentleman, that the introduction of French Emigrants into the West-India islands in the mode proposed by this bill, would occasion great distrust ; not that he meant to throw any slur on these unfortunate men ; but in some of the islands, particularly Grenada, the conduct of the French in favouring the cause of the French Government in the West Indies, would create much distrust if the defence of the islands were committed to them. He hoped, therefore, that the foreigners alluded to were Germans, not French.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that he had meant Germans. No Frenchmen were to be enlisted.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that as in some parts of Scotland the provisions of the militia act had not been carried into effect, because the time appointed for the purpose had elapsed (the act being

read), he meant to move for leave to bring in a bill to amend this act, with a view to prolonging the time for this purpose.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that the right honourable gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) having given notice of his intention to move certain resolutions on the reports of the Committee of Finance, he wished to know whether there would be any motion made on the report relative to the office of Third Secretary of State? This part of the report he was prepared to combat, and make a motion on the subject.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the whole of the reports were referred to a Committee of the whole House, and were appointed to be taken into consideration on Monday se'nnight. He should on that day make motions on several points arising out of the reports, and state his reasons why he moved nothing upon other points in the reports.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS was curious to know what the motion would be, as the subject, as relating to himself, had already been discussed?

Mr. TIERNEY said, that the motion he intended to make was relative to the office itself, and he believed would be for an address to His Majesty on the subject. He wished to appoint a specific day for the purpose, if there would be no opportunity for discussing the subject on the motion of the right honourable gentleman. For his own part, the reports of the Committee went to so many points, that he could not embrace them all in one day.

After some conversation, it was fixed, that Mr. Tierney's motion on the subject should stand for Wednesday next.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up the bill for trebling the Assessed Taxes, which was read a first time.

On the question that the bill be read a second time,

Mr. WILBERFORCE BIRD rose and said, he was ready to admit that the bill which had been brought in contained considerable abatements and modifications to the principle on which it went. Still, however, it presented no relief to the middling manufacturer. It would be impossible for a man in that situation of life to apply for the relief which the provisions of the bill afforded, without injuring his credit, and endangering the means of his existence. If carried into effect, he feared that the measure would completely destroy the industry of the country. It would bear down the middle order of manufacturers, who by long economy and labour had raised a little capital. Had the right honourable gentleman examined the collectors of the Assessed Taxes, he would find what difficulty there already was in obtaining them; and how then was this treble assess-

ment to be levied? The taxes imposed last year had pressed very hard on the manufacturing class of the community, and now came this to complete their destruction. The watch tax had thrown multitudes of manufacturers in this line idle, and reduced the masters to indigence. This he knew had happened in the city which he had the honour to represent, and he understood that the same thing had taken place in other parts of the country. How then was this branch of manufacturers to sustain the triple assessment after what it had suffered from the last year's tax? He gave the right honourable gentleman full credit for his eloquence and for his sincerity in his negotiation for peace; but, though willing to admit that great sums of money were necessary, and willing to facilitate the supplies, he felt it his duty to object to such a mode of raising money as this. He wished that some plan could be devised to lay the burden on the landholders, who, compared with the industrious manufacturer, had yet felt so little of the burdens of the war. The manufacturer was already loaded with taxes in such a manner as threatened the extinction of industry. He considered the present measure as fraught with ruin, and he hoped that the House would not agree to its being read a second time.

The right honourable DUDLEY RYDER said, the objections of the honourable gentleman seemed to be in general against the whole of the measure; at present he rose to call the attention of the House to the only thing that looked like a detailed objection to the bill. The honourable gentleman said that the burden would fall with unequal weight on the middling manufacturer. In his opinion, however, if any thing in the bill deserved particular commendation, it was the great indulgence which it extended to that class. The abatements which the bill provided were to apply chiefly to the class of men from 100*l.* to 200*l.* a year. Thus a man who paying six pounds a year of Assessed Taxes, is, at first sight, liable to pay 18*l.* a year, by the mitigation allowed pays only a forty-fifth of his income, or 2*l.* 4*s.* and so on in proportion. For a man to swear to his income would, in general, be disclosing little more than his neighbours previously knew. Even if he did not wish to specify the sum to which his income amounted, and to take the benefit of the full mitigation, he might receive a very considerable abatement by swearing that his income did not exceed a certain sum. Thus a man who was worth about 100*l.* might swear that his income did not exceed 150*l.* per annum; and, at this rate, a man who otherwise might be liable for 18*l.* at the treble rate, would pay no more than 7*l.* 10*s.* In the same manner in the other cases.

As to the objection of the honourable gentleman, that the landed

propriators paid less than the manufacturer, this objection was very inconsistent with the argument urged by several gentlemen, that the present measure would not at all touch the wealthy merchant and the great capitalist. He should not go more at large into the objections of the honourable gentleman, as they seemed rather of a nature to be discussed in a Committee.

Mr. BURDON said, the present measure ought not to be argued as a permanent tax. It was an extraordinary measure, which would end with the occasion that produced it, and so far as it operated should be considered in the same light as any extraordinary loss or drawback upon capital. As to a farther call upon landed property, so far as it was connected with the vigorous prosecution of the war, so far as it would put into the hands of Ministers farther means for the support of a contest which he considered just, necessary, and essential to the safety of this country, he had no objection. The measure now proposed did, indeed, adapt itself to circumstances. But he wished it to go still farther. He thought that after a certain point, beyond which the Assessed Taxes did not afford the true criterion of property, a stricter mode of discovery should be employed; such as the sum of poor rates, or any other means that could be devised, in order to ascertain the amount of property, and to lay the burden in proportion. Less delicacy was necessary in the disclosure of landed property than of commercial. As to the idea of a voluntary contribution, it did not meet his concurrence. In a contest like the present, so just and necessary in its origin—so essential in its continuance to the safety of this country, it ought not to be left to the discretion of any to contribute or not as they thought proper. He wished, therefore, that means could be devised to make men of large property contribute in a higher degree. A voluntary contribution alone would not be sufficient. As to the principle that the contribution would not be more than a tenth of income, in his opinion the cases were very different where the income was fixed in landed property, and where it arose out of labour and industry. Some difference therefore ought to be made. These suggestions he threw out not to obstruct the bill, which he approved so far as it went, but in order that its principle should be still farther extended, and that men of large property should contribute in a still greater proportion.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON said, that he could by no means depend upon the resources which voluntary contribution could afford. The principle of the measure he approved, but he now rose to throw out some ideas which might be deserving of some attention in the mode by which it was to be carried into execution. The

right honourable gentleman, in the eloquent and energetic speech with which he opened his plan, stated, the first object to be attended to was, that the burdens which it might be necessary to impose should not bear too hard upon the lower classes of the community. This principle, however, the right honourable gentleman did not seem to have sufficiently applied to the provisions of the bill. In his opinion too large a proportion of the burden had been imposed upon that class, which the right honourable gentleman had professed a desire to relieve. The extensive distribution of property in this country had been one of the principal causes of the stability of the Government. The frenzy of revolutionary principles had been checked by the practical blessings of the Government. Men felt themselves attached to the Constitution, because they were happy under it. This stability was owing in a very important degree to the middling classes, and it was owing to their possessing a certain share of property, and being encouraged in its acquisition. He was decidedly therefore against breaking down this class of the community. He was for throwing the burden on the upper classes. He should not care much that men from 5 to 10,000l. a year and upwards complained of their share of the burden, but he should be sorry if those from 150l. to 200l. a year, complained of the burden. The operation of the measure in its present shape would be, to do away entirely that middling class, whose existence was so important to the State, and divide the State into the two descriptions of the poor and the rich. As to the effect of the measure upon the manufacturer, the latter would pay himself and lay on a profit besides upon the amount of the tax. It was much better then, in his opinion, that the consumer should pay directly the burden which would be laid upon him indirectly by the manufacturer. This would avoid the odium of an imposition, which in fact would not draw from the class to whom it immediately touched, the revenue it was expected to produce. He was afraid that the burden would be felt with peculiar severity by the class of those who possessed about 150l. a year, because they would be called upon for this additional charge at a time when the charge made upon the mode of living and upon expenditure, would diminish their profits. The state of the times was such that it was of the last importance to attach men to the Constitution by making them feel the blessings it communicated, by shewing them that it encouraged industry, that it protected and encouraged acquisition. Individuals would not feel any powerful attachment to the country, when their situation is deprived of those blessings which render it valuable. His idea then in general was, that no man who paid less than 100l. a year of assessed taxes should

be included in the meaning of this bill, and that the modifications proposed should be applied in this new scale. By imposing an additional half rate in the higher classes he was convinced that the sum of 6,500,000*l.* might be raised without the odium and the danger of extending the contribution so far to the lower and middling classes of society. He had the utmost confidence in the present Administration. He thought they contained as much talent, as much virtue and public spirit as any set of men that could be found in the country. He cautioned them, however, against breaking down that middling class of men on whom the stability of the state so essentially depended. He was afraid that if the measure, in its present shape, was carried into execution, it would quite do away the class of men possessed of incomes from 100*l.* to 200*l.* a year. These hints he had thrown out in this stage in the hope that they might be of some use in modelling the provisions of the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had heard with no inconsiderable degree of surprise both what had fallen from the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. W. Bird,) and from the worthy Alderman. The worthy Alderman said, that the measure proposed would bear hard upon the middling classes who possessed incomes from 150 to 200*l.* a year, and as a sort of commentary upon this, the honourable gentleman said, that this, as well as other taxes proposed of late years, would bear with unequal severity upon the manufacturer. How far this character applied to the taxes which had been lately imposed he left to the House to determine. Let them consider the millions which the exigency and critical importance of the times had made it necessary to raise, and consider how little of the comparative burdens imposed upon the community fell upon the lower, or manufacturing classes. He would boldly challenge a comparison with any system of finance which ever was pursued in this country, whether there ever was any mode of raising the public supplies adopted which in every respect was so sparing in its demands from the lower classes, which drew so little from the enjoyments, and pressed so little on the industry of those who composed that body, who are stated to be so overborn by the weight of taxation. He confessed that he could hardly preserve his coolness when he heard it stated that the operation of the present measure would *do away* the middle class of society. If this class is at all in danger of being *done away*, it must be if it fail to make those efforts and contribute those exertions which are necessary to oppose that system which threatens to swallow up every class, before which every blessing of social and civil life must sink, and every distinction and every source of happiness must literally be done away. If the manufacturers of

Coventry, or the manufacturers of any other part of the country, be deprived of the advantages they enjoy, and the means of their prosperity, it must be if they are misled by the topics urged by those who affect to support their cause, if they deem themselves exempted from the necessity of exertion in the common cause. If the evil made no distinction in its attack, he hoped that no man would betray the common cause by a distinction in the defence; that they would make no distinction in the measure of resistance, where there was none in the magnitude of the danger. All men had a practical stake in the objects which it was the object of the contest to defend, and the interest which they must feel, which they might lose by weakly deserting their own cause, claims a share in the exertion, and a concurrence in the sacrifice. He hoped he would not then be told that those who did not pay 10*l.* a year of Assessed taxes had no interest in the present contest. Had gentlemen been talking on the means of supplying the public service upon the principle of a war in the antient mode, would they have maintained the principles which they now broach? If there was a moment for unusual exertion; if the nature of the object for which we struggle were such as to apply equally to the highest and the lowest, was this a moment to make a distinction of the class by which the effort was to be sustained? This was a principle which destroyed in its application the whole vigour of our exertions. While they make an effort in words, gentlemen fritter away the force of their own declarations. By an unseasonable compassion, by an injudicious anxiety for those whom they proposed to exempt, they in effect would sacrifice the interest of the lower, as well as the higher classes, to that ruin which makes no distinction its object, and no exception to its devastation. But what was the application of the principles thus maintained? One should have thought, to hear the argument, that the burden had been to fall heaviest upon those from 100*l.* to 200*l.* instead of this, however, from 200*l.*, in a descending scale, a variety of modifications were introduced, and on an income of 60*l.* a year the burden would amount only to an 120th part of it, and the higher classes were to be charged in addition to make allowances for the mitigation given to the poorer order; and yet this was said to be doing away the middling classes of the community. He feared that by attending too much to prejudices and to particular interests, gentlemen with very good intentions might be led totally to mistake principles, and completely to overlook facts. As to the proposal for exempting all those who did not pay 10*l.* a year of Assessed taxes, and at the same time making up six or seven millions, he could say nothing, as he could not at all comprehend by

what means it could be done. He should content himself with saying, that such a mode of taxation was completely contrary to all principle, and to all practice. To say, however, that all men who have less than 400*l.* a year, which might be the average on the exemption proposed, had no interest in maintaining the present contest, was a libel on the great bulk of the people of the country, who felt they had such an interest, and who would disdain to be exempted from sharing the honour of its defence. But it was said, that by the effect of the present measure, such changes would be introduced in the mode of life, there would be such a diminution of consumption and of expenditure, that there would be no vent for manufactures. But did the honourable gentleman imagine that the vent of manufactures does not depend on the expenditure of the highest rank? Did he think that the sources of manufactures were not supplied, invigorated and maintained by the consumption of the higher classes, and if a material change took place in the expenditure, must not the consequence be felt in the lower? The worthy Alderman maintained the converse of the proposition, that the higher would suffer by throwing an excessive burden upon the lower; and could he deny that the lower would suffer, if the means of consumption in the higher classes were impaired by an unequal distribution of burden? To flatter the multitude then with such a distinction was to nourish a dangerous error, which might be attended with the most fatal consequences. To exempt them in words, and at the same time by consequence, and if certain effect, to impose upon them a tenfold evil, was the most mistaken policy which could be conceived. It was admitted that the effort must be unusual; but to suppose that it could be laid upon the rich, was at once the most visionary and impracticable scheme that ever entered the imagination of man; and if practicable, would be one of the most mischievous in its operation with which a State was ever scourged. There was one objection farther to which he should say a few words. He did not deny that too great a proportion of burden imposed upon any particular classes would create a revulsion, and diminish consumption; but if properly distributed, there was no danger of the consequence. If seven millions were raised, it did not follow that this sum was totally withdrawn from capital. It was indeed for a time diverted from its natural channels; but unless it were supposed to be laid up dead in the Exchequer, unless it were to be sent to foreign countries without possibility of return, or buried in the sea, after a certain delay it returned to its natural channel, promoting consumption and invigorating industry. Spent in the country, it continued to animate circulation and to support

labour. If this were not the case, it would be impossible to account why the immense expenditure, which history records, did not produce other effects in States than those which we know to have taken place, and we know that those effects must have ensued which all history belies. He entered his protest therefore against such principles in behalf of the great bulk of the people of this country, whose cause was injured by the arguments by which it was defended, in behalf of those who, feeling that they have an interest in the cause for which we contend, and who cannot be unwilling to contribute their efforts in that common cause, from which they know their own happiness and prosperity cannot be separated.

Mr. TIERNEY said, it was surprising that while the right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer was remarkable for nothing more than the admirable gravity of his manners, no man could receive a hint from a friend, when it thwarted his own particular plans, with greater roughness. The right honourable gentleman had taken fire at an expression used by an honourable gentleman, (Mr. W. Bird) though it was founded in fact and truth, he meant the words "*to do away*:" It was not the right honourable gentleman's fine speaking that could prevent the mischief from falling heavy, or the people from feeling it. The lower order of manufacturers, to be sure, had not the means of discussing such subjects theoretically, but they would at least be allowed the capability of knowing those evils from which they practically suffered. How stood the fact? The honourable gentleman had charged that, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's imposing the watch and clock duties, it had been objected that the same mischiefs would arise from it as some of those which were now predicted to be the consequence of the present tax, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had at that time, as now, scouted the idea, and insisted that it was a vulgar error; and what followed? Why precisely what was expected, and in the city of Coventry two-thirds of the watchmakers had been thrown out of employment. Was it at all unreasonable then in his honourable friend to say, that the provisions of this tax lay heavy upon manufacturers, and would tend *to do away* that class of people? If more were necessary to be said, he could say that among the manufacturers of the country, or rather he would say, among the artizans, there were many in extreme want, and he would venture to affirm, from facts within his own observation, that if the collectors within the distance of ten miles round London were permitted to lay a statement of the whole truth before the right honourable gentleman, the account they would give would, in

all probability, prevent the bill from being insisted upon by him in its present form.

He agreed with the right honourable gentleman that the worthy Alderman (Lushington) was not correct in the statement he had offered, but his own objection was to the principle of the bill, and he was firmly of opinion that if the Minister, instead of taking from those who paid three pounds a year Assessed Taxes, were to put money into their pockets, they would still be at a loss by the revulsion of a heavy tax upon the highest orders of the community. He did not mean to press this farther now, but would reserve his sentiments for a future discussion, when he would go more at length into it, for the more he conversed with tradesmen of all ranks and political opinions (those included who were most partial to the right honourable gentleman), the more he saw of fear, anxiety and dismay among them. He hoped therefore the right honourable gentleman would not press the reading of the bill a second time earlier than Thursday next. The more particularly as from the hasty proceedings already had, it was impossible for the people in the distant parts of the country to have it in time to instruct their representatives. He declared himself as desirous as any man in that House to take measures to defend the country, and to shew an English face to a French army, but he was averse to any thing being done that might *seem* to the people to bear heavy on any class of men. As he had no hope of throwing out the measure, and as things stood, he was only for preventing the bill from being carried through the House too hastily. If the second reading was fixed for next Monday, no man would be able to say that he had voted for it by the consent of his constituents.

Mr. WIGLEY repeated the objections he had made to the bill on former nights, and particularly dwelt on the injury it would be to individuals to make a disclosure of their situation. If the tax was necessary, he hoped it would be cheerfully complied with; but it ought to be carefully modified; and for that purpose time ought to be given for a due consideration of the bill.

The question that the bill be read a second time was then put and carried.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that notwithstanding what had been said, he could see no reason for postponing the second reading of the bill beyond the time he had already mentioned; and therefore he would move, That it be read a second time on Monday. If it were desirable that the bill should be effectual, it would appear clear on a moment's unbiassed reflection that it must be passed before the holidays. He said, that so far from its being carried with

precipitation through the House, as had been charged by some gentlemen, a retrospective view of the various dates of its different stages from his first opening it to the present day, would demonstrably prove that there never was a measure of finance which had experienced so long a delay; and it was somewhat singular that the honourable Member who first accused him of precipitation in carrying it through the House (Mr. Tierney) was also the first who accused him of giving unnecessary delay to it, when, in the first instance, he had allowed ten days for consideration of the general plan. The only part of the bill that could at all become a subject of discussion, was the mitigations allowed in it. As to the gross amount of the burdens, that could not admit of question or of alteration, and he was sure it would ultimately appear that none would find it so heavy as they now apprehended; finally, he said the bill had been now a fortnight before the House, and he should be guilty of a dereliction of his public duty if he voluntarily agreed to its being postponed to a later period.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he had been mistaken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. What he had objected to at first was, that the right honourable gentleman had brought forward the measure at a time when he was not sufficiently prepared to state it fully; that though he had been well prepared to make a fine speech, he had been so ill-prepared with the matter in detail, that he was obliged to take a week to consider of it. The right honourable gentleman had said, that the bill must pass before the holidays—but he put it to the reflection of the House, whether it was the most ingratiating mode for Parliament to conduct themselves, when a delay of only four or five days is asked, to answer them that it must be passed before the holidays? Why should they not rather say there should be no holidays at all? The Chancellor of the Exchequer took a week from his first propounding the outline of the plan to digest and modify its particular provisions, and yet the people were not to be allowed a delay of four or five days to consider them. How the people in distant parts of the country were to read the bill at all till it would be too late for objection or amendment, he knew not. He apprehended that the Minister's desire to pass it before the holidays betokened an intention to make a long adjournment; a measure which must be deprecated, as this time was the worst that ever was known for a suspension of the sitting of Parliament.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it was necessary to have the bill passed before the holidays for the purpose of making the assessment in time. If, as he had already shewn, there had been no precipitation in carrying the bill so far, and the bill itself had the general

concurrence of the House, that would be a sufficient answer to the honourable gentleman's objections.

Mr. TIERNEY moved to amend the motion by substituting Thursday next for Monday.

Mr. YORKE wished to know whether the bill was to be printed?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, it was intended that the bill should be printed, and that it should be read a second time on Monday, and committed on Tuesday next.

The question was put—For Monday, 58; Against it, 5.

Friday, December 8.

Mr. MAINWARING presented a petition from the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor on behalf of themselves, as well as several of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Leonard, Shore-ditch, stating that they could not carry into effect the provisions of the statute of the 14th of the present King, relative to the mode of distraining for non-payment of Poor Rates, by reason of a great number of houses under the rate of 10l. a year, and of the occupiers being so very poor, that there were not in many such houses goods sufficient to answer the sum to be levied by distress; praying the House to take the matter into serious consideration. Referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. YORKE wished to mention to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the bill for Assessed Taxes stood for the second reading on Monday next, and that it was understood that it was to be proposed to commit it on Tuesday. He begged that the Committee upon the bill should be postponed, at least, until Thursday. He had no objection to the second reading, even to-day, if that were necessary, for it was to the Committee he should direct his attention. It was a measure novel in itself, and some time ought to be given to consider of it. He therefore hoped the right honourable gentleman would consent to postponing the Committee upon this bill until Thursday next.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that anxious as he was to avoid all unnecessary delay in the progress of this important measure; yet as he found the bill was not yet ready to be put into gentlemen's hands, although he hoped it would have been printed by this time, he could therefore have no objection to the Committee being deferred to Thursday.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that from the information he had received, and from what he was aware of himself, he was confident

that any delay in the progress of this measure would be taken as a favour by most of those on whom it was to operate. He therefore intreated that the second reading might be postponed to Tuesday.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had no great objection to accommodate any gentleman, when he could do so consistently with the discharge of his public duty. He would not oppose the desire of the honourable gentleman. He could not help remarking, however, that he thought the Committee was the stage in which the bill was to be discussed. He was under the necessity of remarking also, that very gross misrepresentations, and consequent misapprehension, had gone abroad upon the subject of this bill. If the honourable gentleman would endeavour to correct these misapprehensions in the interim, his time would be extremely well employed.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he was not aware of any misrepresentation upon the bill; he was confident he never intended to misrepresent the matter, and he believed that he never did so. He should be glad to understand the right honourable gentleman, which, he protested, he did not at present.

Mr. CURWEN said, that, beyond all doubt, farther time was necessary before this bill should be discussed. He had great reason for opposing it. Indeed he believed it would be impossible to carry it into execution. He believed that there was a greater number of persons than the Minister was aware of incapable of paying their assessments already. There were no less than one hundred and eighty-one in one parish who had been summoned for non-payment; many were mitigated, many only paid half, and many were totally excused. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had the means, ought to be possessed of all information of this kind; and it ought to be laid before the House before they proceeded upon this bill. As he never confided in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor any part of his administration, even when we were in the most flourishing condition, it would be superfluous to say that he did not confide in him now. If there were any misrepresentations gone forth, of which however he knew nothing, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to lose no time in clearing the matter up. At all events, time ought to be allowed for every body to understand the bill.

Mr. I. H. STRUTT observed, he doubted the accuracy of the honourable gentleman who had just preceded. The list was a much smaller list.

Mr. CURWEN said, he held himself responsible for what he

said. He had stated facts, and he would repeat them. The parish to which he alluded was Saint Andrew's Below the Bar. In that parish one hundred and eighty-one persons were summoned for non-payment; twenty-one were mitigated to half, and thirty-one were totally excused. This, he said, he had from the parish books. He would be as sorry as any man to state what he did not know, and as unwilling to recall what he knew to be true.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that before gentlemen drew conclusions upon this subject, it was material that they knew the reasons of the persons they alluded to being unable to pay, and why they were excused, or why any thing was mitigated. It did not seem to him to apply to the case of assessments. It ought to be recollected, that many persons who might be charged from the assessment which they paid would be totally exempted from any new payment by reason of the size of their income. He was glad the honourable gentleman had named the parish, for it might hereafter be seen how far this was a specimen of the accuracy which was to be expected from those who were so ready to talk of the inability of persons to pay their assessments. But the honourable gentleman said, that a great many persons would be unable to pay—Why? Because they are unable to pay their present rates. The honourable gentleman might have known, that this very measure excluded those who were unable to pay their present rates, and to allow to others who were able, but whose ability was within a given limit, an abatement in proportion to that circumscribed ability. If the honourable gentleman meant to say that some were excused altogether from paying their assessments already, or that some of them were mitigated, he must say that such a thing was impossible, because nobody possessed as yet the power to excuse or to mitigate the assessed duty. Probably the honourable gentleman confounded the assessed duties with the poor rates, and therefore it was that he became unintentionally inaccurate.

Mr. CURWEN said, he alluded to the poor rates; but he believed the right honourable gentleman would find a great number of persons also unable to pay the assessed duties.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that this was no proof whatever as to the assessed taxes.

Mr. ELLISON said, he considered that 19-20ths of the people of this country looked up to the great abilities of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to rescue us from our present difficulties. He then proceeded to observe, that although he approved of the principle of the plan, yet as some modification might be necessary, he owned he wished for farther time to be prepared for that purpose. He was

sorry that the paper laid upon the table relative to the number of persons who paid assessed taxes had been produced at all, because he was well persuaded it was most grossly erroneous. He thought also, that the higher ranks of society were not called upon to pay sufficiently to the public exigency. For these reasons he wished the second reading of the bill to be delayed.

The order for the second reading of the bill on Monday was then discharged, and it was ordered that it be read a second time on Tuesday next.

Mr. Chancellor PITT gave notice, that he should propose the bill to be committed on Thursday next. He then moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of ways and means for raising a supply.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee accordingly,

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that, according to the notice he gave on a former day, he now called the attention of the Committee to a single branch of the ways and means of the year. He did not mean to bring forward any thing at present but a single resolution, which he intended as the foundation of a bill, which he should afterwards propose to bring into the House; the object of which would be, to provide for the raising of three millions from the Bank. He should take care to make provision for the repayment of that sum by installments, as he had formerly stated—the detail of which would naturally arise when the bill should come before the House. The resolution he had now to propose was merely, that three millions be raised for the service of the year on Exchequer bills, upon which he should be ready, if any farther discussion should arise. He then moved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards raising the supply to be granted to His Majesty, the sum of three millions be raised on Exchequer bills, which was passed.

Mr. NICHOLLS then rose, and proceeded nearly as follows:—In pursuance of a notice I gave some time since, I rise to move a resolution for applying certain parts of the emoluments of certain offices for the public service during the war. - In the motion I have to submit, I follow a precedent. It is a measure that was adopted in the reign of William and Mary. I beg leave to take notice of what His Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer said when I gave notice of the subject which I now bring forward. He suggested an idea, that this was an intended reflection on His Majesty's Ministers. He ought to be too conscious of the merit of his high character to suppose that any such thing was intended. As to notions of

private wealth, I believe nobody can accuse him; he resembles his father in that feature of his character. In that I admit he resembles his illustrious ancestor—I wish the resemblance extended over the whole of his composition. I have no animosity to placemen and pensioners; many of them may render great service to their country. I wish not to take any thing away from particular offices, which I shall hereafter mention, and for which I shall assign my reasons. It was said by a right honourable gentleman on a former night, that there was no difference between the emoluments of an office and the estate of a private gentleman; that the one was as much property as the other. I shall not enter on the discussion of that subject now. There are two sorts of places: one that depends on the pleasure of the Crown, and others that are independent of it. As to offices that are dependent on the pleasure of the Crown, they may be said to be fairly enjoyed, because they are supposed to be dependent on the talents of the persons who enjoy them; but in time of public emergency, they may be as fairly diminished as the income of any other person is diminished by taxes. The public have a right to say to a person holding a place, “True it is that your salary was such as we wished you to possess when we ourselves were affluent; but now circumstances are so altered, that really we cannot now afford it.” As to the offices in which the grantee has a freehold interest, it is observable, that in the time of William and Mary there was no difference made between them and those that were held at the pleasure of the Crown. I think there ought to be a distinction, and therefore the resolution which I shall submit to the Committee will be made to keep that distinction, for it will refer only to those offices which are held at the pleasure of the Crown. Another difference which I intend to make is, in the sum on which the resolution should attach: instead of 500*l.*, I shall propose 2,000*l.* With these variations the resolution will be, in every other respect, the same as that which passed the House of Commons in the time of William and Mary *nemine contradicente*; and the reason which was then alledged for it was, that owing to the great expences of the war, it was necessary to the public service. If it was necessary then, I presume it will hardly be disputed it is necessary now, for none can deny the distress of the country. I do not consider this as any great public resource for carrying on the war, although in that respect it is not inconsiderable; but if I succeed in this, I intend to follow it up with others respecting pensions, and the application of the civil list; and I should hope that it will produce some beneficial regulations. But I do this with another view, of more importance, in my opinion, than any aid which this may bring to the public service. I think

there are many, many men about the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose views ought to be changed; and who should be placed in a situation, in which they shall be interested in terminating the war. The right honourable gentleman sees near and about him, many who are at present interested in the continuance of this war. He sees about him a number of contractors, and money monopolists, who are, all of them, interested in the continuance of the war. I am sorry for it. I wish he was surrounded only by those who are interested in its termination. It is upon that principle, which is a principle of political regulation, more than a resource of revenue, that I bring forward this subject. He concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the salaries, fees, and perquisites of all offices under the Crown, shall be applied to the use of the war, except such as amount to 2,000*l.* per annum, which are to be allowed to all officers whose salaries, fees, and perquisites, at present exceed 2,000*l.* per ann.; and also except that of the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Judges, Foreign Ministers, and the commissioned Officers of His Majesty's fleets and armies, or any persons who have a freehold interest in their respective offices."

Mr. Chancellor PITT. Before I proceed to trouble the Committee with such observations as occur to me on the resolution intended to be proposed by the honourable gentleman, and on the principles he has laid down in his speech, it may, perhaps, be not altogether foreign to the purpose, nor inconsistent with the respect due to the honourable gentleman, to suggest the probability that the resolution, as it has been read by him and by the clerk at the table, if it means any thing at all, does not exactly mean that which the honourable gentleman seems to have intended. As I have heard and understand it, and I should rather suppose as the House also must understand it, it amounts simply to this, that all salaries of office, but those of two thousand pounds a year value, with the exception of the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Judges, and some others, shall be applied to the use of the war. If, then, I comprehend it right, and this be the sense of the wording of the resolution as it has been read, what does it import but that all salaries, from two thousand pounds and upwards, are to be reduced to two thousand pounds; and all from two thousand downwards, even to fifty, are to be entirely taken away; Now whether this resolution is compatible with the honourable gentleman's general notions of political economy, or in unison with the tenor of the principles he professes—whether this is the way of making a distinction in favour of poverty against wealth, it is for

the honourable gentleman himself to judge, and I with him to reflect upon it. But for my part, it appears to me to be so utterly incongruous with his usual sentiments, and so unlike to the precedent on which he has grounded it, that I am led to believe the honourable gentleman has made a small mistake; if so, I should be sorry to take advantage of it, and in candour with him to consider it, and to favour the Committee with an explanation, and tell them what it is he really means.

Mr. NICHOLLS—Sir, the resolution is misunderstood by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: and I believe the wording will be found by no means to justify the right honourable gentleman's interpretations of it.

The Clerk of the House then read the resolution.

Mr. Chancellor PITT. It is now clear that nothing can be more unlike the proposition which the honourable gentleman intended, and the precedent from which he supported himself for having taken it, than the resolution now read.

Mr. NICHOLLS—Sir, I assure the Committee that I copied the Resolution from that to which I have alluded; I mean the Resolution in the time of William and Mary; word for word, with the exceptions and alterations I have already stated. I desire that the clerk will turn back to that resolution, and read it.

The resolution of the third of William and Mary was read.

Mr. Chancellor PITT—I believe a more extraordinary misapplication of precedents has never occurred in or out of these walls. If it should be made to appear that such a resolution had actually been agreed to and ratified by the House in the time of King William, to agree to one at this day directly opposite to it as that now proposed by the honourable gentleman, would indeed be a very extraordinary way of shewing respect for, and adherence to precedents; but there is a reason, and, in my opinion, no mean one, why you ought not to be altogether so much prejudiced by this precedent of King William, as to be diverted from the true principle of the question before you, into a concurrence with that of the honourable gentleman; if he had taken the pains to follow up the history of that resolution a few pages farther, a gentleman of his great perspicuity would, no doubt, have been able to find that reason. The resolution was agreed to *nemine contradicente*, and being moved hastily, was not worded with strict grammatical accuracy. It so happened, however, that what was thus hastily voted without a dissentient voice, when it came to be deliberately investigated, on the bringing up a clause of a bill to carry it into effect, was rejected without a division, as impolitic and absurd. I therefore hope that

gentlemen will not, out of prejudice, or excessive fondness for precedent, adopt that measure which has never been adopted before, nor admit that which was held to be a good reason for rejecting it in the time of King William, to be a good reason for adopting it now. As to the resolution itself, in the form in which it has been moved, my great respect for the honourable gentleman, and my regard for the time and feeling of the Committee, will not allow me to discuss it farther.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, he certainly did not mean that the resolution should extend to salaries under 2,000*l.* a year.

Mr. Chancellor PITT was glad to hear that explanation from the honourable gentleman; for it would be exceedingly unfortunate for those who would be the objects of the honourable gentleman's proposition, and, indeed, not very creditable to the House, if, on this over-persuasion, and a too rigid adherence to a precedent unanimously agreed to by a Committee, but rejected without a division by the House, a measure was adopted which would take from all persons holding offices under Government of less than 2,000*l.* a year, the whole of their income. However, as the honourable gentleman has given up that point, and confines himself merely to those who possess salaries of more than 2,000*l.* a year, I will shortly state to the Committee my reasons for thinking that idea no less absurd than the other. The honourable gentleman proposes the tax as a resource for the expences of the war, and has taken with one large comprehensive sweep of his compass, all offices from 2,000*l.* a year up to 9,000*l.*, without any distinction, any scale, or any gradation. But while he comes forward with this as a resource, why does he not state to the Committee what he expects to draw from it? Has he considered to how much, even the whole of those offices that are above 2,000*l.* a year, would amount in the gross? From the gravity of the honourable gentleman's character and deportment, the Committee have a right to expect from him more foresight and precision, and to call upon him to lay before them a list of the persons to be taxed, and a well-digested estimate of the sum he calculates to draw from taxing them. But let us, Sir, consider upon the broad basis of principle and sound policy, the scale of contribution proposed by the honourable gentleman. Will it be said that there are no qualifying circumstances which keep pace with the various gradations of salary, and render the higher proportionate to those below? Will it be contended that there is no distinction in situation between those who have salaries of two thousand a year, and those who have twice as much? Is there no difference in the importance of the trust, in the labour, in the talents, in the

qualifications, in the responsibility, and in the class of life in which they stand? Is there no allowance to be made for such circumstances? Will the honourable gentleman, in the fulness of his equitable economy, say, that the same gradation ought not to be observed in taxing office, as in taxing property? And if not, how will he be able to account for dealing out such unequal measure as he has attempted in these two cases? Inveighing in his elevated tone of declamation against the disproportion of the assessed taxes to the property of the classes taxed, and yet holding forth a plan of indiscriminate taxation, sweeping down all to a level—exacting from an office of two thousand five hundred a year, one fifth; from an office of four thousand, one-half; from one of six thousand, two-thirds.

Sir, according to my notion of the nature of taxation, this is a principle which cannot be for a moment supported. But, Sir, whatever interpretation may invidiously be given to my observations, and implicated though I am myself in what I shall hereafter say upon that subject, I do not hesitate to confess, and I say it with the candour, the confidence, and the firmness which the occasion demands, that the principle on which I chiefly rest my objection to the taxing of office, is this; that official income is less than any other species of income given for the private enjoyment, or personal gratification of those who possess it. To those who view them abstractedly, the situation of persons high in office appears splendid, and envy and malignity attribute to them an excess of private gratifications they never experienced, and of personal repose which they never enjoy. The situation of a younger brother, whose public station confers upon him the means, and induces upon him the necessity of maintaining an appearance equal to those of large hereditary rank and property, is looked up to with stupid malevolence, and viewed with an eye of envious exaggeration; but any one who looks to their situation with impartial views, and attentively examines how much of their incomes is applied to personal gratification, will find, that in this respect, they are much below the general class of opulent society; that the far greater part of their expenditure is a tribute to the station they fill, and to that appearance it is necessary for them to assume, in order to maintain an equality with those whom hereditary wealth have elevated to the highest ranks in the community. If in a free country like this, the persons who fill the office of the highest trust and responsibility were to be selected as objects of taxation, it would indeed be extraordinary. But if it were so, and in the evil spirit of such a principle, they were to be divested of their income, and with it exempted from the necessity of preserving the splendor of their appearance, what would

they lose? Nothing intrinsically gratifying; no not one hour's personal enjoyment out of the four and twenty would be abridged by such a defalcation; but how far they ought to be taxed, as a political question, is a subject worth consideration. Before any class or species of income can with justice, or policy, or prudence, be selected for taxation, the person who proposes to select them ought to be able to shew, either that they are already too lightly taxed, or that they are, from their distinct circumstances, objects peculiarly fitted for great and extraordinary burdens. In laying the taxes for the supplies of the present year, the criterion that has been chosen is the former assessed taxes, liable to certain exceptions, modifications, and deductions; and this criterion has been selected as the best possible mode of apportioning the tax to tangible property of every denomination. Now, Sir, I should be glad to hear what regulation in that tax goes to exclude the property of persons in office from assessment: is the income of the gentlemen in office less tangible than that of other persons? Is a smaller portion of their income, than of the income of gentlemen whose opulence is not the fruit of their own labour, but is protected and secured to them by law, as the fruits of their progenitor's industry, spent in objects of taxation? Nay, do they not spend much more? And shall it be said that while in the form of that great expenditure, necessarily attached to their station, they pay more of the ordinary taxes in proportion than any other class in society, they shall be studiously and industriously marked out as objects of oppressive taxation in another way? Is there any reason why a person labouring for his income shall be more taxed than the man who possesses an independent landed property? or rather as, on the contrary, such an income is much less durable, subject to larger compulsory expenditure, and attended with a heavy duty, should not the distinction, if any there were, be in his favour? In every tax upon consumption, in every sumptuary tax, the man in office contributes, I am sure, at least as much as any other in the state, and I believe it can hardly be maintained that he ought to contribute more. The only argument that seem to impress the honourable gentleman as being of real weight in favour of his motion is, that it will interest Ministers in making peace; and although he has this night lowered his tone, and assumed a milder mode of expression, he at first did certainly mention the tax as a threat; for he said, that if I persisted in my plan of assessed taxes, he would persist in bringing forward this proposition. It was evidently, then, a menace; for if he had any true reason to offer for taxing salaries of office, why should his bringing it forward depend upon my refraining from bringing forward my taxes? but

now that menace is laid aside, and is taken up as a punishment on Ministers for past errors, or a correction for future ones. But is this the principle of the boastful Patriot, the Reformer? Is this the extent of his purity, to avow that he brings forward a measure, not on the broad bottom of its own merit, but with a view to give Ministers so great an interest in the attainment of peace as would induce them without consideration of the means or the consequences, and without regard to their public duty, but merely for their own private purposes, to obtain a peace? If the war has been commenced in error, prosecuted with feebleness, and continued in corrupt obstinacy, do not adopt a bad measure to punish the authors of it, or to correct their future conduct, but address the King to remove them from his councils, as legislators; do not make the private interest of Ministers a temptation to them to be guilty of a violation of their public faith and a breach of their duty, and from fordid, corrupt, and undue motives, to sacrifice the dearest interests of their country.

Mr. CURWEN said, that in the present situation of the country, every man was called upon to make sacrifices, and the struggle we had to maintain could alone be supported by economy in our expenditure. He was not disposed, however, to support the motion in its present shape. If the right honourable gentleman, however, would come forward with some such proposition, though the sum which would come in aid of the public service might be small, the feeling which it would inspire in the country would be of the utmost importance.

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR said, that though the extravagance and absurdity of the motion brought forward by the honourable gentleman had already been so successfully exposed by his right honourable friend, he could not help making a few remarks upon some of the positions that had been laid down. The honourable gentleman tells us, that his object is not to raise revenue; his motion is intended for other purposes. What, then, were these purposes? Why the honourable gentleman is desirous of peace, and he therefore proposes to subject Ministers to a fine while the war continues! This was a whimsical idea sure enough, especially when it was considered that the sentiments of the House and of the country had already been expressed upon the subject, and when it was manifest that peace at present could not be obtained. The honourable gentleman, knowing the sentiments of the House, seemed desirous to entrap them into a measure contrary to their sentiments, to draw them into a concurrence with that wish for peace which he felt, even contrary to their judgement. It was something like the mode re-

commended to little boys to catch birds by throwing salt upon their tails, to do that which was in fact no longer wanted. The honourable gentleman, knowing that he could not catch the House any other way, was anxious to puzzle and perplex them, and draw them by throwing salt on their tails, to do that which would be equally inconsistent on their sentiments, and foolish in his own. But then came the honourable gentleman's great question of general policy. As the honourable gentleman, however, was an advocate for the new principles of Government, a zealous partizan of reform, it really might have been expected that his great scheme of policy should have been a little more dignified in design, and a little more unexceptionable in point of morality. The happiness of this part of the honourable gentleman's speech had already been so well exposed by his right honourable friend that he had few remarks to offer upon it. To censure purity by giving men a corrupt interest was, in truth, a very whimsical idea for a reformer; and to give judges a bias in favour of a side was indeed a strange way of procuring an impartial decision. Such a plan was neither very wise in point of policy nor great in conception. Did the honourable gentleman really think that a few hundred pounds to men who, if so corrupt as they were represented, had so many temptations to withstand, and such means of making up for what might thus be taken from them, could be an object to influence their conduct against their judgement? By what scale the honourable gentleman judged he could not comprehend, when he imagined that those men whose power was described as equal to involve whole nations in war, and to prolong it at their pleasure, were to be induced to change their system for the consideration of a few hundred pounds. But the rulers of States were to have an interest in preserving peace! This desire of peace, if it could be made universal among the rulers of States, might perhaps be of some advantage in preserving general tranquillity, but not to make it the particular interest of the rulers of a particular State to cultivate peace, might ultimately subject that State to the most unjust claims, to unprovoked aggressions, and to the most partial injustice. Till the honourable gentleman could make the mild, pacific, just, and conciliatory spirit of the French Republic universal, he feared we must go on as we had done before. Men might differ, no doubt, in their judgement of the necessity of war; but as to the general proposition, it could scarcely be doubted that the evils of war might, in the comparison, be less than the evils of not going to war. There were then such things as just and necessary wars. Nay, the honourable gentleman himself must assent to the general proposition; for he was, no doubt, convinced, that such was the nature of the

war which France now waged against this country. The evils of war might then be less than the evils of not going to war, and therefore might be necessary. Necessary they might not be in that sense that nations might be compelled to go to war—Thus, for instance, what the honourable gentleman probably would recommend, an Ambassador might be forced into France, and peace procured, by an unconditional submission to every thing which the enemy might exact. He hoped, however, that the country would not be up, or rather down, to such a proceeding. It being evident then that we could not be sure that war would not be necessary, it certainly would be unwise to make it the interest of rulers not to go to war, whatever might be the necessity on which they were placed. He did not know even that the greatest danger was, that the rulers of a country would be prone to war. The evils of war were more obvious, more present, more alarming to the imagination, than the evils that might arise from not going to war. The latter required more consideration, more reflexion, a greater regard for the interest of posterity, because they were more distant. He did not see how, therefore, there should be such danger of rulers being more inclined to war than peace; as a general proposition then, nothing could be worse founded than the motion of the honourable gentleman. Indeed he wondered how so weak a measure could come from a person of the honourable gentleman's gravity and knowledge. Surely the honourable gentleman had unknowingly received a fee which had biased his understanding; he had allowed his zeal for peace to mislead his judgement, and he had therefore reversed the general rule, in order to make it apply to this particular case. There was something which dropped from another honourable gentleman, (Mr. Curwen), on which he could not refrain from making a few observations. The honourable gentleman said, that, though such a measure as that proposed might be little to the revenue, it would be of infinite advantage, by the feeling which it would inspire in the country. The honourable gentleman confesses that the measure would not remove any of the burdens which the people feel; consequently in this respect, it would be a complete delusion. What, then, would be its effect? The people would not thank the honourable gentleman for such a measure. If it is meant that they would be glad to see others pay because they pay themselves, this was a feeling which ought not to be gratified. By such paltry acts as these it was sometimes attempted to enflame, sometimes to cajole, the people. Any feeling by such means he was not willing to excite; he utterly disclaimed all share in practising such artifices and designs. Something was said about the difference between the

salaries of office and incomes arising from a landed estate. Upon this point his right honourable friend had given sufficient explanation. By the language which sometimes was held upon the subject, and the allusions to the burdens which the poor and rich respectively sustained, it seemed as if gentlemen thought that the rich felt no share of the burden, but that wars were a kind of show for their amusement. If it was to be always said the rich should support the whole burden, it would not be those who derived income from land, who would be most obnoxious to the poorer classes, and it would be much easier to persuade them upon the hypothesis that the rich should pay all, that those who had landed property ought to pay more than those who had salaries, and were supposed to perform some labour in return for it. Upon these points of general doctrine he had thought it important to say something, rather as they rose out of the motion, than were necessary to the discussion of it in its present shape. The doctrines which had been urged in favour of the motion he conceived to be extremely mischievous, and therefore it was the more important that they should be examined. It had been stated rather in a particular manner as an objection to speeches in that House that they contained addresses to the passions. The addresses thus censured, however, were not addresses to the low passions, they were not directed to the illiterate, to those who, from their situation were disqualified to decide great and important questions. They were addresses to the passions through the understanding, sanctioned by oratory, calculated to rouse indignation against that which merited indignation. Those addresses to the passions which appealed to the low passions, which appealed to them without at all applying to the understanding, addresses to the illiterate, to those who could not judge and decide upon the questions to which they related, were such as he must reprobate in the severest manner.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that gentlemen upon the other side seemed rather to have availed themselves of this opportunity to indulge in invective against his honourable friend, who, by the candour of his proceeding, had so little deserved it, than to speak to the motion itself. He would ask the House, whether his honourable friend had treated the subject in such a manner as to call forth reprehension? In opening the subject he had made no appeals to the passions, and he believed altogether he did not detain the House five minutes. His honourable friend had not, perhaps, sufficiently considered the shape in which his motion was made, but he was sure that his intentions were good, and the principles by which these intentions were guided, well founded. To the latter, whatever ridicule he might incur, he was ready to subscribe. These principles

might be subject of merriment to gentlemen on the other side ; the mirth of these gentlemen was so much in unison with the temper of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that when he smiled he was not surpris'd that they laughed. The resolution which, with a mere error of transcription, formed the model of the present motion, had been pass'd in times fully as good as the present, and by a Parliament, no offence to the present, fully as much enlightened ; he could not see, therefore, what reason there was for the sneer which the right honourable gentleman had indulg'd. It certainly was the intention of the honourable gentleman, if the principle had been recognized, to have applied it in different gradations to particular cases. For his part, he never consider'd the measure in the nature of a punishment, nor would he countenance such an idea. He agreed that a liberal allowance should be made to those who discharged great public offices. He had never given a vote with greater pleasure than that which he gave the last time he had the honour of being in Parliament, to increase the salary of that gentleman who so honourably fill'd the chair of that House. Still, however, he could not help feeling indignation when he saw the allowances of office perverted, and the emoluments of men increasing with the war ; nor was his indignation lessened when he heard such things defended by the right honourable gentleman, in whose office they exist'd. His object was to prevent the right honourable gentleman from baiting his trap with these cheese parings, and from drawing his candle across the house to bring the rats to any side he chose. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that those who possess'd high salaries of office would feel the burdens that were to be impos'd on the country. For his own part, he could not support the motion, unless it were modified and explained. Where great abilities were placed in a high situation, and where they came into it without any any other means of supporting the rank to which it belonged ; but when the salary of office was a gratuity, was a hoard, and an undiminish'd source of gain to a person who brought a large fortune into public situations, he thought the case was very different. A noble Lord in that House had boasted of his stake in the country, and talk'd loudly for the continuance of the war. The connections of that noble Lord had certainly a very considerable stake in the continuance of the war. A noble Marquis (Buckingham), not a Member of the Cabinet, had a very lucrative office, the profits of which rose very considerably by the war. When such was the case, he was not so much surpris'd to see the relations of those who profit'd so much by the war so strenuous in its support. When gentlemen argued against the

motion, as a strange way of compelling the Cabinet to peace by taking from them a few hundred pounds, they argued against that which was never thought of. It never was imagined that the Cabinet could be influenced by the loss of a few hundred pounds; but it was thought, that to take away the profits they derived from the system, might have considerable weight upon many who were its supporters. Such, certainly, was the case with many. In the article of barracks, was there not an extravagant number of appointments arising out of the war for the advantage of its partizans? Was not the Transport-office interested in the continuance of the war? Was not the office of War Secretary interested in the continuance of the war, to which it owed its existence? Was there not something in the consideration, that with the end of the war their profits would be diminished, sufficient to warp the understanding? On these grounds he hoped his honourable friend would bring forward this subject in another shape. He could not vote for the motion as an abstract measure; but when the times were such as to call for a tenth part of the income of individuals, it was the duty of the House to take care that, by the very operation of the war, the incomes of certain men should not rise to ten times more than it would be in time of peace. He did not wish that the people should be convinced that those in office had a fellow-feeling with them. When the people of this country read in the newspapers, not pleasantries arising out of the disputes of contending parties, but Reports of the Committee of Finance, which proved that there were men who did gain, and gain considerably, by the war, was there any wonder that they said that this war was a war in which its partizans were very much interested in its continuance? He differed from those who thought that the object proposed would produce little in aid of the revenue. He believed that, if well regulated, it would produce a considerable sum; especially in the article of the collection of the revenue. The collection of the revenue at present, as appeared from the Report of the Committee of Finance, cost a million and a half; the civil list amounted to a million; and was it too much to say, that a well-modified tax on these objects would produce a very considerable sum for the public service? He by no means supported this principle in the view of a punishment on Ministers; but to do away the unfavourable impression that all wars are for the benefit of those who conduct them, and that this war, most of all, is liable to the imputation.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that three-fourths of the honourable gentleman's speech had no relation to the point. The question was not, whether the emoluments of office in any case were too

large, but whether they should be diminished when the labour was increased? As to what was said relative to the expence of collection by the honourable gentleman, the finance Reports stated no such thing; and the fact is, that at no period has so much revenue been raised with so small an addition to the expence of management, as had been in the taxes lately imposed. As to the emoluments of office arising with the war, the honourable gentleman had stated as an instance, one of those offices which he proposed to except from any additional charge; this was the office of Teller in the Exchequer, an office which the noble Marquis inherited from his father, on whom it had been bestowed as a reward for long and laborious services.

Mr. TIERNEY said a few words in explanation.

Mr. SECRETARY AT WAR said, the great profits in his office arose from regulations established before he was born; and if there was any blame, it did not apply to him.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, that the right honourable Secretary had imputed to him opinions, some of which he had never entertained, others of which he acknowledged he did entertain: and as the right honourable Secretary had deviated from the question to observations on his principles, he trusted he should be permitted to state what his principles were. He said, the right honourable Secretary had accused him of being attached to French principles. The expression, French principles, had a very indefinite meaning; if, by the expression, the right honourable Secretary meant that he wished to see a pure representative government established in this country, he denied the assertion. If the right honourable gentleman meant, that he was an admirer of the government now established in France, even that assertion was not true; for he thought that there were so many defects in the existing constitution of France, that it was not probable that it would be of long duration. But the right honourable Secretary had said, that he was a friend to Parliamentary Reform. He acknowledged that he was; but if by Parliamentary Reform the right honourable Secretary meant that he either was, or ever had been, a friend to universal suffrage, he denied the assertion. He thought that the Government was vested by the laws in a King, a House of Lords, and a House of Commons, every Member of which was to be elected by a body of the commonalty; and that the law of the land was violated whenever a Peer, directly or indirectly, influenced the election of a Member in the House of Commons. This he considered as the Constitution—and he believed that the calamitous war in which we are now engaged, had been the consequence of our having suffered this Constitution to be violated.

The Peers, proprietors of boroughs, had involved this country in war, from an apprehension that the Commons of England might be awakened by the example of France to the assertion of their rights, and might deprive the usurpers of that power which they had unlawfully assumed. He acknowledged that he was the enemy of this usurped power, and that he would use every effort for its destruction. He said he was led to this as much by loyalty to the King, as by attachment to the rights of the Commons; for the prerogatives of the King, and the privileges of the rest of the Nobility, must ultimately perish, if this usurping oligarchy was not destroyed. He then applied himself to answer the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He admitted that the present resolution went only to the diminution of the emoluments, where they exceeded 2,000l. a year. But he said, that if this resolution had been adopted by the Committee, it was his intention to have proposed other resolutions for the diminution of pensions, and some offices under 2,000l. a year. He acknowledged the defect from the want of gradation in the scale of emoluments. He was aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer deserved a more ample stipend than a non-efficient Member of the Cabinet: but he had been afraid of distinguishing the Chancellor of the Exchequer, lest he might be supposed to have done so invidiously, and with a view of marking him as a man attached to the emoluments of office. But he was far from having such a wish. He was persuaded that no man disregarded private wealth more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer; in that he resembled his illustrious father. He wished he resembled him in other qualities. The right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had received by descent an inheritance the most splendid and the most extensive; it was an inheritance acquired by his father; it consisted of the affections and gratitude of his country; it could be destroyed by the right honourable gentleman himself only: it was true the right honourable gentleman had wasted it; but he believed it might still be recovered, and restored to all its former splendor: and he assured the right honourable gentleman, that no man in that House would feel more pleasure than himself at seeing it restored to all its former beauty. But if the right honourable gentleman wished to restore it, he must separate himself from those who were advocates for the *bellum internum*. He must separate himself from those who thought, "that if peace brought reform, that reform would be revolution." [Mr. Nicholls here alluded to an expression employed by the Secretary at War.] He must separate himself from those who were advocates for the usurped power of Peers, proprietors of boroughs. In one word, he must tread back his steps; he must resume the maxims of

his father : he must become the man of his country, and endeavour to extricate it from its surrounding dangers.

Mr. Nicholls then withdrew his motion.

The House was then resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

Monday, December 11.

M. R. P. CAREW reported from the Committee appointed to try the merits of the Newton election petition, that it was the determination of the said Committee that the right of voting for the borough of Newton, in the county palatine of Lancaster, is exclusively vested in the freemen or burgeses of the said borough ; that is to say, in any person seised of a corporeal estate of freehold in any house, buildings, or lands, within the borough, of the value of forty shillings a year and upwards ; and in case of joint tenants, or tenants in common, that no more than one person has a right to vote for one and the same house and tenement—That the petitioner, Peter Patten, Esq. is duly elected, and ought to have been returned for the said borough, and that neither the petition, nor the opposition to it, appeared to the Committee to be frivolous or vexatious.

The report of the Committee of Ways and Means was received, and a bill for raising three millions by Exchequer bills, &c. was ordered to be brought in.

Tuesday, December 12.

At four o'clock, there being only thirty-six Members present, the Speaker adjourned the House till to-morrow.

Wednesday, December 13.

Mr. Chancellor PITT postponed the second reading of the Assessed-tax bill till to-morrow. He said, he would then move to have it committed on Monday.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up a bill for raising three millions on Exchequer bills, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Mr. TIERNEY moved that the papers brought up from the Exchequer be printed, which was ordered.

Thursday, December 14.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the bill for raising a sum for the supplies of the year by an increased assessment of taxes, be read a second time.

Mr. WIGLEY said, he would not suffer the bill to be read a second time without such opposition as he was able to give it. He had entertained hopes that the business would have been taken up by other gentlemen more qualified to do it justice, and to shew how fallacious the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been; but seeing that the question was about to be put without meeting the opposition he had expected, he would not so far abandon his duty as to give a silent negative, but would state to the House some of the objections to it that arose in his mind. The House would remembet, that at the opening of the session, the speech from the Throne (which must be considered as the speech of the Minister) stated, that the resources of the country were ample, yet the present measure went the length of saying, in contradiction to that speech, that the funding resource was exhausted, and that, to avoid laying a greater weight upon it than it would bear, the people must submit to a novel, unprecedented, vexatious, and, to some classes, oppressive mode of taxation. As the voice of the country was now very loud against it, he had entertained some hopes that the Minister would have abandoned it, and thought of some means of a better kind; but sorry he was to find that it was the right honourable gentleman's intention obstinately to persist in a measure so impolitic and unjust, which bore entirely on the middling ranks of the people, inasmuch as the lower and the higher were entirely exempted from it.—[Mr. Wigley was here interrupted by a burst of applause and clapping of hands in the Lobby, with a cry of "Clear the Lobby," occasioned by Mr. Fox's passing through to the House—Every one in the Gallery rose as with one impulse, and the effect seemed to communicate itself to the House.]—Mr. Wigley then proceeded, and said, that as the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to be pushing forward blindly in the dark, and not to be aware of the true circumstances of the people, and their means of making the tax effectual by paying it, he earnestly exhorted the House, before they so far pledged themselves to the principle of the bill by agreeing to its being read a second time, to call the Collectors of the Revenue before the House, in order to their being examined at the bar. Their report, he was sure, would induce the right honourable gentleman to pause, and to abandon the scheme altogether.

Mr. HENRY THORNTON said, that he had received the particular and unanimous instructions of his constituents to oppose the bill—at a meeting which was held by them for that purpose—not only the particular provisions, exemptions, and modifications of the bill, but the principle also were unanimously condemned. For his part, were he to speak merely his own sentiments, he would wish the bill to go to a Committee, in order to see how far it might be new-modelled, and rendered more palatable to all classes of people; but they in their instructions (his constituents) had been so earnest and unanimous, that he must give the motion a decided negative. He, however, wished that a longer time was given for considering it; it would become the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow that delay, and equally become the representatives of the people to consult their constituents, and see how the various provisions of the bill would be found to affect and bear upon the different classes which fell under them. At the same time, he said, it was a part of his business to inform the House, that the greater part of his constituents, and all those he conversed with; and he would say the same for himself, were disposed to pay the most liberal contribution, if it were only laid equally in proportion to the power of bearing it; but he much feared the present bill would not answer that description. He said he had heard, and he believed it was generally understood, that the men of property through the country were warm and zealous to come forward with liberal contributions to support the war, if measures were taken to diffuse the tax so equally as that none should be left out. He said, that from the observations he had been able to make, he could not help thinking that the bill was, in some respects, misunderstood by the people; for while he and his right honourable friend considered the bill, taking the assessed taxes only as the means of judging where the new tax ought to be laid, they considered it as a tax upon the articles which were assessed, and had therefore come to the resolution to discontinue the use, or, at least, to diminish their consumption. The circumstance of so many watchmakers and coachmakers being put out of employment should suggest to the Minister the necessity of considering how far the tax might induce the people to leave off the use of those articles. It was true the tax might, notwithstanding the general diminution of consumption, be made productive to the estimated amount for one year, but the next year it would be impossible to counteract their effects, for they would then be entitled to exemption; so that in that way the tax would, he feared, be found not to conduce to the end in view, for the exemptions would be so numerous that a far greater part of the tax would be done away. Those were his sentiments

upon the measure as it now stood ; but as he thought that there existed less exceptionable means of accomplishing the end proposed, he earnestly wished the bill might be postponed to search for those means, and take them into consideration. On the great fundamental principle of the bill he completely coincided with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for he felt and was convinced of the great advantage of raising a large sum within the year ; and was so far firmly and unalterably decided on that point, that if he thought there was no other method of accomplishing it but that now under consideration, he would adopt it without farther hesitation. And he concluded with saying, that if the bill should go to a Committee, he would contribute his utmost endeavours to its modification and improvement.

Mr. YORKE observed, that as he thought this by far the most important measure he had ever been witness to in Parliament, he should think he had deserted his duty if he declined to offer the House his sentiments upon it. From the first moment that he had been able to think of any political subject he had adopted the opinion laid down in an old book, that it was his duty and the duty of every man, to do every thing that could tend to abate the pride, to assuage the malice, and to confound the devices of our enemies. In the true spirit of this old principle, he said, he had supported Ministers, being convinced in his conscience, from the outset of the contest, that the war was just, necessary, and unavoidable, and that we had nothing left for us to do with an enemy that sought our utter destruction, but to grapple and fight it out manfully. He said, he felt as much as any man, in or out of that House, the burdens of the people, and as much as any man did he wish to lessen them. But the present was a contest in which a lesser evil must be endured in order to avoid a greater, and in which every man who had any property was called upon to contribute a share of it to the defence of the country. For his own part, he was willing to pay the last shilling he was worth, and shed the last drop of his blood to defend the country against the designs of France. At this stage of the business, he conceived that the House had only to consider the question of principle, and could not regularly enter into a discussion of the particular provisions and various modifications, which, when they came into a Committee, might yet render the bill effectual. In his opinion the bill must pass in some shape or other, if they hoped for national security ; for if the state of the funds made it necessary to raise a large proportion of the supplies within the year, every possible effort should be made to raise it. But it was said, it would be extremely burdensome ; this he would not deny, but in return would

put it to the House, whether it were better to endure that burden for defence of their property, or wait till the French came to take it by force out of their pockets, and annihilate their commerce, the sole source of their prosperity. He observed, that the right honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Fox) having been removed for some time from public life, would have had time to read the history of what has lately passed in Europe; to him and his friends he looked up for an opinion; he would be glad to hear what the right honourable gentleman had to say about the design of relieving the funds; he had often heard him expatiate on that subject with pleasure, because he had always spoken in favour of that plan; and he concluded with reprobating, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of Members of Parliament being guided by the instructions of their constituents.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, that he felt with increased force the objections he had from the very beginning urged against the measure; he still retained the opinion, that it was neither expedient nor just; and he thought that he need not repeat the reasons he had given for thinking so, as they must have occurred to every one, and had on a former occasion been submitted by him to the consideration of the House: in short, the taxation proposed stopt short where it ought to begin; that is to say, at wealth and opulence, leaving the greater part of the weight upon the middle classes, who were least able to support it. He would not scruple to assert, that it was the most unwise, unjust, impolitic, and cruel measure, that he had ever known or heard of being propounded in that House; it would be not only oppressive in its operation, but ineffectual to its proposed end; it would not only crush and grind the people, but destroy the revenue, by lessening the consumption of taxable commodities, and diminishing the quantity of productive labour, and of the materials used in it. So far from relieving or aiding the funds, it would give them a fatal wound, by taking away the source from which the interest of the funds was supplied, and rendering it impossible to pay the dividends. But this was not all—the plan was not only unnecessary and inexpedient, but absolutely impracticable—he was confident it was impracticable. Every body was convinced it was impossible to raise the money in the way proposed; the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself knew it was impracticable—yes, he would repeat it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was, in his heart and conscience, convinced that the money could not be raised in that way; and if the House had a doubt of it, or the right honourable gentleman was willing to stand the test of an inquiry into the truth, the matter could be easily ascertained, by calling the Collectors of

the Assessed Taxes before the House, and examining them to the point at the bar. The war had been pronounced by an honourable gentleman to be just and necessary: so was the war against the Dutch in the time of Charles the Second. To that *just and necessary war*, the British Government was instigated by a bribe from the French King; yet the Parliament of that time, in its complaisance to the Court, pronounced it to be *a just and necessary war*. Such, too, was the American war, which, after having disgraced this country, abridged its empire, exhausted its finances, and loaded it with above an hundred millions of debt, was at last brought to a termination by the manly exertions and irresistible eloquence of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), whom he now, with unfeigned satisfaction to himself, and congratulation to the House and to the Country, saw once more in his place. It must, indeed, be a subject of joy, and a source of hope to the country; and so far the dangerous and extravagant measure of the Minister was of use, that it had called back again to public business, and restored to the people the great advocate of their cause, he who had so long been the first barrier of the nation against the corruption of the Court and the improbity of Ministers, and the indefatigable and successful guardian of the country's rights. As that right honourable gentleman had been, in the hand of Heaven, the instrument of terminating that impolitic, cruel, unjust, and unnecessary war, so it was to be hoped he would be the means of bringing this more impolitic, more cruel, more unjust, and more unnecessary war, to a termination, of which it was too evident the right honourable gentleman was disinclined. He knew he was averse to peace; he knew those who misguided him were determined to carry on the war for ever: he was sorry that he was still under the same baleful influence that misled his youth, and perverted the principles derived even from his birth, and inculcated by his education; for until influence over the right honourable gentleman, or his influence over the country, was at an end, the nation might in vain hope for the blessings of peace. The nation, he said, were in a few days to offer up, in a solemn and public form, thanksgiving to God for the blessing he had vouchsafed them in the victory gained by Admiral Duncan. A great blessing, and a most important and fortunate occurrence for this country, no doubt that victory was, since it disabled the enemy from attempting an invasion; but they had now to offer up their thanks to Providence for the incomparably greater blessing, that the people were at last awaking from their delusion, and becoming sensible of the danger and difficulty in which a criminal abuse of the misplaced confidence they reposed in the Minister had involved them. As to the present mea-

sure, added he, I repeat it, it will be impracticable ; it will be fruitless and inoperative ; it *cannot* pass ; I say it *cannot* — I beg pardon, I forget where I am, it *ought* not to pass—and I cannot be persuaded that the Chancellor of the Exchequer seriously intends to persist in it.

Lord HAWKESBURY said, that he should not reply to the multitude of extraneous matter, nor to the declamatory topics gone through by the last speaker ; certainly they were no way connected with the present question. Whether the war was just and necessary, was not now the subject of inquiry ; that question had heretofore been frequently discussed, and the House had this session come to an unanimous decision upon the late negotiation. If there were any who entertained a different opinion, then was the time when they should have come forwards and stated that opinion. But he had unquestionably a right to say, that the House came to an unanimous opinion, until that vote hereafter should be reagitated—He should therefore assume it as a right, that the House voted unanimously upon that question. He would not attempt to follow the honourable gentleman through the devious track pursued by him in his speech, but advert to a few points. He had alluded to an honourable gentleman, whom he characterized as having finished the American war : this was, indeed, new, quite new to the House, for it was a fact evident, public, and notorious, not only that that gentleman did not finish the American war, but also condemned very highly the peace when concluded. But leaving that, he would directly come to the question before the House, and at once go into the consideration of the general principle of the bill ; for the details, as an honourable gentleman had rightly observed, would be properly discussed in the Committee. He was aware that many attempts had been made to abuse the people with respect to the nature and consequences of the measure, and he believed that many friends of Government had deceived themselves with imaginary evils, and apprehended improbable and unfounded consequences would result from the measure. When he considered what the nature was of this bill, when he looked on its description, and saw that, in the whole range of its operation, it affected less than 800,000 persons, an inconsiderable part of the population of the country, and that out of that 800,000, even 400,000 were but lightly affected, as not paying above 11. to the present Assessed Taxes, he would ask the House, if a Loan were raised by the ordinary mode, and provisions made for the payment of the interest by duties on articles of consumption, as Tea, Sugar, Tobacco, &c. whether in that case the burden would not be heavier than it would in the present ? and with

this material difference, that the one is only a temporary weight, and the other would remain a permanent burden. The duties would fall three times higher upon the lower classes than they would by this bill.

With respect to the higher classes, it was a question whether they did not begin too low; but with respect to the great body of the people, it would not press heavier upon them, than it would in the case of providing interest for a Loan, in the ordinary manner. But it had also been said, that the lower orders, though not taxed, would suffer indirectly, through the destruction of commerce. Persons in considering this part of the question, often confounded two things totally distinct in themselves—particular trades and general commerce. It may be very true, that under any particular operation of finance, a particular branch of trade may suffer diminution or decay, and, in such a case, where relief can be afforded, most unquestionably it ought to be afforded. It was impossible to devise any system which might not bear harder upon any one particular branch than another; but if the general commerce remained untouched, he was surprised how any men could reason so negligently, especially where connected with another argument, which they used, that commercial capital was not to be ascertained. The question therefore resolved itself simply into this—Whether, if commercial capital was untouched, general commerce was crippled or diminished, whatever might be the effect upon a particular trade?

There were some other observations which would apply—He knew there had a distinction been taken between productive and unproductive labour; and it was a question, whether the operation of this tax might not benefit the public, by turning unproductive into productive labour? This brought him to a consideration of the principles of all taxation—Taxes must bear upon either necessities or luxuries, or upon articles partaking the nature of both. The orders of men were, the poor consuming the necessities—the rich consuming also the luxuries—and the middle ranks, or poorer gentry, who used the articles of the middle class. It was the policy of taxation to impose no, or but a small, burden upon the poor; and from the articles of luxury alone consumed by the rich, there could not be sufficient collected for the purposes of revenue: it must therefore fall upon the middle classes of life—the poorer gentry must feel it; and the objection therefore did not apply to this bill exclusively, but to every system of taxation.

Other topics had been introduced in the course of the discussion of this measure, particularly the funded system. He was of opinion that the funded system was a great instrument of the wealth and

power of this country. It was a discovery attended with the most beneficial consequences, and producing the happiest effects. Whatever inconveniences had arisen from it would have been totally defeated, had the same wise measure been pursued in the days of our ancestors, which had been introduced by his right honourable friend, that of appropriating a small sinking fund for liquidating the debt in a certain space. But to preserve the benefits of that system, it must be confined within certain bounds; and this he understood to be the plan of his honourable friend. He did not conceive that he intended to abandon that system, but merely to hold it as a resource which he might avail himself of, and which others in future might avail themselves of, to support the honour, the glory, or the interests of the country. He wished to impress the House, that nothing could give a deeper wound to the prosperity of the country, or more effectually destroy private and individual comfort, than any disaster to the funded system. The question therefore was, whether we would submit to temporary inconveniences, to keep up that which had hitherto supported the power and wealth of the country? He was satisfied, upon all the reflection and consideration which he had given it, that the best mode was, by raising a considerable part of the supply for the year within the year itself; that was the best for the public, and must of course be eventually best for the individual. It would not press too heavy upon the great mass; and if there were particular cases in which it did so, it did not follow that there was no remedy. In any case, by the proposed modifications, it could not exceed one tenth. There was another argument thrown out, that it applied against the principles of taxation more than against this measure. It was said, that the tax, when paid upon consumption, was concealed from the consumer; but when it was a large sum, surely he had better know its amount, that he might make the necessary arrangements to provide for it. From these observations he had been induced to think there was nothing objectionable in the principle, and therefore he should support the bill's going into a Committee.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON stated, that he would oppose the second reading of the bill, if the right honourable gentleman would not promise to modify it anew, not on account of the principle, but because he was persuaded that, when the blanks should be filled up, it would operate with great severity and oppression against the lower classes of the people. He avowed that he felt the necessity of supporting the prosecution of the war with a liberal supply, but at the same time he felt it to be his duty, when he saw a measure of dangerous and injurious tendency brought forward, as he

conceived to be the case of the present, to resist it with his negative, and to give his reasons for so doing. He declared that he was free from all partialities in public affairs, and free from any part of that supposed delusion which had been hinted by an honourable gentleman on the opposite side (Mr. Nicholls;) and he hoped that what he had to say would not be distorted or wrested from its true meaning, or a meaning attributed to him different from the sentiments he should deliver. He said that throughout the war he had concurred with Ministers; since he had a seat in the House he had supported them; and before he had attained that honour he had with the utmost zeal endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the people a full sense of the necessity to repress the attempts of the French Revolutionists to infuse their dangerous principles into the bosoms of Englishmen, and to meet every attack or approach of that people, whose intention it was to strike at the very root of the existence of this country. The present bill was intended to make provision for this purpose, and, in his opinion, very properly, by raising a large sum in the course of the year to lighten the weight of the funds and keep them more clear for emergencies. On the other hand, an honourable gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) had insisted that recourse should be had to the funded system, but at the same time very inconsistently spoke as if he desired to let down the reputation of the funds. In political economy, luxury was, in ordinary cases, the true object of taxation, but in extraordinary circumstances it might be necessary to have recourse to extraordinary expedients. If in the Constitution of the State a novel crisis occurred, and that crisis appeared to be dangerous, was it not prudent to meet it with novelty of system? In this way he conceived the principle of the present measure was justified; but at the same time great caution and discretion were required in carrying the principle into practice, and accommodating it to the infinite variety of circumstances it may in its course involve. The peculiar policy of the present time, in his opinion, suggested that the state of the country was in the class called the lower; they were happy in the protection they found, and blessed that Constitution which at once supplied them with and secured to them the comforts they enjoyed; but if those little enjoyments were taken away, and their comforts were contracted and limited, they would cease to bless; and though he was convinced of the general honesty, fidelity, and sincerity of the hearts of Englishmen, he would be unwilling to provoke human nature by too severe a trial. He therefore hoped that if the bill went to a Committee the right honourable gentleman would introduce such modifications as would shew the people the burden of the tax would fall in proportion

to the property of the person taxed ; for if ever there was a war in which it was peculiarly incumbent on property to come forward, it was the present ; indeed he was happy to have good reason to believe that this would be the case, and that universally the men of large property were disposed to come forward liberally. Those were certainly wrong who held that it was not pecuniary income but expenditure that should be taken as the criterion of the tax ; for if a tenth, that is to say, 20l. a year were taken from 200l. it robbed the person of all his comforts ; but if a tenth, *i. e.* 500l. a year, were taken from 5,000l. it would only deprive the person of a superfluity, perhaps, of two horses and two servants. As to the general resources and radical strength of the country, they were in a state that would bid defiance to any thing but the most gross and stupid mismanagement. In point of wealth and metallic specie we were above all nations, and our commercial balance was more than would repay all the expences of the war, for at this very moment we were enriching ourselves by all the nations in the world. He confessed that he was instructed to resist the principle of the bill ; but he for his own part held the principle to be good, and should continue of opinion, that until the ambition of France was considerably abated, we must do every thing to check her, or else fall a sacrifice to her wicked designs.

Mr. SHERIDAN said—Sir, when any stranger, or person who has been a long time absent, first enters a house of any establishment, it is the ordinary custom for the master of the house to do the ceremonies of the place, and welcome him on his arrival with some expression of pleasure or politeness, as a mark of hospitality. In this House, I know, Sir, there can be no master—but if there were any, I am sure it is not the honourable gentleman (Mr. Yorke) who has so taken upon himself, with such officious kindness, to act that part, and hail, with compliments so truly worthy of himself, the arrival of my right honourable friend and myself. I cannot help thanking the honourable gentleman for his politeness, though I cannot but acknowledge my gratitude would be of a warmer kind, if the honourable gentleman had not, under form of predicting, taken upon him to prescribe what ought to be our conduct now that we have come. Whether we were or were not right in absenting ourselves, is a question, which, as was well remarked, in a certain daily paper (*the Morning Chronicle*) cannot very properly come before the House, but is to rest with our consciences and feelings, and to be canvassed only by ourselves, and our constituents. However, Sir, when we did come down last Tuesday, with full expectation to find a full Senate arrayed, anxiously hearing the discus-

sion of this very important and momentous question, with the right honourable gentleman and his faithful friends and colleagues seated in their places, I found, not less to my surprize than disappointment, that only thirty-six Members were then present, and that the House and the business was to be adjourned over to a future day, for want of a sufficient number to constitute a House. The less, therefore, that is said upon gentlemen's absenting themselves, the better; I will therefore drop the sorry subject, and apply myself to superior matter.

My honourable friend (Mr. Nicholls) has been rebuked for introducing the question, whether the war was undertaken from necessity; and the noble Lord who has taken upon himself the task of rebuking him, has said, that if any one differed from the opinion respecting the expediency and necessity of the war, which had been so unanimously declared by the House, or chose to give an opinion in contradiction to the unanimous resolutions of the House, he would have done it better by introducing it in the shape of a new question. Now, without disputing the noble Lord's authority in this particular rule, I must take the liberty of denying the propriety of his application of it; for, according to my notions of the long-established privileges of the House of Commons of England, it is one of their leading rights, whenever they give and grant, to revise every part of the conduct of the Ministers to whom they have entrusted, or are about to entrust, the disposal and expenditure of the public treasure. And, if this privilege exists in us, shall we, Sir, be barred of it by the management of His Majesty's Ministers, coming forward on the first day of the session, and with a trick entrapping the House into an address unanimously declaratory of their approbation of those very Ministers? I fancy not; for, if there be a time when, more than at any other, the good sense and feeling of the people ought to be appealed to, it is when we put our hands into their pockets.

I will not now, Sir, enter into a discussion of the question, whether the war was just, wise, or necessary; or unnecessary, impolitic, and wicked; for I hope to see the day, and that not a very distant one, when it will undergo full consideration—but in the mean time I hope it will not, on the other side, be insisted that peace is unattainable, and that we shall, on our part, be prevented from objecting that the war was unnecessary. An honourable gentleman on the other side has put the question, Whether we will rather carry this measure through the House, and submit to its provisions, or leave it to the French to tear the money from our pockets? If indeed, Sir, this were the truth, and this the only alternative, I do

hope, and I most sincerely believe, there is not a man in this House, or in this country, let the Minister be who he would, that would hesitate to support him in the prosecution of the war with purse, hand, and heart. If there be any who would refuse, in such a cause, to expend the last shilling of his property, and shed the last drop of his blood, he is not to be found among those who, from the beginning, have opposed the war, as equally absurd and unjust. If France looks for friends and abettors here, they must look among the slaves who bow to power, and barter their principles for their private advantage, and not among the real friends of freedom.

But here, Sir, let me be indulged in a few observations respecting the sincerity of His Majesty's Ministers in their attempts at negotiation. For my part, when I look at the heap of papers that have been laid before the House on that subject, I can discover nothing in them but a trial of diplomatic skill—a contest of dexterity, who should best succeed in avoiding the imputation of duplicity, and most speciously impose on the credulity, and frustrate the expectations of Europe. Indeed it is my opinion that both parties were equally indisposed to peace. But admitting that such was the disposition of the French Government—Admitting that the French Directory have behaved insultingly towards our Ambassador—admitting that the whole of the French nation entertain an inveterate hatred and rancorous hostility against us, and that they are all actuated by the same hostile resolution at aiming at our destruction, must I therefore submit to the inference, that because pacific offers have been made and rejected, and because Ministers and their Plenipotentiary representative have been disrespectfully treated by the French Government, Ministers are to stand proudly erect, and imperiously to demand the general concurrence of all those who first had thought proper to condemn and oppose their measures? That I and my friends have frequently urged the propriety and necessity of making pacific propositions to the enemy; that we have also pledged ourselves, should the enemy persevere in an obstinate refusal to listen to reasonable and adequate conditions, that we would support even the present Administration, I am ready to confess; but that support it was our intention to afford them only as long as we thought it possible that such Ministers might yet obtain a peace. That support we were disposed to lend them while our efforts were as yet seconded by powerful allies, and before the French nation had grasped at and attained their present enormous power; that pledge and promise were given while the Bank of England was yet in credit, and while the public faith remained inviolate—But from these propositions of peace, and from these pledges of support

to the present Ministers, we desisted last session, circumstances compelled us to adopt a contrary conduct—instead of pledging ourselves any longer to countenance the measures of Ministers, an honourable friend of mine, a worthy Alderman (Mr. Combe) brought forward a motion for an address to His Majesty, humbly beseeching him to remove his present Ministers; and representing to His Majesty, that under their auspices the attainment of peace was impossible; for that instead of accelerating the return, they, on the contrary, stood directly in the way of peace, or, as the worthy Alderman then very happily expressed it, that the blessings of peace and the blessings of the present Ministry were wholly incompatible; yet after this direct avowal of our total distrust of their conduct, they now come forward and tell us that we must still give them our support; that Parliament is still to countenance and defend the measures of the right honourable gentleman, when in reality the only countenance he looks for is, that we defend his existence in Administration; he who has broke the Bank and ruined the public credit, though it was his proud boast that his existence in power, and that of the prosperity of our finances, were involved in one and the same fate.

Nor am I backward, Sir, also to declare, that it is not to curb the ambition of the enemy, or to frustrate the views of French aggrandizement, that the war is now continued. The war, Sir, is continued for the sole purpose of keeping nine worthless Ministers in their places. When I profess this to be my opinion, I by no means intend any thing personally disrespectful to them—their public conduct is all that I impeach, and the calamities that redound from it to the country. Indeed I feel and know it, that as long as they remain in their present sentiments there is no possibility of their obtaining peace; and those of them who possess a sound and sincere understanding must be as sensible of this their inability as I am. Why then will they persevere in a mercenary preference of their own interests to those of their country, convinced as they must be that the principles they have acted on, and which they still avow, must effectually prevent them from negotiating with success? And how is it possible they should ever treat with success, while they continue solemnly to hold out to the country that the enjoyment of all that is dear to it, and that the existence of the British Constitution are inconsistent with the existence of the French Republic? that with the principles on which that Republic is founded, none of the old established forms and institutions of Europe, in a word, the order of the civilized world, cannot be reconciled? That with a power so principled and disposed, they will accede to no terms, unless they be driven to it by the last extremity? From this unwise

and inadvertent declaration, what will be the conclusion which the French Government must naturally draw? Why, that we attempt a negotiation only because we are reduced to the very last extremity, as we were prepared to make every sacrifice sooner than attempt it. On the effects of such a conclusion, I must beg the House seriously to reflect. But what was the obstacle which impeded the progress, and finally broke off the first negotiation?—The obstacle publicly held out was the possession of Belgium by the French. As long as France continued in possession of that country, it was impossible to think of peace; not, however, that we deemed it necessary for the Emperor, but rather for ourselves. We next gave in a project of our own; and we still continued to contend, that the war originated in aggression on the part of the French. But here I must beg leave to say, that the drift of our own arguments, and the principles upon which we have proceeded, would prove the aggression to be on our side. For, after the repeated avowal of the high-minded principles upon which the right honourable gentleman entered into the war, and upon which his new allies are disposed to continue it, would they now say that they never would have intermeddled in the affairs of France, unless France had directly attacked us? If so, then, what becomes of the proud cause in which we thought ourselves to be engaged—the cause of religion, of humanity, of morality—the defence of civil rights, and of regular governments? The principles of the French Republic are still said to be inimical to this cause; and against such principles we must all concur in continuing the war—then England must appear to be the aggressor, whether we persevere in the contest from the magnanimity of these principles, or from some other less glorious motive.

When, then, may we now expect to treat? If religion, morality, civilized government, &c. &c. invaluable objects, no doubt, are to be no longer contended for? Are we to persist in the war for the possession of the Cape of Good Hope, the island of Ceylon, and Trincomale? and are these the fair prizes to which we aspire, and to which the boasted defence of religion, morality, &c. must be sacrificed? Must we then, for all our indemnities, fall foul on our allies, and the concessions we contend for be torn from the Dutch? If we persist in these demands; and the French continue to reject them, what then will remain to be done? Must we again rear the standard of morality and religion? Is it then we are told that we must fight manfully? Would it not be better that those who would have us fight manfully, should manfully give up their places? And by what means do they endeavour to reconcile us to

this hopeless contest? By craftily setting up our pride against our interest—by asking us, are we not ready to spend our last shilling, and the last drop of our blood, sooner than permit the enemy to dictate to us the choice of our Ministers. But this betrays only mean and little craft, and no soundness of judgement. Have not Ministers themselves endeavoured to dictate to France the mode of Government it should adopt? Have they even contented themselves with prescribing the principles it should act on? Have they not, moreover, insisted on their choice of persons and of forms? That such was their intention, appears from no less an authority than His Majesty's speech, wherein Parliament is told, that when such an order of things is established in France, as may enable their Government to maintain the usual relations of peace and amity, then he would have no objection to treat with them. Is not this dictating to France the form of Government she should embrace? and has not the Directory a right to retort upon us, and say, that until they adopt the form of Government we chuse to prescribe, England will continue in her hostility to France; and there can be no solid and secure peace between the two nations, but at best an hollow truce, a mere suspension of arms? In this opinion his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), if so I may presume to call him, must undoubtedly acquiesce; for, according to him, a peace with France, while France continues to act on her present principles, would be far worse than any thing that may arise from the continuance of the war. In this opinion, at least, I doubt not but he is sincere.

The people, we are told, must now submit to great burdens, and these burdens should fall where property is great. But when they are called on to submit to great burdens, in my opinion they should have great examples to encourage them. They are told, your private interest is nothing; the public interest must be all to you. But with what face can this language be held to them, either by the right honourable gentleman, or his new converts? For is there a man among them who has not betrayed more anxiety to secure his own individual job, at the expence of the country, than to contribute towards relieving the country from the burdens under which it groans? When we hear that in one office, that of the Secretary at War, the clerks have fees and perquisites from the amount of 5,000*l.* to 18,000*l.* some gentlemen may treat such perquisites as mere parings of cheese and ends of candles, but the public must wonder at the immense size of this consecrated cheese, and be dazzled with the light of those flaming tapers, that thus blaze on the altar of Corruption.

As to the measure more immediately before the House, I cannot but mark it with my strongest disapprobation; nor can I wait for its going into a Committee before I express this my opinion of it; for no possible modification it can receive will be able to reconcile me to a measure the principle of which I abhor. It was a measure that argued the grossest and most irrational violation and outrage of the regulation of all taxes—it runs foul on all the principles on which they can be raised; it is a penalty on economy—a bounty on perjury—a libel on the public spirit—a commission of bankruptcy against the whole commercial part of the community. To shew the impracticability of such a measure, I shall not now detain the House with any detail of argument; it stands sufficiently evidenced by the resolutions unanimously voted this day by the city of London, and which shew that it is impossible for a very numerous class of householders ever to pay the tax, should the proposed mode of raising it be unfortunately passed into a law. It was a fact equally evident that they were not able to pay the taxes now imposed upon them. Indeed, when so large a class of the community were unable to contribute to the exigencies of the State, we must be then very near the end of our resources. But we are told it will not affect the poorer descriptions of the people. No assertion can be more unfounded. For must it not touch all those profits arising from the luxuries in which the rich indulge? Must not the retrenchments of the wealthy trench on the means of subsistence of the poor? Yes, you may tell us they are not taxed. The poor are not taxed, I allow you, but they will be starved. For they must be starved who derived their livelihood from the expences of the great.

Numberless were the objections that might be urged to the principle of this bill. It went to impose a tax on the expenditure, and not upon property. But I would agree with the right honourable gentleman, that property should be taxed, could he devise a criterion by which it could be accurately estimated. But surely he will not say that carriages, horses, &c. are a perfect criterion of property. He had already admitted that they were not, and in this I also agree with him. But sure I am that the ultimate operation of the present bill must tend to ferret out all property; but can this end be attained without the disclosure of the means of individuals? If such a system should therefore be enforced, will it not go to erect in every parish a fiscal inquisition to pry into the property of individuals, to ascertain their gains or their profits, and thus lay open and expose the improvement or decay of their circumstances? Would not such a system prove hostile and fatal to all industry, to all trade, and cut

up by the roots every species of property? Look at the bill. What does it tell you? If you are over-rated, then you may appeal—and to whom? To your own neighbours and fellow-parishioners, if any description of men can be found of so base a nature as to undertake an office so degrading. But to what a trying situation must the person so appealing be exposed? If the spies of Government say they doubt his word, he is then to be examined upon oath, and evidence may also be brought on oath to contradict his declaration. To what a situation, I say, is he then reduced! Either he must incur the suspicion of being a perjured man, so strong are the temptations held out to him; or if he makes a fair avowal of his circumstances, and says his income amounts to 200*l.* without taking into account the accidental circumstances that may impair it, should it come to be impaired, and that the next year it amounts but to 150*l.*; either he must appeal, and divulge the decay of his circumstances, or he must hold up a false front to those with whom he deals, and, should he fail, be accused of having held out false pretences, to have upheld his credit by fraud. If he comes forward, and makes this discovery of his situation, he is accessory to his own ruin, and if he shrinks from his discovery he may forfeit his character for integrity. Upon the whole, if you follow up the principle, you must get at all actual property. To this it must ultimately go; but then it would be found a mean and narrow principle, and principally arising from narrow prejudices. If you attempt to call on the highly opulent, whose income may exceed 20,000*l.* per annum, but who spend comparatively little, how are you to ascertain the proportion they should pay? It cannot be done, and if it could, the attempt would be impolitic and unjust. The right honourable gentleman has said that he wished he could get at the hoards of the miser; that misers ought not to be permitted to delight in pressing their bags under their pillows, without coming forward with their due proportion for the protection which the state gives to their treasure. If such treasures had never been actively employed in industrious commerce, it might be proper to derive a resource from them; but who would toil for an income, if they were not permitted to spare or expend it according to their own notions, and in the same spirit with which it was amassed? Such a measure was sacred, and ought not to be touched. The revenue, it was true, depended in a great measure on the liberal, or rather prodigal, expenditure of the opulent; but if there was permitted to be no saving, and all must spend to a proportionate extent, then you enforce a maxim destructive of the vital principle of all industry and prosperity. To the sacred principle of saving, I cannot but profess myself a friend,

though the habits of my own life have been little regulated on it ; and to encroach on this sacred principle, would be utterly to extinguish the spirit which enlivens industry, and from which all private and public wealth can alone be derived. However the right honourable gentleman may be disposed, from the general opposition with which he sees the country receive his proposal, to give a variety of modifications to it, there is no possible modification which can reconcile me to its adoption.

Mr. BURDON complained that the honourable Member who had just spoken, had thrown out ideas of jobs, &c. in such a general way as almost to include every Member who supported the present measure. He, for one, did not know the persons to whom he alluded. He avowed his own independence ; he had been uniform in his parliamentary duty, and should have felt his mind unhappy had he deserted his place when duty called him to attend. He, for one, approved of the principle of this bill, which went to raise a considerable sum of money within the year ; nor had it been proved how money could be raised upon a better plan ; for, as the honourable Alderman (Lushington) had satisfactorily stated, if the whole sum were attempted to be raised by a Loan, it would prove injurious to the country. He asked, how it was possible to raise such a sum without the general body feeling a considerable pressure ? He wished to see various modifications introduced, and other stages of progression ; and suggested that those whose Assessed taxes amounted to 75l. and from thence to 100l. per annum, should pay 4 one-half additional, and those who paid above 100l. per annum, in a still higher proportion, so as to make the tax bear as equally as possible upon the different ranks.

Under the circumstances in which the country was at present, clamour and industrious misrepresentation ought not to induce the House to shrink from discharging its duty. He mentioned innkeepers, as a class of persons among whom misapprehensions were formed. An innkeeper, a widow, on the Bath road, had been told she must pay 600l. whereas, upon a statement of her income, it would probably not exceed 30 or 40l. He hoped, that when the tax was properly modified, the country would cease its alarm, and that then things would return to their usual channel, and tradesmen (coach-makers), &c. to their usual occupations.

Feeling, as he did, that the Ministry of this country were perfectly in earnest in their late negotiations for peace, and that they had acted according to their duty, he thought himself called upon to give them his support ; and he had pleasure in reflecting, that almost the whole country were at the time satisfied as to the steps

which had been taken, although, from the ungovernable ambition of the enemy, the result had not been attended with the desired success.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS said the former absence of the honourable gentlemen opposite to him was neither a subject of praise or dispraise with him; but it was a subject of just complaint, he thought, that they should now come down to the House, and expect to bring up their arrears of debate. It was scarcely fair that they should absent themselves for several months, and then come with a load of observations which they had leisure to make on the public business, mean while transacted in the House, and discharge it at once on the shoulders of His Majesty's Ministers. There was another topic introduced, not immediately connected with the bill, on which he would say a word. It was the invectives uttered against Ministers for their supposed insincerity in their negotiations for peace. He did not complain of this argument. Gentlemen had a right to enter into every objection that could be urged against Ministers. But he complained that this subject should be handled when an important measure of finance was before the House, and that they had absented themselves on a former day, when this was the direct and proper subject of discussion, the express business of the day. He was not offended with the honourable gentleman's invectives. He was conscious of his sincerity, and therefore felt no irritability on the occasion; but he thought the charge was awkwardly urged at present. On the day to which he alluded, and which would have been the proper time for a question relative to the sincerity of Ministers in their profession of wishes for peace, the House was unanimous; for as to the little opposition that at first appeared, some gentlemen ran away, and others confessed themselves overwhelmed with a superior eloquence. His noble friend (Lord Hawkesbury) had argued justly therefore; he had a right to assume the vote of that day as expressing the present sentiments of the House, and to reason upon it accordingly. He had not heard one objection to the principle of the bill from the honourable gentleman. He had, therefore, little to say. But he rose with a design to ask this plain question, what do gentlemen object to in the principle of the bill? If they resist any mode of raising any part of the supplies out of the ordinary mode of funding, that was an objection to the principle of the bill. One gentleman had said it was best to raise the sum upon income, and another upon property. But this was an argument that might be discussed in the Committee. Even if the sum were to be levied on property, that might be done without any great alteration of the

bill, and did not affect its principle, which was, that part of the supplies ought in the present case, to be raised out of the usual course of funding. All the objections he had heard were suitable to the Committee. It was said that men of large estates, and parsimonious habits, would not pay according to their income, but according to their expenditure. This would be true in some few cases. But whatever motives old men (and it would be chiefly such who would so escape) had to hoard money, their young heirs had usually as strong motives to squander it. Taking, therefore, the young with the old, the property of the miser even might be said to pay its share of the contribution. It was said also that the mode provided by the bill was not a correct way of ascertaining the actual incomes of the several classes with accuracy. The Assessed Taxes were taken for a criterion. It was a conjectural criterion; and a better might perhaps be found. But neither this, nor any other objection was radical, that did not resist the raising of part of the supplies out of the ordinary mode of funding. The bill might be faulty in some of its clauses. His right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt), had brought it forward with all the information he could collect on the various topics it included. But he did not expect it to be wholly free from reasonable objections to some of its provisions. But these were open to be modified and rendered equitable in the Committee. It might, and no doubt would undergo great alterations there, following the progress of information which the House would receive on the detail of the bill from various quarters: and he would say, that the persons, who are now most clamorous against the bill, would pay more than they will under it, if the money had been raised in the ordinary way. There were two observations more he had to make. First, it was said his right honourable friend had abandoned the funding system, and yet the greater part of the supplies were to be raised by it. Secondly, it was contended that all the money raised for public services is withdrawn from the general expenditure; but this was an erroneous proposition. Money expended for the cloathing and pay of the army, or for the support of the navy, does not decrease the resources of agriculture or commerce. Trade and commerce have increased during this expensive war. He would not say that the burden of money levied for the public service would not fall more heavily on some particular classes, so as to occasion partial retrenchments; but it was not true that the public revenue is so much money withdrawn from the amount of the general expenditure. The main question was the necessity of raising the money to counteract the enemy. The honourable gentleman had pledged him-

self to oppose an actual invasion. But if the enemy act upon a resolution to bring down the power of this country, to reduce its influence in Europe, and to subvert its system of commerce, the great source of its wealth, he might repel an invasion, and talk of his courage in vain. It would be too late. If there was a country that declared they had now no project to execute but to humble us, to restore the liberty of the seas, (by which they mean the destruction of our navy) and to rear their standard amongst us, expecting to find thousands to join it; if this tone be assumed towards us, he would ask, if it was a time to offer a pledge to fight when this proud and insulting enemy should be actually landed on our coast? The honourable gentleman had talked of the unworthiness of His Majesty's Ministers. Perhaps he did not think them so unworthy as he found it convenient to affect. He could not, however, expect him to agree with him on that point; and he thought it unwise to tell the House that because they would not humour him in his declarations against Ministers, he would abandon the interests of his constituents and of the country. If nine gentlemen, or any other number, could be found, who could make a peace with France on terms calculated to preserve the established Constitution of this country, to maintain its power in Europe, and the causes of its wealth and prosperity, he would be the basest creature that ever disgraced the human shape who did not cordially give place to such persons. But England must contend for its present station among the powers of Europe; she must preserve herself in a condition to balance the power of France, or she will gradually decline till she become its victim.

Mr. SHERIDAN explained. He said, the right honourable gentleman understood one thing by the principle of the bill, and he another.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS replied, he had heard no objections from him that went to the principle of the bill.

Mr. FOX then rose, and spoke in substance as follows. Sir, I do not conceive that the attendance or non-attendance of any particular Member of this House can be a fit subject of observation. I agree in that respect with the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, that the propriety of attending this House or absenting, is a matter that ought to rest with each individual. I have nothing to say upon that subject, farther than that the same motives which induced me to absent myself for some time, are now as prevalent in my mind as ever. My opinion is now what it has long been, that the present Administration of this country have by the unfortunate blindness of this House, by the too easy temper of the people

of this country, so impaired and deranged its finances, so increased its embarrassments, but above all, so disfigured its Constitution, that no services which any individual can render by his attendance, will be sufficient to balance the mischiefs which must arise from giving countenance to an opinion, that the decisions of this House are always the just result of full discussion. In that opinion I am as firm as at any time of my life. It is not by the establishment of this or of that regulation in a particular instance, of this or that modification of a particular measure, that can essentially serve the people of this country. Nothing short of a total reform of your late system, nothing short of your reverting to the true principles of our Constitution, to the popular maxims of our ancestors, can save us from utter ruin. Seeing that by my attendance I was unable to prevail on this House to adopt these principles, I omitted to attend it. But I attend to-night in consequence of what is to me at least an important sentiment—the propriety of yielding to the request of my constituents. This is not a moment to enlarge upon the duties of a Member of this House, but it appears to me that to comply with the general desire of his constituents, especially in such a case as that which is now before you, is one of those duties. I have been told to-night that I have been much imposed upon in the representations of many important public events; that I have formed erroneous conclusions from them; that I in my retirement have had leisure to re-consider my former opinions; and that I, like others, may have had much to learn. Those who think they have arrived to that degree of knowledge beyond which they have nothing to learn, are in a state which, when they affect it, shew they have learnt but little. But I should hold myself much indebted to the right honourable gentleman who made this observation, if he would tell me in what book of antient or modern history—in what school of admired philosophy—in what system of any admired politician, since the creation of this world to the present hour, I am to find that perseverance in a system which has led you to the brink of ruin, is the way to extricate you from your difficulty. That indeed is one of the lessons which I have yet to learn. I had no hopes of gaining for the public any advantage by my attendance; but my constituents desired me to attend, and I determined to comply. I know it is popular, in this House, at least, to hold that a Member of Parliament is not particularly bound to obey his own constituents, whose opinions may be guided by local prejudices and partial interests; that he is to consider himself as the representative of the people at large; and that he is to act as appears to him most favourable to that enlarged view of the interest of his

country. I trust that I should be no more ready than others to obey the wish of a particular class of men who happen to be my constituents, if by so doing I was convinced I obeyed them to the prejudice of the whole community, of which I am a member. But in this particular instance, as indeed most instances in which I have been concerned, I have the comfort to feel that my sentiments and those of my constituents perfectly coincide. The honourable gentleman says, that the moment we are here, each of us is the representative of every man in this country; there are others who may say, as they have said, we may as well call ourselves the representatives of any other country as of this; that indeed we ought to be the virtual representatives of the people, but that our measures have too clearly proved how capable we are of acting upon another principle.

My constituents have desired me to attend this bill; and if I thought my own opinion more important than theirs I should have endeavoured to have reasoned with them upon the futility of that attendance; but their desire controls my conduct. I am bound to state their case in this House. They think, and so do I, that by this bill all the principles of our ancestors are abandoned, and a profligate contempt of property, (the protection of which was one of their favourite objects) is now manifest from the tenor of the bill before you.

The right honourable gentleman who spoke last states two grounds upon which this subject may be considered. He admits, first, that every man who opposes all means of supply, except such as arise from the funding system, may fairly oppose the principle of this bill: certainly he may. Secondly, he states that those who think that taxes should not be laid upon income, but generally upon property, may also vote for the second reading of this bill, with a view of modifying it in such a manner as to answer the object which the principle of the bill is supposed to have in view, namely, a tax upon property, so as to raise a considerable part of the supplies within the year; that is to say, that any man who objects to the increase of Assessed Taxes, may yet vote for the second reading of this bill, as a measure, the foundation of which is to call for the contribution of property for the service of the State. I confess that argument was perfectly new to me. Where am I to look for the principle of this bill? I should think, to the resolutions on which it is founded. They certainly are very long and verbose, but I do not see one line in them that relates to the principle of the measure, which does not state the Assessed Taxes as their basis as well as their criterion. And yet I am told that any man who thinks that these assessments

are the worst of all possible criteria, may vote for this bill, because it is that which has for its object a general taxation upon property. This I consider as the mere shuffling language to which gentlemen are driven to support the infamous system on which they endeavour to load the people of this country. The right honourable gentleman says he knows of no discontent which has been expressed against the principle of this bill, as a tax upon property; that all the objection arises from the Assessed Taxes being taken as a criterion whereby that property is to be guessed at. The objections which have hitherto been made by those best capable of judging, at least most sincere in examining, namely, those who are to be called upon to pay, have been made to the bill which is now before you, and it would be strange indeed if they did not object to a bill which tends to the immediate destruction of their trade, the annihilation of their fortunes, and possibly the loss of the liberty of their persons. I consider their objections as pointed against the fundamental principles of the bill. Another honourable gentleman seems to think that the unpopularity of the measure is no argument against it. He seems rather to think it an argument in its favour; for he says, he believes that the people would not cry out against it unless they thought it a measure effectual for the purpose of raising a large sum of money. That honourable gentleman seems to think the objections of the public unreasonable in this particular. I understand he is connected with commerce himself, and I therefore appeal to him, whether he would not himself claim the privilege of complaining, at least, if a demand were made upon him for money which he felt he could not pay; and which by the theory of our constitution, he was not bound to pay without his own consent? Such is the case of the inhabitants of the city of Westminster, and so have they instructed me to state it.

It is asked, what objection can be stated to the raising part of our supplies within the year? To that I must give, shortly, a conditional answer: If any man could shew me (the possibility of which I doubt) any means of raising a large supply within the year, without a disadvantage which would over-balance it, I should be glad to comply. But here I must pause a while, and consider the progress of the present war. We are now called upon by this measure not to burden our posterity, but to stand the brunt in our own persons. This, under certain circumstances, might be very prudent; generous it certainly would be; but I think it comes with a very ill grace from those who have contributed so much already to the burdens to be transferred to such posterity. It comes from those who have pursued a plan which tends to burden our posterity so

much, that they are afraid of pursuing it any longer ; and now most generously, when they are absolutely under the necessity of stopping, they turn round and call upon us to bear an intolerable burden in order to support their measures. This plan proceeds from absolute necessity, not from any tenderness felt for those who are to come after us ; and I cannot help thinking that its public spirit will not be much respected in the world. If there was any period (and I am now begging the question, merely for the sake of proceeding in the argument), but if there had been any period in which such a measure as this could have been well timed, it was at the commencement of the war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded upon something like it, as far as it can be considered as a plan to diminish future burdens, immediately after the Spanish armament. Why not produce this plan at the commencement of the war ? Why ! because it was necessary to delude this House ! because it was necessary to delude the people of this country ! because it was necessary for the purposes which the Minister had then in view to treat you all like children ! This was the reason why this plan was not at first adopted. If it had, the delusion would have been over, and the people would have seen the abyss to which the Minister was disposed to lead them. No ! that would not suit his purpose. The people would have revolted at a system so developed. So well aware was he of this, that in an early stage of this contest, he advised His Majesty to tell his Parliament it was a great consolation to him, that in the prosecution of this just and necessary war, there need not be imposed upon his people very heavy and oppressive burdens. Why did he not then come forward with the patriotic principle which he now assumes ? Why ! because he thought it necessary to delude you, to gain your assent to enter into the contest, by telling you the burden would be light ; and now that you are involved in all its difficulties, and when he tells you you cannot retire with honour, he comes with this impost, which would have been too abominable at the onset, but which he now means to pass in the desperation of your affairs.

Although no great friend to novel systems of finance, I am ready to say, that any thing which is new ought to be adopted, provided it appears to be wise ; but I am ready to confess also, that I have never heard of a better system for raising money in times of great difficulty than that of the funding system. It is not the business of this day to discuss that subject. It is more immediately the question before us, what is the nature of the present measure, supposing us to disregard the funding system altogether. I conceive this to be intended as a tax on the income of each individual, as well as it

can be ascertained. It must therefore be the wish of the Minister to learn the amount of the income of each individual in the nation; this he proposes to do by examining the present assessment. If it be not a tax on income, I should be glad to know what it is. Indeed the right honourable gentleman who spoke last considers it not as a tax upon income, but a tax upon property; and calls upon all those who approve of that principle to support it, saying, that the opposition to it proceeds from a misapprehension of its nature. Taking it then in the general view, as a tax upon property, according to the expressions of the right honourable gentleman, I am led to examine its nature. I certainly do think that in that view it is a tax of a very dangerous description. A tax upon property must either arise from land, from money in the funds, or from commercial gains. What would be the fair way of viewing either of these three species of property? I consider all those pursuits in life which are very justly denominated professions, under the head of commercial gains. These being the different denominations of property, let us examine the principle of this bill as it applies to each. Would you tax the land proprietor by a direct impost? No, it is not attempted. Would you tax the property of the fund-holder? No, no Minister has yet been either blind or abandoned enough to attempt it. The annuities on the funds have been secured from year to year, and Parliament stands pledged not to touch that property with taxation. So stands the law. But this bill will tax indirectly that which no Minister has yet dared to tax in a direct manner. It has been said that our funding system has contributed to preserve the effects of our revolution, to preserve the interests, and keep up the spirit of this country, to enable us to thwart the ambitious views of the House of Bourbon. See whether this plan does or does not tend to the diminution of the value of that security. I am sure it is understood by my constituents, not only likely to affect such security, but also all their commercial interests. Let us suppose, for instance, that two gentlemen of equal fortune setting out in life, the one of them with his ten thousand pounds, laying it out upon mortgage, and living upon the interest of his money, which would be 500*l.* per annum; you would tax him, according to the principle of this bill, for that income, and no more; suppose the second applies his 10,000*l.* in commerce, and it produces to him 1000*l.* per annum, you will tax him at the rate of 1000*l.* a year. What is the reason of this difference? They are both equal in point of real property. But as you make income the basis of your taxation, you impose upon diligence, upon activity, and upon industry, double the weight which you lay upon him who

chuses to repose indolently and supinely upon the produce of his capital. It is thus you propose to preserve in men that spirit by which this country has been distinguished from other nations. Idleness is favoured, diligence discouraged. A principle so detestable, that I could not have conceived it possible to enter into the mind of any man acquainted with the springs of human action. You call this, in another view, a tax upon luxury. Is a house a luxury? In the case of a multitude of my constituents, it neither is nor can be so considered. You say that where a man contributes largely to the payment of assessed taxes, he gives evidence of wealth. What you consider as evidences of his wealth are nothing more than the implements of the trade by which he exists. There are many, especially among my constituents, whose constant custom it is to let lodgings. They are objects of the present bill. I know you may say, I dare say you will, that they shall be relieved by provisions, which are to be adopted in the Committee. You pretend to something like a provision to those who let furnished houses. Let us suppose that a tradesman who pays a great rent for his house, such as would induce you, by the present plan, to consider him as a man of 1000*l.* a year income; his next door neighbour may be a private gentleman, whose real income is 2000*l.* a year, but who, by choice or accident, inhabits a house of much inferior value; he will, by this tax, have a lighter impost than the tradesman. That is only one of the subjects of complaint against this bill. With respect to those who have ready furnished houses, I understand they will be liable to the full extent of this tax, and that whether they be tradesmen or gentlemen, the one living upon a certain, the other upon an uncertain income, will make no difference; whereas it is most clear and manifest that the one lives upon a fortune, the amount of which he knows, and the other embarks the little capital he is able to collect in order to furnish a house, and to take the chance of subsisting upon the fruits of it. I should like to be made acquainted with the justice and the equity of a bill which confounds the distinction between these cases. I am told, indeed, that with regard to those who take furnished houses from their landlords, the occupiers are made answerable to Government for this assessment, but that, under certain modifications, they are to call on their landlords to defray the expence of it, which if the landlord refuses to pay, they are permitted to recover by means of an action at law. A very pleasant, a very certain, and a very concise remedy, especially as it may frequently happen that the landlord may not be forthcoming to answer this exigency of the State, but who may very legally empower another person to receive his rent. I know that remedies may be inserted in the pre-

sent bill to protect those who let lodgings in Houses furnished by themselves. I dare say they will be much of the same complexion with that relief which is offered to those who take furnished houses, and it will have much the same efficacy. But to try the merits of this bill by another test—If you think horses, or dogs, or male servants, fair tests of opulence, in God's name how can any house-keeper in Westminster or London, or the borough of Southwark, or any other considerable town, be fairly assessed? Is it possible to take any such criterion as the test of wealth in a populous place? It is quite impossible that it should enter into the mind of any man who governs his decisions by reason to think so; and I am quite surprized that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have taken advice so gross as that which leads him to blunder upon the present bill. He says "here are horses, they are to be considered as articles of luxury." They are so, generally speaking, to Members of this House, to which, however, there are some exceptions. They are by no means to be considered as articles of luxury to merchants, or to traders whose businesses are considerable or extensive, for many of them necessarily employ riders in the course of their commercial dealings. There are many others to whom horses are absolutely necessary. Medical men, who are compelled to go from place to place in the course of their profession, have occasion for horses; as well as many others whose cases it is not necessary for me to mention. I say, therefore, that this bill proceeds upon a principle which, in every view of it, is vicious as far as I have hitherto considered it. But this is not all, your called upon to regulate your future exactions, not by the future prudence of men, which would be a fair rule of impost in certain cases; but by the most unjust, the most unreasonable, the most iniquitous rule that can be possibly adopted—that of the past expenditure of men. A man may have lived improvidently or imprudently, but who from experience finds it wise to contract his expences. By this bill you allow him no chance of retrieving his fortune by that prudence which is the effect of his experience. You do not allow a man the benefit which ought to be the result of a long and prudent life. Let us suppose, for instance, that a man who by his industry and frugality in life, or who is possessed of a competent fortune from his parents, residing in the country, should wish to come to London for a season with his family: from the short stay he intends to make, it may not possibly be a great object with him what his expences are. He wishes to shew his wife and daughters the gaiety of the town; he conducts them to places of public amusement, and determines to retire into the country again to enjoy his rural amusement. This he might have done at any time pre-

vious to this bill, without any other expence than such as he expected to attend his excursion to, stay in, and return from, the metropolis. But if he take such an excursion in the year 1797, woe be to him, to his wife, to his children, and to all those who are most dear to him; for he is to pay, not only for the expence of that excursion, but the expences of that excursion are to be estimated according to the assessment which is made upon him in that day of his levity, and is to be called the test by which his ability to serve the state is to be estimated. This is said—I know it is only to be a temporary measure. It would be extravagant to consider it as an impost for life. Upon that a word or two by and by. I say he is settled by this with a large, a heavy, an enormous, an unjust, an inequitable impost. This mode of calling upon men for future exertions in the service of the state, is too iniquitous to bear the test of one moment's reflection.

This principle of injustice reminds me of the illustration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the ancient Government of France. The case is exactly in point. When at Lyons, Yorick resolved to change his mode of travelling, and sail down the Rhone, instead of going post. The postmaster, however, applied to him for six livres six sous, as the price of the next post. “But I do not intend to travel post,” said Yorick. “You may, if you please,” replied the postmaster. “But I do not please,” said Yorick:—“I mean to go by water.” “That is no matter,” said the postmaster:—“you must pay for the next post, whether you have changed your mind or not.” And, said Mr. Fox, here the word *principle* or *spirit* was used, as they are always used, to sanctify injustice; for, says the postmaster—“The spirit of the impost is, that the *grand monarque* shall not suffer by your *fickleness*.”

Charged he was, and obliged to pay. So it is with the present tax; for all the people who have paid assessments in this country, are called upon for great and additional assessments, which they must pay, or which must rather be wrested from them by distraining upon their goods, not upon a computation of their future ability, nor in prospect of their future views, but in consequence of their former expenditure, whether wisely or imprudently occasioned.—By this plan it is in vain that a man's prudence is called in to regulate his circumstances. Let us consider this as applicable to persons in trade, as distinguished from those who possess permanent and specific incomes. A man in trade may say, that the last year was a good one, and therefore he kept his one-horse chaise, but whether he should continue it, must depend upon circumstances;

that he governed his expenditure, prudently, by the fluctuation of his circumstances, and therefore if his trade was worse this year than it was the last, he would set aside his one-horse chaise and many other conveniences.—But by the principle of this bill, you do not allow him to do so, and you add a mockery and insult to an injury, by telling him that you will call upon him to support the exigencies of the state according to his establishment, as appears by a former assessment, and you tell him that he shall pay hereafter triple what he formerly did, and this you intend as a compliment to his growing wealth as a tradesman. But it seems there is to be some relief in this bill to those who are over rated. They are to have abatements in proportion as they prove they are assessed beyond their income. But how is this abatement to take place?—By the disclosure of all the private affairs of a man in trade. A mode of relief which, if it deserves the name, is as intolerable as the grievance. Take any tradesman, a watch-maker for instance, he would tell you that his income, prior to the last impost upon watches, was much superior to what it is now. That must be the case with every other man in trade, especially as he does not know how he may be taxed hereafter. I am the more supported in this part of my argument, when I refer to the future prospects of the minister, for he tells us that a very considerable part of the Ways and Means are yet to come. How therefore is it possible for a tradesman, without knowing what the future subjects of taxation are to be, can guess at his future income? Under such considerations, the idea of calling upon a tradesman to guess at his future income is the most horribly unjust preceeding that ever could be devised by any minister of state.

It is stated by a noble lord, that this tax will necessarily fall heavy upon the middling class, because, generally speaking, they consume articles which partake of the double quality of luxuries of life and necessaries. To which I must answer, that it is a great grievance to any class of men, particularly so to those whose incomes are limited to a certain amount, not to have the benefit which generally arises from a prudent diminution of expences. It is allowing them no advantage from any economy they might be disposed to adopt, and it is exposing them, notwithstanding all disposition to economy, to utter ruin.

It is not what the tradesman will have to pay to the assessment in direct contribution, but what he will have to suffer in diminished trade; for, by the attack on all the classes of gentlemen, you drive them to privations which are ruinous to trade. They may economise; they may drink less wine; they may indulge less in the

comforts that are particularly dear or habitual to them; but this evil, great though it is, is little in comparison of the mischief it will do to trade. It will however, introduce new manners and habits among us; and I will fairly say, that I am not for confounding the ranks of society. This is one of the evils with which this measure is pregnant.---No act of the Directory ever did so much to confound the ranks of mankind as this measure will do. It will, out of the race of gentlemen, create two orders, princes and beggars. All the body of middle gentlemen will be reduced to beggary, for it is in vain to say that it is to be considered as a single or a solitary exertion.---It is announced for two years and a quarter, but who will say that it is to close there? Who will say that we have any near prospect of peace, or that this is likely to give us a peace? A tenth of the income is the nominal amount of the assessment. But in this, the assessment is proportioned in name, not in substance, and there is no equality in its burden on the people. The gentleman of 1000l. a year, for instance, who has to pay 100l. a year, is much more severely taxed than the man of 10,000l. a year, who has to pay 1000l. A very little reflection will prove to gentlemen that the one case is infinitely more severe than the other. But whatever may be the hardships which it may bring on gentlemen, they are nothing, I repeat it, in comparison of its effects on the commercial part of the community. To gentlemen it may operate to retrenchment and to the privation of indulgencies, but to the trader it is ruin. The ostentation of the best race of gentlemen may subside, and the young men may be taught more prudent habits; but this very retrenchment will be fatal to trade, and fatal also to the existing revenue. Commercial people have no refuge. They cannot retrench, for they do not now indulge. By every amount which I have been able to collect; by the report of every person whom I have seen; and by the whole tenor of the meetings of my constituents, I find that men of all descriptions, and whatever be their party feelings, unite in abhorrence of the principle and tendency of this bill. They all object to the principle, because the Assessed Taxes are not merely a just criterion of wealth, but the worst and most fallacious that could be devised---for in every part of this metropolis, so fatal has been the disastrous war in which we are involved, that the Assessed Taxes are now with the greatest difficulty collected. They are either in arrears, or postponed, or the goods of the unhappy persons are regularly distrained; and they all unite in declaring, not merely against the inexpediency, but against the total impracticability of forcing the receipt. This is not the opinion of

one district, or of one party, but it is the general opinion of every part of the people who have had time to examine the provisions of the bill; and really it will be a singular thing, if the House should oppose themselves to the universal voice of the kingdom. Gentlemen seem to forget that we affect at least to call ourselves the representatives of the people. I know that we are no such thing, but we affect to call ourselves so.—Yet in this House, only fifteen gentlemen could be found to vote against a measure upon which, out of that House, there was not merely a majority, but an unanimity of dissent. Ministers, in this instance, cannot plead their usual subterfuge, that it is the mere cry of a party. It is no such thing. Unanimous disapprobation has come from the most extraordinary places. Even the Common Council has been unanimous. There are but two sorts of representation, actual and virtual. You cannot pretend to call yourselves the actual representatives of the people, but you say you are the virtual.—Prove yourselves so, then, by obeying their united voice. I hope and trust that you will come round, and shew yourselves, in some degree, entitled to the name of virtual representatives. I will fairly tell you, that even if you were to do so, I should not consider it as a sufficient proof that you are even the true virtual representatives of the people, unless I see you also sympathize with the people. You must make common cause with them. You must invite them to sacrifices by your own example—You must lead the way. I remember an honourable member, now no more, who had the happy art of mixing argument with pleasantry, in a way that was never excelled. Mr. Burke illustrated this principle by a story very much in point. A French regiment, in speaking of an old colonel whom they had lost, and of a new one that had succeeded him, extolled the first to the skies---“What particular reason have you for your ardent affection for the old colonel, rather than the new?” said a person to them. “We have no other reason, said they, than this—the old colonel always said, *Allons, mes enfans!* The new colonel says, *Allez, mes enfans!*” This was, indeed, a striking contrast; and just in this manner, I aver, we ought to act towards the people. We ought not to say to them, “Go, make sacrifices!”—but, “Let us make sacrifices.” To rouse the energy of the people, let us hear of the sacrifices of the crown. It is from the highest place that the example ought to be given. It will animate and cheer the heart of the kingdom:

“Solamen miseris socios habuisse laborum.”

When men are called on to give up their pleasures, whatever

they may be, whether of horses or gardens, it is but reasonable that they should see the Crown participating in the sacrifice. But when, instead of this, we see only that new patronage is to be obtained out of the levying of 14 millions in this way, we must feel that these are bad symptoms, and that there is no common cause in the exertions we are called upon to make; and we are made to believe that there is something in this war, which makes it unfit for all such examples to be given.

A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) says, that expenditure will not be diminished on account of this tax---it will only change hands---great sums will be wanted, he says, to clothe and to maintain the army. I wish the House to remark the expression---I certainly believe him---great sums will go to the army. But is that any consolation to me? If 200l. is to be taken out of my pocket, what care I to whom it is to be paid? but this very argument is, and ought to be, an object of just and serious alarm to the nation; for while these enormous sums are to be paid into the hands of Government, it becomes almost the sole consumer. Let us examine the fact. One tenth of the expenditure of the whole kingdom is estimated at 7 millions. That makes the total expenditure 70 millions; but, perhaps, as this is not the just test, and that there may be evasion, the total expenditure may be 100,000,000l. On this ground, it appears that the public expenditure has been between 30 and 40,000,000l. a year during this war. If then it be true that the expences of the war are so essential to revenue, what a prospect for us when this source of revenue shall be cut off! the honourable gentleman, in speaking of a pledge, is extremely desirous of overlooking and explaining away his own. He is not willing to remember the emphatical pledge that he gave, never to make peace with the Jacobin Government of France. What can we expect from men who have, through the whole of the war, shrunk from every pledge they have ever given? It is only by their removal that the nation can be saved from its present perilous situation. They are either fools or hypocrites who attempt to separate ministers from their measures, or affect to think that our affairs can be retrieved in their hands. The country must take its fate, if they are so dull of intellect, or so infatuated, as to conceive that they can be rescued from their present situation by the imbecility that brought them into it. We are called upon to make this dreadful sacrifice in order to terrify France! We are to give up 7,000,000l. in one year, in addition to all our other burdens, to shew to France, that we have, what their poet calls *l'embarras des richesses*. Terrify France!

What, by shewing that we are forced to abandon the funded system, which has supported us through so many difficulties, because we dare no longer persist in it? Terrify France---by an exaction which will not be paid---which will convulse the country from one end to the other---or which, if it were possible to harbour the frantic idea of its possibility, would certainly paralyze all our future operations, and lay us helpless at their feet! but is it not too much to call for unanimity in the farther prosecution of this war? They whose incapacity has been proved by a series of the most unvaried disasters, call for unanimity! Can their late acts, their persecutions, their violences in England and Scotland, and still more so in Ireland, delude the people of France into an idea that they have the hearts of the country with them? Take the converse of the proposition. Would not the ministers of the Crown deride a declaration from the Directory, in which, if a La Vendee was still raging in France or Ireland now, they still talked of possessing the unanimous sentiments of the people? The treatment of Ireland was such as to harrow up the soul—it was shocking to the heart, to think that a nation of brothers was thus to be trampled on like the most remote colony of conquered strangers; and it was monstrous to hear the Minister talk of wielding Ireland as a weapon of force—Ireland, which he was now holding under a military hand! The right honourable gentleman takes it amiss that my honourable friend should say, that the whole contest is about nine or ten worthless men, who are our ministers: and yet, can any man question the truth of the assertion who has observed their manners? During the whole course of our misfortunes they have not failed in their sole undivided object—in amassing for themselves and followers, Places, Pensions, Peerages, and Honours. But what is the true and only ground of unanimity? In the support of a Minister, confidence in the rectitude of his system, and in his capacity for carrying it into effect. Can they expect this unanimity? Review their grounds of the war, the Scheldt, Flanders, the Decree of the 19th of November, &c. have they not given up every one of these motives, as well as all that followed them? and their talents were now employed in explaining away the declarations they had made. They could not, however, so easily explain away the quotation that they made from Virgil. It stood on record:

———— potuit quæ plurima virtus
Esse fuit, toto certatum est corpore regni.

They first held out to us the tempting occasion of attacking France, united with all Europe. Year after year their object changed, as well as their temptation—the brink of bankruptcy—

ruined finances—distracted country—reign of terror insupportable—reign of terror at an end, and consequently the vigour it created ----all in their turn were the baits they held out, and all, as they failed, made way for new delusions. Every thing was to be effected by our allies ; and accordingly four millions one year, two millions another, and two millions sent by stealth in the third, were declared to be the cheapest way of carrying on the war. Now we are cut off from this cheap mode of defence. I was alarmed for the consequence, since, being cut off from this cheapest mode, I feared we must be forced to take more extravagant means ; but here I was happily disappointed ; for this relief from the Emperor has been accompanied by lowering our army and navy at home. Where he has failed, therefore, he has gained. Again—he said, that there was no way of supporting the Bank but by sending money to the Emperor : he did send it—and the Bank stopt ! He is now prevented from sending any more money to the Emperor ; and I understand that the paper of the Bank is in better credit than it was ! In the same manner every declaration that he has ever made has failed him ; but none so lamentably as in his finance. He has uniformly in each December stated the expence of the year millions under what it has turned out to be ; and yet he calls for unanimity ! He can expect no unanimity ; and, in truth, there is no remedy for our evils but peace. And this is not all : we must have peace and repose, not merely by the change of Ministers and their condign punishment, but by a thorough change and reform in the system which has brought us to this ruin, by a return to the principles of liberty, not of power. Without this there can be no preservation for this country. I feel it as my most solemn duty to speak out. Unless Ireland is instantly conciliated, and brought back to the enjoyment of its genuine rights and communion in the Constitution ; unless Scotland is also reconciled ; unless all the three kingdoms are restored to the blessings of that peace and perfect freedom of which they have been deprived, there can be no chance for the country to rise out of her present misfortunes ; nor untill you accomplish this can you hope ever for peace ; because until you obtain this you cannot speak to France with the power of union ; nor can you delude the Directory with the boast of strength, while they see you alienating by persecution every part of the empire.

In the argument which I have taken the liberty to trouble you with, I have not wandered from the particular measure of the day, because it is inseparable from the causes that have given rise to it. This is no common tax ; and it is our duty, on a question of such dreadful import, to follow the wise practice of our ancestors—to

consult our constituents. Do not let us delude ourselves by the idea that there is no danger. It is imminent. No human being can calculate the horrors to which this measure may give rise. I deprecate rashness. I know that men are fond of talking of the theoretical blessings of our Constitution—I say, that unless you make the people feel the practical blessings, you do nothing. Talk of the Jacobin principles of the French Directory! No man has made so many Jacobins as the right honourable gentleman; and if this measure is to be persevered in, there is no saying to what we shall be driven. The tax may be put under the management of the military. It cannot be collected—what comes next?—They may distrain; and when they have seized on our beds and chairs, they may take our persons—*Contra opes, primum, et post in corpora sevir*. Is such a measure to be hurried through this House? I am guilty of no exaggeration. I am sure that if time be given, you will have from all the great towns, from Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and elsewhere, remonstrances as strong as those you have seen from the city of London, from my constituents, and from the borough of Southwark. I shudder at the consequences if you persist. They may be dreadful. It is only by a quick return to the genuine principles of our ancestors, that we can be safe. If we do not, I can only say, that “the days of these kingdoms are numbered, and that their ruin is not distant.”—The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) has said, that “if there were men who could give peace to the country, without throwing things into confusion, the present Ministers would be the basest of mankind if they did not yield and make way for them.” If there are any men who feel themselves capable of restoring peace to these kingdoms, without a change system, or restoring the Constitution to its vigour, I can only say they are more sanguine than I am. I can speak without any personal motive on the subject; for I publicly declare, that I never will have a seat, high or low, in any administration, until public opinion shall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all our abuses, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the British Constitution. If there are men bold and sanguine enough to think that they can not only procure peace, but tranquilize the country, without this, let them try it—but I will make no part in any such administration.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that before he entered into a reply to the general arguments of the gentlemen on the other side, he begged to make a few observations on the concluding part of the right honourable gentleman's speech. There was a material difference between the former and the latter part of the right honourable

gentleman's argument ; because in the one he contended against the measure in general, and in the other he only proposed delay. He was perfectly aware that in the present shape of the bill, and without any modification whatever, it was liable to great and important objections. Very large and industrious classes of people might be affected by it ; and consequently considerable modifications must be suggested before it could pass into a law. But when he admitted thus much, he had a right, at the same time, to state, that after the most accurate inquiry in his power, every objection which had been made against this bill did not affect its principle, but might easily be obviated in a Committee, without altering the general principle, or defeating the tendency of the measure. Giving, therefore, all due weight to the objections which had been made, and which might be made against this measure, he was still convinced that it was the duty of that House to inquire fully into it, to see what modifications might be made in it. As to the general effect of the bill, he had no hesitation to declare, in the most explicit manner, that on the determination of the House upon this measure, after the various modifications had been suggested, depended no less than whether a great exertion should be made to save the country, or whether we should give up every thing that constituted the greatness and happiness of this country ? Impressed with this sentiment, and deterred by no difficulty, but at the same time being anxious to adopt every possible modification, he knew his duty too well not to persist, when the safety of the country was at stake. He trusted, that by the conduct the House would adopt upon this occasion, that they would show that they were the real representatives of the people, and consulted their true interests. Was it to be supposed, that because to a great and important measure, like the present, great and important objections were made, that therefore they were to pause, to take no steps on the bill, but to hang up the measure in silence, without attempting to collect the public opinion upon it ? He was peculiarly anxious that some cure, some remedy, should be applied to this bill, which he admitted to be defective in its detail. But what was the conclusion he drew from all this ? Why, that instead of delay, it became them to lose no time in entering upon that great work ; he meant the modification of the present bill, and which could alone be done in a Committee.

Gentlemen might turn to him, and call upon him to state the different modifications which he might think it necessary to propose. The House would recollect, that when he first proposed this measure, he had stated the Assessed Taxes as the best criterion upon which to judge, as the most comprehensive in its nature, and likely

to diffuse the burdens more equally and more generally over the community, than any other measure that could be suggested. The reason why he thought so was, because this criterion of the Assessed Taxes afforded, in his opinion, the easiest mode of arranging the various proportions every one ought to pay, and as containing the most easy means of making any modifications that might be necessary. These observations he could not expect the gentlemen to recollect, because they were made in their absence; an absence, the motives of which he was as little inclined to discuss as they seemed to be. He thought it necessary to make these observations, because, if in the future stages of the bill, he should think it necessary to propose any alteration in this measure, or if he should listen to any which might come from other quarters,—still it was not fair to call upon him then to state what were the precise modifications he meant to propose; because this was of all others a subject upon which much information was to be gained by discussion; and he for one would omit no labour to obviate every objectionable part of the bill, that could be done consistently with its general principle.

This was the line of conduct which, in his opinion, gentlemen ought to adopt, and in doing it, they would, in the most effectual way, shew their regard to their constituents. This he thought would be the best language to a worthy Alderman, who had spoken against this measure. In speaking upon this subject, he could not avoid remarking with pleasure, the material difference between the language in which he opposed the measure, and that language which the honourable gentlemen on the other side had indulged themselves in. They had declared that no possible modification could make the bill unobjectionable, and had expressed themselves hostile to the whole principle of the bill.

He now came to consider some of the other topics which these gentlemen had adverted to. This was a subject upon which there was likely to arise very considerable difference of opinion; because many persons would consider it according to the different political principles which they professed. But he begged gentlemen would consider this question fairly and impartially: its object was to raise a very large part of the supplies of the year, within the year, by a certain tax, which tax was to be founded upon the probable expenditure of persons contributing to the assessed taxes; subject, however, to a variety of modifications, many of which were obvious; and many others, which would naturally suggest themselves to gentlemen when the bill came into a Committee.

This was the general principle of the measure, and he thought it was one which would not justify gentlemen in opposing it *in toto*,

whatever alterations and modifications they might hereafter think proper to suggest. Taking this as the general principle of the measure, the first point they would have to consider was, whether the public service required that such a sum should be raised? The next point for their consideration was, whether, under the present circumstances of the country, it was adviseable to raise a large proportion of the supplies of the year by means of an extraordinary provision? And lastly, whether the mode now suggested, subject, as he had already stated, to a variety of alterations and amendments hereafter to be made, was proper to be adopted?

The honourable gentleman who had spoken first (Mr. Sheridan), had begun and concluded his speech by saying distinctly, that he would not vote for granting of any supplies towards the farther prosecution of the present war. The honourable gentleman had said, in the most unequivocal terms, that he would not consent to grant any money while His Majesty's present Ministers continued in power. In pursuing this argument, both the honourable gentleman, and the right honourable gentleman who spoke after him, had branched their speeches into a variety of topics, which at first view did not appear to have any great connection with the subject then before the House. They had contended, that there was an impossibility of the present Administration making peace; but they had neglected to prove the means by which any other Ministers would be enabled to effect the object which every body wished for, viz. the restoration of peace upon secure and honourable terms. Not having done this, he could not help considering that much of what had fallen from both these honourable gentlemen had little or no relation to the subject then under discussion.

The right honourable gentleman opposite to him seemed entertained with an expression which had fallen from a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Dundas) who had said, that he had not convinced Ministers that their duty to the Public called upon them to resign; "we do not," says the right honourable gentleman, "expect to convince you;" but upon this point he differed much from the right honourable gentleman who preceded him, for he had addressed himself particularly to Ministers, and had requested them not to stand in the way of peace. He should not take farther notice of this difference between the two honourable gentlemen; but would leave them to settle it between themselves. If, when this subject of a change in the Administration of this country was formally discussed, these gentlemen had failed, after a full exertion of all their abilities, to convince a majority of the House of the justice of their arguments; if they had not clearly proved that His

Majesty could not find any nine men in his journey from Windsor to London, less capable than the present Ministers of administering the public affairs—if they had not proved all this when that subject was particularly under the consideration of the House upon a former occasion, we did not think they had strengthened their arguments much by any thing which had fallen from them to-night, or by any event which had occurred from the time they had quitted their duty in Parliament to the present hour. But if he understood the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, there was another preliminary besides the dismissal of His Majesty's Ministers, which he considered necessary for the salvation of the country, and that was no less than what he called a complete radical change in the present system. What that radical change was which the right honourable gentleman so strenuously insisted upon, it was not easy to conjecture; for that part of his speech was couched in terms which appeared to be studiously obscure. One thing, however, might clearly be collected from his speech, which was, that a total reform in Parliament was only a part of that general change which he was so anxious to obtain; a change from which, it appeared, no part of the present existing Government was exempted. It appeared, however, a little singular, that the right honourable gentleman should consider an unlimited change as the best means of preserving every thing as it stood at present.

He thought, however, that it would require much argument to convince the House, that to accede to this general, unlimited, unexplained change, was the best way of delivering the country from its present difficulties.—One of the honourable gentlemen had said, that it was impossible that peace could be obtained by the present Ministers, which, he said, was obvious, because Ministers had declared that their principle was war, eternal war, as long as Republican or Jacobin principles prevailed in France; from this the honourable gentleman inferred, that Ministers were not sincere in making offers of peace, and consequently that France was justified in breaking off the negotiation in the manner she had done.

In the first place, with respect to the fact advanced by the right honourable gentleman, that Ministers had declared that they would not make peace with a Republic in France, he could only say, that no such declaration was ever made by any of His Majesty's Ministers, or had ever occurred to their imagination. The right honourable gentleman had alluded to a particular phrase which had fallen from some of the King's Ministers; he recollected the phrase and the occasion, though he could not recollect the particular time at which it was used. It was upon one of the debates which took

place in consequence of a motion on the other side of the House to make overtures for peace : he remembered, that upon that occasion he contended, that no overtures could then be made for peace, consistent with the honour and security of the country. In the course of the debate, it was asked on the other side, will no extremity of danger compel you to make propositions for peace ? He believed he replied upon that occasion as he had upon others, that every question of danger was in its nature comparative, and that in a contest of the present nature, they would decide upon circumstances as they arose ; but unless he saw better grounds for making overtures for peace, and a greater chance of its being secure and honourable than then existed, he would continue the contest as long as he was supported by the People of England ; that Ministers had done their duty ; and then he used the expression,

Toto certandum est corpore Regni.

But though Virgil could not be misunderstood, yet the right honourable gentleman had shewn that Virgil could be altered. He then pressed the propriety of making overtures for peace upon these grounds. Make the attempt, said he, and if you fail, if the enemy will not consent to peace upon fair and equitable terms, at least you will have attained the object of dividing France and uniting England, and then it was the right honourable gentleman used the phrase,

Toto certandum est corpore Regni.

The right honourable gentleman had seen the experiment tried ; he had seen overtures made for peace, and he had seen the mode in which those overtures had been rejected by the Directory, and he trusted that at least the right honourable gentleman would recollect his *Latin* pledge.

He had seen the proud and insulting rejection of our proposal for peace, and if he wished to inspire the country with vigour, and not to discourage it by drawing desponding pictures of its situation, he would now fairly perform the solemn promise he had given. He was not aware of any possible objection the right honourable gentleman could suggest ; could he expect that the enemy should have treated us with more insulting haughtiness ? could he expect any thing more hostile on the part of the enemy, than that after months of solicitation on our part, they should refuse us all explanation, and all discussion ? No terms offered by them, no answer made by them to our proposal, but the demand, as a *Preliminary*, of every thing which could come into discussion in the course of the negotia-

tion. What farther insults did the right honourable gentleman think this country should receive to induce him to perform his pledge?

The other honourable gentleman had discovered another distinction to justify his conduct. He admitted that there were times in which he had said, that if the French would not consent to peace upon fair terms, that he would consent to support even the present Government. But that was before the discovery which the honourable gentleman now stated he had made in the last session, that the French could not possibly make peace with His Majesty's present Ministers: and the ground upon which he founded that assertion was this, that the French Government knew we were not sincere, and the principles upon which we first began the war shewed that we never could be sincere in any negotiation for peace we might carry on with them. It was rather a singular circumstance, that this argument did not occur to the honourable gentleman when he gave that solemn pledge; because if the principles upon which the war was commenced, clearly shewed that the English Government could never be sincere in their efforts for peace, the honourable gentleman ought not to have given a pledge to support them. He would not now enter into an argument with the right honourable gentleman as to who were the aggressors in the war. But the House, he was sure, would not forget the circumstance of Mr. Chauvelin quitting this country, and the subsequent declaration of war by France, which proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that we were compelled to enter into this war to defend ourselves against the unprovoked aggression of France.

But though Ministers had not entered into the war for the purpose of destroying any set of principles in France, yet it did not follow that having been forced into the war by the unjust aggression of France, we were not to oppose those principles which were so dangerous to every civilized government, and particularly as they had led to that unprovoked aggression against us. But the honourable gentleman had said that Ministers had declared they would not make peace with France—Ministers said no such thing, they said they never could consent to a peace which was to sacrifice at once the security and the honour of England.

The next point insisted upon by the honourable gentleman was, that His Majesty's present Ministers could never apply for peace, without admitting that this country was come to the lowest state of distress. If the honourable gentleman could prove that in the mode in which the British Government applied for peace, they had given up the safety and honour of the country; if that could be

proved, then, indeed, it might be said that we were come to the lowest extremity.

But it now appeared that, in order to give ourselves not a solid, permanent peace, but to enable us to have a chance of making peace, we were to have this total change in our government and in the whole of our system. But what were the principles of those who were so forward in calling for peace from France? their opinion had been gradually increasing from the commencement of the war to the present time; they now had reached the point of saying that the war was perfectly just on the part of France. These gentlemen had now pretty clearly discovered their opinions; they said that the ordinary mode of raising the supplies were gone, but they had not stated what was the mode they themselves would suggest. But they go the length of saying that all extraordinary means of raising were bad—So that, upon the whole, the mode these gentlemen would recommend, as the best and safest to obtain peace, would be to tell the enemy you may ask what terms you please, because we are the aggressors; besides, our finances are so exhausted, that we have not the means of resisting any terms you may think proper to impose upon us. This was the plan by which these gentlemen seemed to think we might obtain a peace upon honourable and secure terms; but he did not think they would find the House concur with them in that opinion. He could not, however, help admitting, that this plan of pacification came with peculiar consistency from gentlemen, who, upon all occasions, had defended the cause of France against their own country, who had uniformly exaggerated the means and resources of France, and as uniformly depreciated those of England,

Whatever opinion these gentlemen might entertain of the origin of the war, or of the sincerity with which Ministers carried on the negotiation for peace, whatever they might think about the want of capacity of His Majesty's Ministers; whatever might be their opinion of the state of the finances, or of the degree of expence entailed upon the country; whatever might then be their opinion upon all, or any of these points, still he could not conceive it possible gravely to contend, that the mode which they had suggested was likely to be in any degree efficacious in restoring the blessings of peace. He thought the House would take much more likely means of succeeding in their object, by giving their support to the present Government, acting upon the present system—a system which had for its object the obtaining of peace by means of vigorous exertions for war, by calling forth the native energy of Englishmen, and not by endeavouring to make them despond.

After, however, painting the state of the country in the blackest colours—after doing every thing likely to make the enemy treat us with insult, the gentlemen on the other side had felt themselves justified in opposing the plan that had been proposed for raising the extraordinary supplies within the year—and now that they thought they had discharged their duty as faithful representatives to the country at large, and to their own constituents in particular, by merely asking Ministers to make a peace, without pointing out the means by which it was likely to be obtained, they say, peace cannot be obtained by the present Ministers, therefore reject all means for the prosecution of the war; this was a line of conduct which, even upon their own principles, he could not account for; for supposing they had succeeded in proving to the House that the King's Ministers ought to be dismissed, and that this great, radical, and unexplained change ought to take place, still supplies would be necessary, because the war must be carried on until these great changes could be effected; and, consequently, in the interim, supplies would be wanting. Therefore, upon their own principles, they ought not to oppose this measure.

The sacrifice which the right honourable gentleman asked as the price of his supporting this measure, was nothing less than a complete change of system, both in England and Ireland; and, until that change was made, the right honourable gentleman seemed to think that France would not make peace. But, admitting the necessity of this total alteration, this radical change, he supposed it would not be the work of a day; and, until it was effected, surely the means of defence ought to be provided. He would not press the right honourable gentleman to disclose the nature of that system which he wished to substitute in the place of the present one, and which he had enveloped in such mysterious silence; but he would ask, if no supplies were granted, how he would defend the country until this amazing change was effected? Did the right honourable gentleman suppose, that because he had talked of the wonderful effects of a new system, of which nothing was explained, except that it would be acceptable to France, that the House was instantly to cease their exertions, and leave the country at the mercy of the enemy, by leaving it without defence? Upon what ground was it that this supposed change which we were to make would conciliate the favour of France? He saw no other means by which that object could be effected, except by taking away many of those distinctions which now existed between the two countries, and which tended to make us at once an object of the hatred and the envy of France. But it was said, we could not call ourselves unanimous while Ireland re-

mained in so distracted a state, and that the enemy would be justified in policy in not treating with us while that country remained in that situation: this surely was a singular kind of argument. He should be glad to know, what the right honourable gentleman would have said, if, when La Vendee was in a state of insurrection, the French had made us fair and equitable offers of peace, and the English Government had replied, "No; you are not unanimous; we will not make peace with you while La Vendee remains in such a situation." It was a most singular mode of justifying the French for not making peace, to say, that Ireland is in a distracted state, and vigorous measures have been found necessary to check the effects of those French principles which have been disseminated, unfortunately with more success, though not with more zeal, in Ireland than in other places, and the object of which was, to substitute French liberty in the place of the British Constitution. He could not conceive how that degree of perfect unanimity, which the right honourable gentleman seemed to think so necessary, could be obtained while these principles were disseminated with such industry; but this was not the time to enter into this discussion; and he had only alluded to this subject, to shew the consistency of the right honourable gentleman's argument, when applied to the case of La Vendee. But after all, did the right honourable gentleman seriously imagine that he had convinced the House that it was unnecessary for them to make great efforts? He had relied much upon the declarations which had been made out of doors respecting this tax; as far as the public opinion accorded with the right honourable gentleman's views, so far he seemed inclined to treat it with respect; but he totally laid out of his considerations those sentiments which accompanied those declarations. Though, in some instances, the people had expressed their disapprobation of this tax, in its present state, without any of the alterations and modifications which it would be necessary to make, yet they never went the length of the right honourable gentleman, and said, that no supplies at all ought to be raised; on the contrary, in the case of the borough of Southwark, they had expressed the strongest sense of the necessity of making great and vigorous exertions for the public defence. Could this be a subject of doubt, after all the papers relative to the rupture of the negotiation had been laid before the House, and above all, since they had seen the late proclamation of the Directory? Indeed he should feel ashamed if it could now become matter of argument. If then it might be assumed, as an indisputable proposition, that great and vigorous exertions were necessary at the present arduous crisis, the next point for consideration was, whether a large part of the

supplies of the year ought to be raised, by the mode now proposed, within the year ; or whether the whole should be raised by the old system of funding ? This was the real question for consideration ; but, instead of discussing it, the gentlemen on the other side had exerted all their abilities to prove that we ought to make no efforts at all. They had never given any answer to the only important question, viz., If great exertions were necessary, how they were to be made ? Instead of this, they had only said, that a proposal to depart from the funding system came with a very bad grace from him, who had funded so much. This could not be considered as a very strong argument ; and he should have thought, that the gentlemen, after so long an absence from their parliamentary duty, would have discovered some more efficacious mode of reasoning, than to say, " Do not adopt a good measure, because you ought to have adopted it sooner." Surely the House had a right to expect, from a grave and experienced Statesman, something more than a declaration, that if any means could be devised to raise a large proportion of the supplies within the year, and if these means were in their nature unobjectionable, he should not oppose them. This could not be considered as a very great instance of condescension. However, the principal objection of the right honourable gentleman seemed to be, that those extraordinary means ought not to be resorted to now, when a great and obvious necessity existed, because we had not employed them when no such necessity did exist.

But gentlemen seemed to consider, that by adopting the present mode of raising a part of the supply, the system of funding was to be given up, and the present substituted in its room. If gentlemen had been present in their places when this measure was first proposed, they would have known that the funding system was not given up ; on the contrary, he had proposed that the larger part of the supplies of the year should be raised by way of Loan. It was thought advisable, as the funds had been so much increased, to ease them, by procuring a large part of the supplies in a different mode ; therefore, so far from giving up the system of funding, the present plan was intended to relieve it. That this object, if it could be attained, would be most desirable, could not be questioned, even by those who disliked the present tax.

Having said thus much, he did not think it necessary to argue this point more at length upon this occasion. The point that called particularly for the consideration of the House was this, assuming that it was necessary to raise a large sum within the year, was the present plan the most expedient, and the most likely to be effectual ? In considering this subject, the two honourable gentlemen on the

other side had argued very differently. The first called it a Tax upon Property—the other, a general Tax upon Income. The latter was nearer the truth, but neither of them were correct. With respect to the honourable gentleman who called this a Tax upon property, it was astonishing that he should be so ill informed of what passed in that House, even though he was absent, as to state as arguments against this plan, the very topics which he (Mr. Pitt) had urged in order to obviate some objections which had been made to it. The honourable gentleman had contended, that a tax upon property, supposing it possible that the amount of the property could be ascertained, would not be a proper measure. In this opinion, however, the honourable gentleman differed from those declarations out of doors against his tax, upon which so much reliance had been placed on the other side of the House. However, the honourable gentleman had pushed this argument to a greater length than he had done. He (Mr. Pitt) had said, that if the amount of every man's property could be ascertained, it would be a most desirable thing to make the people contribute to the public exigence, in proportion to their wealth. But there existed no means of ascertaining the property of individuals, except such as were of a nature that could not be resorted to. Instead, therefore, of a tax upon property, this was what he had stated it to be, a tax upon general expenditure; and in opening it to the House, he had anticipated an objection which he thought would be made, viz. that this tax applied only to such income as was in expenditure. This was an inconvenience which it was impossible to avoid, without having recourse to such a scrutiny of property as must, in every point of view, be highly objectionable. That the present plan was in its nature imperfect he was ready to admit, and had stated it to be so when he first introduced the subject; but he thought it the best and most general criterion that could be found. The question then was, whether this plan was so very imperfect, and so objectionable in principle, that it ought immediately to be rejected; or whether, after proper alteration and modification, it might not be of the greatest public benefit? The right honourable gentleman opposite to him, had not considered this with his usual accuracy; for, because this tax was calculated at seven millions, and that it was not to exceed a tenth part of a person's income, he had calculated the whole income of the country at only seventy millions: but the inaccuracy of this calculation must be obvious to the right honourable gentleman, when he recollected, that though this tax never took more than one-tenth of the income, yet, in many cases, it took only the 120th part, and in some cases took nothing. But at all events, this observation was

inapplicable, because he had never spoken of the general income of the country, but only so much of it as was in expenditure. Without dilating more upon this part of the subject, he should say a few words upon what he considered as the leading objections to this measure.—The right honourable gentleman had made a division of the different kinds of property, which appeared to him to be incorrect, inasmuch as it omitted one great source of income. The right honourable gentleman's division was, income arising from landed estates, from commercial pursuits, and from property in the funds. As to the income derived from professional exertions, the right honourable gentleman had very properly classed it under the head of commercial gains. But he had omitted one great source of income, viz. that which was received as the reward of labour; and of the latter class many were exempted by the criterion now proposed. The right honourable gentleman had contended, that this would operate as a tax upon funded property, which always had been, and must ever be, considered as inviolate. But the measure now proposed by no means tended to affect property in the funds. No description of income, whether arising from landed estates, commercial pursuits, or funded property, was meant to be exempted from the operation, because it was meant to attach upon expenditure in general. Where was the injustice of this? "Why," says the right honourable gentleman, "by taxing the expenditure of a man whose income is derived from the funds, you do in fact tax his property in the funds."—If this was a valid objection, it ought not only to induce the House to reject this measure, but to repeal every tax that ever was laid on; because it was impossible to suggest a tax which would not be paid by people having money in the funds.—Every tax imposed upon consumption, of course must be defrayed by people who had property in the funds, but it was absurd to say that was a tax upon the funds. If this objection was never made to taxes which were in their nature perpetual, it appeared to him singular that it should now for the first time, be made to a tax which was merely temporary.—The next objection of the right honourable gentleman was, that a tax upon commercial income was not just, for, said he, a man's landed property is his own; but the income he derives from commerce, is partly derived from his industry. This was not a time to enter into a minute discussion of these arguments; but surely the right honourable gentleman did not mean to contend that commercial gains were not a fair object of taxation. Those gains were derived under the protection of the laws of the country, and consequently ought to contribute proportionably to support them.—He did not, however, mean to contend that

many distinctions ought not be made, and in the Committee modifications would undoubtedly be proposed—As to persons who employed great capitals, in proportion to their annual gains, they would be less affected than persons of landed property; but all that could be inferred from this was, that it was a recommendation of the criterion. Perhaps this criterion, as far as it affected the lower classes, did not make distinctions enough. It would be recollected, that the particular reason he assigned for making this tax lower upon houses than upon the other articles was, that it should not fall too heavily upon that species of income arising from retail trade. The right honourable gentleman had next censured the mode of appeal given in this case. Some alterations might also be made upon this subject; but still he thought that mode of correcting the operation of the tax might be useful. The right honourable gentleman himself had admitted, that it might with propriety be applied to landed property; and, on the other hand, he (Mr. Pitt) was willing to admit, that as far as it related to the lower class of retail dealers, some modification was necessary. These were the general objections which had been made to the plan, and he should now leave them to the consideration of the House, with the observations he had made upon them.

He was aware that there were many who thought that rather than take this visible criterion of ascertaining property, it would be better to lay a general tax upon property. Undoubtedly, if they could find the means of taxing property equally, without compelling improper disclosure, it would be a most desirable object: but as that could not be done without being open to stronger objections than the present plan, it became necessary that some visible criterion should be found. If that were the case, could any criterion be found more general in its nature than the assessed taxes? The persons immediately affected by this tax amounted to 800,000, and, through them, extended to about 4,000,000 of persons. By this plan a great number of poor persons would be wholly excluded, and above half of the number before mentioned would contribute very little.

The Committee upon this bill might, and he had no doubt would, make many amendments in favour of shopkeepers; but all this would be consistent with the principle of the bill. The Committee might, if they thought proper, make an alteration in the scale proposed, without any dereliction of the principle of the bill. Many mitigations were, undoubtedly, necessary; but if the utmost inference that could be drawn from this was, that the exemptions should be carried farther than was proposed in the Committee of ways and means, how did that affect the general principle of the

measure, when they had the means of obviating in the Committee the only objections that had been made against it? Without going now into those details, which he wished to reserve for a future period, he should only say, that if it was admitted that great exertions ought to be made, and that a large part of the supplies ought to be raised within the year, and if the only objection to this criterion was, that it would bear hard upon the lower orders of retail dealers, and it appeared to be within their power to obviate this objection; then, upon what ground could they hesitate, unless they had changed their opinions—unless, instead of making preparations for war, they were determined to begin by begging for peace from an haughty and insulting enemy? If they were not determined to give up every means of exertion, had they any option but to go into a Committee upon this bill, to remedy the inconveniences that might result from it, if passed in its present shape?—What was the conduct which the gentlemen on the other side wished the House to adopt? It was to reject this measure at once, and thereby to declare that they would not make great efforts to raise the supplies within the year. If the House adopted this advice, it would be proclaiming to France, and to the World, their repentance for having dared to stand up in defence of their laws, their religion, and of every thing that was valuable to them as Englishmen. It would be humbling themselves before a haughty adversary; and, when they had no means of defence, imploring mercy and forgiveness from an enemy from whom we had to expect neither.

Upon these grounds, he hoped the House would read the bill a second time, and let it go into a Committee.

Mr. FOX in explanation denied having said no peace could be had without a reform. The Electors of Westminster objected to the principle of the bill, they objected to any increase of the assessed taxes.

Mr. SHERIDAN denied having said he would not vote the supplies.

Mr. Alderman COMBE said he had received that day instructions from his constituents, in Common Hall, to oppose the bill, notwithstanding any modifications. He would always obey the instructions of his constituents.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that the resolutions voted by the inhabitants of Southwark had been proposed by a worthy Magistrate, his strenuous opponent, and a great admirer of the right honourable gentleman, who had said, what were extraordinary words for a Magistrate, that if the tax should pass into a law, it could not be collected. His expression about a general retainer had been frequently objected

to; but the right honourable gentleman could not deny that he was duly retained by his constituents against him.

Mr. MAINWARING said he had received many resolutions from different parishes in the county of Middlesex against the measure, all of which declared against the principle of the bill, denying that it could be so altered as to be tolerable. The words used in the resolutions were so strong, that he was sorry to be obliged to repeat them in the House. The people declared, "that if the measure was enforced, they would either resist or sink under it."

The House divided—

For the second reading, 175—Against it, 50.

Mr. FOX said, he would not oppose the bill till it came out of the Committee, as his objections were to the whole of the measure.

The bill was committed for Monday.

List of the Minority who voted against the second reading of the Bill for the increase of the Assessed Taxes.

Astley, J. W.	Jekyll, J.
Barclay, Geo.	Kemp, T.
Beauclerk, C. G.	Langston, J.
Bird, W. W.	Lloyd, J. M.
Bouverie, Hon. E. (North-	Mainwaring, W.
ampton)	Nicholls, J.
Brogden, J.	North, Dudley
Burch, J. R.	Peirse, Henry
Burdett, Sir F.	Pochin, W.
Byng, George	Rawdon, Hon. John
Clayton, Sir R.	Rawdon, Hon. George
Coke, D. P.	Richardson, J.
Copley, Sir L.	Robson, T. B.
Courtenay, J.	Russell, Lord Wm.
Denison, W. J.	Sheridan, R. B.
Edwards, Bryan	Sinclair, Sir J.
Fitzpatrick, R. H. R.	Spencer, Lord Robert
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.	Stanley, Lord
Hare, James	St. John, Hon. St. Andrew
Hawkins, Sir C.	Tarleton, General
Howard, Henry	Thompson, Thomas
Huffey, Wm.	Thornton, H.

Tierney, George
Tufton, Hon. Henry
Tufton, Hon. John
Walwyn, James

Western, C. C.
Wigley, E.
Wilson, Richard

TELLERS.

Tierney, George

Combe, Alderman

Friday, December 15.

Mr. TIERNEY observed, that on a former occasion he had entered fully into the subject upon which he grounded his present motion, and therefore he should not have occasion to trouble the House with many observations. He adverted to the last Report of the Committee of Finance, from which he said he drew his facts, and which he should submit to the consideration of the House. The whole of what he had to submit was contained in an address, which was of some length. He then read the address, and moved it, of which the following is a copy :

“ That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to represent to His Majesty, that we observe with great concern the new division of the State Office which His Majesty has been pleased to make, by the creation of the office of a third Secretary of State for the War Department ; a department instituted for the first time in the month of July 1794, and subsequently recognized and confirmed by an order of His Majesty in Council on the 27th of February 1795. By that order it appears, that the said War Department is put upon an establishment, which gives to the Crown the distribution of the following new salaries, namely, one of 6,000l. one of 1,500l. one of 650l. one of 450l. two of 300l. one of 200l. one of 150l., and three of 100l. per annum each, all of them salaries free from every deduction.

“ That we feel ourselves called upon to observe, that the business of the State Office has usually been transacted by two Principal Secretaries of State, and that the office, commonly called the office of Third Secretary of State, or Secretary for the Colonies, was unknown previous to the year 1768. That, in the year 1782, His Majesty was graciously pleased to order that it should be suppressed ; and that, by an act, passed in the 22d year of His Majesty's reign, it was enacted that it should be “ utterly abolished “ and taken away.”

“ With all becoming deference, to submit to His Majesty, that the revival of the office of Third Secretary of State can be regarded, by his faithful Commons, without Jealousy, only when arising from the evident necessity of the case. That the new divi-

sion of the State Office, against which we humbly remonstrate, cannot, from what appears before us, be considered as necessary, while, from the profusion of emoluments with which it is accompanied, and the nature of the arrangements with which it has been carried into effect, it excites in us feelings of deep anxiety for the honour of His Majesty, and the liberty and independence of Parliament.

“ That it appears, that the right honourable Henry Dundas did, while he performed the duties of the office now filled by his Grace the Duke of Portland, known by the name of the Home Department, transact every part of the business which has since been made to constitute the separate employment of a new war establishment: that he so transacted this business not only during a period of peace, but also during a long period of war, namely, from the month of February 1793 to the month of July 1794, and that the only additional expence incurred, during the increased business of the latter period, was 530*l.* per annum, being the salary of four extra clerks. Farther to represent to His Majesty, that the right honourable Henry Dundas did, while Secretary of State for the Home Department, not only discharge the entire duties of that office (including, as at that time they did, those of the present new war establishment) but likewise consider himself as competent to execute the additional business of the treasurer of the navy, of the Chief Commissioner for the Affairs of India, and of the Keeper of the Signet in Scotland.

“ That it would have afforded us some satisfaction to have perceived, that, when a new office was created to execute a part of the business of the Home Department, the Home Department had undergone a reduction of establishment proportioned to the decrease of the duties remaining to be discharged. But we observe with surprize that no such reduction has taken place; on the contrary, we find the establishment to have been increased.

“ Humbly to represent to His Majesty, that, in the year 1782, the net receipt of the State Office (including certain offices annexed to it) was 26,515 per annum. The net receipt, now established, is 41,430*l.* The total number of persons employed in the State Office in 1782, was forty-eight, the number at present is sixty-six, so that the amount of net established emoluments is increased by the sum of 14,915*l.* per annum, and the patronage augmented by an addition of eighteen places. That we cannot avoid also observing, that, by a Minute of the Board of Treasury, dated the 14th of March 1783, it appears to have been His Majesty's gracious intention to allow to each of his principle Secretaries of State, being then

two in number, a net salary of 4,500*l.*, making together a sum of 9,000*l.*; whereas, by the establishment settled in Council in 1795, they have each of them, being three in number, a net salary of 6,000*l.*, making together a sum of 18,000*l.* We humbly conceive, that the business of the State Office being divided amongst three Secretaries instead of, as formerly, between two, would rather have justified a diminution than an increase of that allowance, which, in 1783, His Majesty considered as sufficiently liberal.

“ To represent to His Majesty, that, deeply as we are impressed with the magnitude of this increased influence, there are other circumstances attending the new arrangement of the State Office, which we contemplate with still greater anxiety.

“ By the Order of His Majesty in Council in 1795, the fees and gratuities, heretofore received by the different offices in the State Office, were directed to be applied towards the expence of the establishment, and fixed salaries given in lieu of them. That, much as we approve of the principle of this regulation, we cannot refrain from humbly representing to His Majesty, that, by the application of it in the instance before us, it has been made to serve as a secret and indirect mode of increasing the influence of the Crown, and of adding to the revenues of the Civil List, without the knowledge or consent of Parliament.

“ It appears, that the sum, annually paid from the Civil List to the support of the State office, previous to the present arrangement, was 14,240*l.* That, in the year 1795, in consequence of the new appropriation of the fees, and of the arrangements made on the division of the office, no more than 3,379*l.* was to be provided for out of the Civil List, which therefore gained in that year the sum of 10,861*l.* That, by the increase of fees received in the three first quarters of the year 1796 (the latest period to which the accounts before us are made up) the Civil List was exonerated from any payment beyond the sum of 2,178*l.* and even that sum liable to be diminished by the receipt of fees in the fourth quarter of that year; so that the gain to the Civil List, from the Order in Council in 1795, was in 1796 at least 12,072*l.*, which, added to the preceding 10,861*l.*, makes a sum, gained to the Civil List in two years of the war, of 22,933*l.*, exclusive of what may have been derived from the operation of this arrangement in the year 1794 and 1797, of which we possess no authentic information, but which cannot be estimated at a less sum than was obtained in the two years of which we have an account.

“ That the Civil List has not, however, gained these sums by the single operation of bringing the fees to account, but by certain

arrangements, of a nature which we cannot contemplate without the most lively concern.

“ It is with regret we see any part of His Majesty’s Civil List depending on the generosity of his Ministers, and the patronage of the Crown appearing to be dealt out as a matter of bargain.

“ It appears that, by the arrangement in question, the right honourable Lord Grenville, having, as auditor of the Exchequer, a salary of 4,000*l.* per annum, and as Secretary of State a salary of 6,000*l.* per annum, does not receive of the latter sum more than 3,200*l.* and consequently gives to the Civil List the annual sum of 2,800*l.* That the right honourable Henry Dundas, having, as Treasurer of the Navy, 4,000*l.* as Commissioner for the Affairs of India 2,000*l.* as Keeper of the Signet in Scotland 1,500*l.* and as Secretary of State a salary of 6,000*l.* per annum, does not in fact receive from this last appointment more than 2,000*l.* and consequently gives to the Civil List the annual sum of 4,000*l.*

“ That we humbly entreat His Majesty’s royal attention to these facts, the result of which is, that the influence of the Crown has been largely and unnecessarily increased; that enormous salaries have been assigned to persons who, by a private arrangement, were to surrender a great proportion of them to other uses than those for which they were ostensibly granted; and that a large sum has been secretly furnished to the Civil list without the knowledge or consent of Parliament.

“ That our duty to our country, and our attachment to His Majesty, demand from us, particularly at the present awful crisis, this representation; and that we submit it to His Majesty’s royal wisdom to take such steps, in regard to the matter of it, as may appear to his paternal goodness most likely to contribute to the honour of the Crown, the independence of Parliament, and the security of the Constitution.”

Mr. Tierney then said, that he had done his duty in laying before the House the address they had just heard, and giving them an opportunity of deciding upon it.

General TARLETON seconded the motion.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, the situation in which he was placed was a very unpleasant one, being compelled to speak a great deal of himself. He should leave most of the topics to be discussed by his friends. He then entered into the history of the office of Secretary of State, and said that he had never desired it, nor had he any idea of continuing in it above a few months when he was appointed. He said it was a very laborious office indeed, ever since it became so necessary to be so attentive to the police of the country,

and that duty arose chiefly in consequence of the unfortunate introduction into this country of principles and political sentiments that were incompatible with our Constitution. He took notice of his office of President of the Board of Control, the duty of which was very laborious also. And with regard to the office of Treasurer of the Navy, it had been considered by some as a sinecure. But it had not been so to him. He had attended a great deal to the interests of those whom it was his business to pay—the sailors and those relatives who were to receive their wages; and although the bill he brought into Parliament upon that subject was a short one, yet the attention he gave to the subject was very long and laborious. He spoke handsomely of all the gentlemen in the offices under his direction, for talents and their diligence. He confessed, however, that he could give the House no encouragement to expect any reduction in the public expenditure of his offices, for he knew not of one point in which, consistently with the due discharge of official duty, there could be any retrenchment. He must decline saying any thing of his talents; but he could safely lay his hand upon his heart and declare, that in no one instance was he conscious of having neglected his public duty.

Mr. GARTHSHORE justified his motives for accepting his office under Government, and opposed the address upon the ground that it seemed to have no specific object in view.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the honourable gentleman who brought forward this address, had declined giving the House the trouble to hear a long speech, on account, he said, of the fatigue of last night, in which fatigue he took but a very inconsiderable share; and now he spared himself, rather than the House, for although his speech was short, the address was a very long one. He then entered into a very high panegyric on the talents of his noble relation and right honourable friend, Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas, whose labours in the public service would be adequately estimated only by posterity, after perusal of the the documents which would be left behind them. He then recapitulated the sums of money alluded to in the address, and contended that they were fallaciously stated in the address in various instances, to which he pointed. He concluded with observing that he could not assent to sending to His Majesty an address which contained a misstatement of facts, and in which were drawn erroneous conclusions.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, that through the whole of his parliamentary life he had never witnessed an instance of a motion being brought forward which betrayed a more striking example of prejudice than that made this night by the honourable gentleman. No

distinction was made by him between a prodigal profusion of the public money, and a wise and liberal expenditure of it, where the nature of the office to be executed, and the talents necessary to the due execution of it should be properly attended to and adequately recompensed. It was long a matter of astonishment to him how a situation which required such different talents and such different preparatory studies, could ever have been filled by one and the same man ; it was with satisfaction, therefore, that he viewed the separation of offices that had taken place, and that satisfaction was surely not diminished when he attended to the abilities of the right honourable gentleman who had been appointed to discharge it ; and if the honourable gentleman who moved the address had any acquaintance with the nature of public offices, he would be obliged to confess that there was never more attention, diligence, and assiduity evinced in any office, as in that where the right honourable gentleman presided. Indeed he thought him a model of imitation in this respect ; it was therefore not without some sense of indignation that he listened to the insinuations thrown out against Ministers on this occasion—insinuations which he as an independent man would ever reprobate, and which a spirit of candour and liberality could never have suggested. He would therefore oppose the address.

Mr. ABBOT thought himself bound to defend the Committee of Finance, of which he had the honour to be a Member. To the Reports of that Committee he would adhere, nor could he bring himself to agree with the opinion now delivered in the rival report, brought forward by the honourable gentleman. He then appealed to the history of the last century, to prove the necessity of a third Secretary of State. As to mere sinecure places, he thought they afforded a very proper and practicable field for reform, and the present was a moment which called for every possible retrenchment in that respect ; but he was averse to any retrenchment that could tend to diminish the splendour and dignity of the Crown. The address he looked upon as impolitic and imperfect.

Mr. R. P. CAREW was of opinion that the separation of the two offices was highly necessary in the time of war, and would be also advisable in time of peace.

Mr. SCROPE BERNARD defended the Committee of Finance, and observed, that it had been recommended by the Committee of Inquiry that the surplus of fees should go to the Civil List, to make up for the extraordinary expences to which it was exposed in the time of war.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that the most important part of the address, namely, the facts it contained, remained still uncontroverted ;

the objections offered to them were unsupported by a tittle of what could be called evidence. He contended, that the address was drawn up with the most guarded circumspection; it principally stated the abuse in establishing an increased system of patronage, and reprobated the measure of aggrandizing the Civil List, by giving to it the fees of the offices of Secretary of State, as unconstitutional, and unwarranted in the highest degree. He perceived that the office of third Secretary was intended as a permanent establishment—the allegations referring to that point were uncontradicted, and the House would decide on the justice of his inferences. He could not help observing, that some gentlemen on the Finance Committee felt sore at his statements; and a distinguished Member went so far as to call it a “Rival Report.”—The prayer of the petition to His Majesty, went to induce him to do away the impression, in a considerable instance, of the war being productive of a system of emolument and patronage.—The idea of the appointment of a third Secretary of State, namely, for managing the affairs of Scotland, was by no means an argument in favour of the appointment of a third Secretary of State at present, the circumstances of that kingdom might require it at the time; however in due time it died a natural death—it was no longer found necessary.—The office of American Secretary did not long exist; Parliament decidedly set its face against it, and declared the office to be at least unnecessary; in 1782, by the operation of Mr. Burke’s Bill, it was suppressed. With respect to what an honourable gentleman had stated relative to the omission of the next clause of the bill, to that set forth in the address, the omission had by no means the effect alluded to; the office might certainly be revived by the Crown. But let the language of the Act respecting a revival of the office be seen, and the heavy penalties attached to the holder of the office will clearly appear.—The bill could not be said as speaking in terms of approbation of the revival of the office; as well might it be said that a penal statute recognized the crime of burglary, because it mentioned it, for the purpose of attaching the penalty of hanging to the offender. He then adverted to what he described as the unwarrantable personality, manifested by those who opposed his motion. He assured gentlemen, it was equally painful to him to adopt personality in his defence, as to hear it applied to himself. He was fairly committed with one right honourable gentleman. He asserted the office in question to be unnecessary; that person averred it was necessary. In this point of view, they could proceed no farther. He was as willing to give credit, as to assume it, that they both spoke their genuine sentiments and feelings. But, per-

haps, the right honourable gentleman felt a little bias from the circumstance of his being in possession of the office himself; of that others were to judge. He repeated, however, that the appropriation of the fees to the Civil List, without a vote of that House, or the sanction of Parliament, was highly reprehensible and unconstitutional: and this was one great ground of his present charge. If the Civil List was inadequate to its purposes, or to the dignity of the Crown, it should be made so by fair, open, and constitutional means. The main points of the address were two; first, the allegation that the office was unnecessary; against which there was no evidence offered, but the bare assertion of the right honourable gentleman: his allegation was borne out by the testimony of Mr. Pollock, who decidedly stated his opinion, that the office was unnecessary. With respect to what was said of the unwillingness of the right honourable gentleman to accept the office of Secretary, and that he had executed it gratuitously, it should appear that he soon repented of that concession, for he contrived to get a salary annexed to the office of President of the Board of Control, and speedily after, to get two friends of his, Members of Parliament, accommodated with situations of 1500*l.* a-year each; indeed, that gentleman never was without a train of friends to trumpet forth his praises when occasion required. It was also strongly objected to the address, that it had no specific object—it however had obviously a specific object, which was the abrogation of an unnecessary office, and the consequent retrenchment of large salaries. The existence of the office militated against the spirit of Mr. Burke's bill, and the deprivation of the Secretaries office to a certain amount in fees, of 22,000*l.* per annum, and which sum was known to be much larger since the war, without any account of the particular application of it being laid before Parliament, ought seriously to be inquired into. The address involved a specific object, as far as it was in his mind decorous or proper to do so; it pointed to the grievance, but left the specific remedy in the breast of his Majesty. His view was to make him appear as the father of his people; he wished to see the Sovereign popular; he thought the redress had better come from that quarter; he did not like to suggest any thing that might appear like an interference with the prerogative; the object of the address was clear and defined, no doubts could be entertained about it. The arrangement of the fees, and their application to the Civil List, he thought highly reprehensible. No gentleman, except those immediately concerned in the office, had directly averred his opinion, that it was necessary: he was free to subscribe to certain parts of the official conduct of the right honour-

able Secretary, the accuracy, correctness, and regularity which pervaded his departments; in this view, he had considerable merit, and deserved the encomiums which were bestowed upon him. For his own part, he had no other motives in thus coming forward, but a fervent regard to the public welfare—loyalty to his Sovereign, and a wish, in times like the present, to see the most rigid economy enforced.—With these impressions, he deemed it his duty to persist in moving the House to address His Majesty.

Mr. R. P. CAREW explained.

Mr. MARTIN said, that he had constitutional grounds for supporting the address; he would avow his opinion, and it was, that the office in question tended to give an unconstitutional patronage to the Crown.

The question was then put on the address, which was negatived without a division.

An ACCOUNT of all Additions which have been made to the annual charge of the PUBLIC DEBT, by the interest or annuities of any loan that hath been made, or annuities created, subsequent to the passing of an Act 27 Geo. III. cap. 13; as required by the 72d section of the said Act: and also of the produce of the several duties, granted for defraying the charge incurred in respect of the same, in the year ended the 10th day of October 1797.

An ACCOUNT of all Additions which have been made to the annual charge of the PUBLIC DEBT, by the interest or annuities for or on account of any loan which hath been made, or any annuities which have been created, subsequent to the passing of an Act of the 27th year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled “An Act for
“repealing the several duties of customs and excise, and granting
“other duties in lieu thereof, and for applying the said duties, together with the other duties composing the public revenue; for permitting the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, the produce or manufacture of the European dominions of
“the French King, into this kingdom; and for applying certain
“unclaimed monies remaining in the Exchequer for the payment of
“annuities on lives, to the reduction of the National Debt.”

By virtue of an Act 29 Geo. III. the sum of 187,000l. was raised by annuities, after the rate of 7l. 9s. 9d. per centum per annum, for the term of $18\frac{3}{4}$ years, from the 5th April 1789, and then to cease, which annuities were directed by the said Act to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities granted by two Acts of the 18th and 19th years of the reign of His present Majesty, payable half-yearly at the Bank of England, and charged upon the Conso-

lidated Fund; the amount whereof, with the charges of management for the same, for the year ended the 10th of October 1797, was

£. s. d.

14,159 2 10

By virtue of one other Act of the same session, the sum of 1,002,500*l.* was directed to be raised by annuities on lives, with the benefit of survivorship, distributed into classes, and to be paid at the Exchequer, and charged upon the Consolidated Fund (but by certain persons neglecting to complete their whole payments a deficiency was occasioned, whereby the sum on which the annuities were granted amounted to the sum of 1,002,099*l.*); part of which said annuities, by an Act of the 30th year of His said Majesty's reign, were converted into annuities for a certain term of 69½ years, from the 10th of October 1790, and were directed by the said Act to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities granted by two Acts of Parliament of the first and second years of the reign of His present Majesty, and several subsequent Acts, payable at the Bank of England; viz.

The charge for the annuities on lives, £. s. d.
payable at the Exchequer, for one
year, from the 10th of October 1796
to the 10th of October 1797 — 42,862 1 0

Whereof has been reserved at the

Exchequer for the
use of the public,
and carried to the
Consolidated Fund,
in respect of the
nominees appoint-
ed by the Commis-
sioners of the Trea-
sury, for the quar-
ter ended the 5th
of January 1797 12,220 0 3¼

Reserved also at the
Exchequer, to be
carried to the Con-
solidated Fund, for
the quarter ended
the 5th of July 1797 12,286 14 6¼

24,506 14 10½

Whereby the charge to the public

is reduced to — — 18,355 6 1½

The charge for the annuities and
management, pay-
able at the Bank of
England, for an-
nuities to continue
69¼ years, for one
year, ended the

10th of October 1797	£.	s.	d.
—	24,639	7	2
The charge incurred by George Atwood, Esq. inspector of tontine certificates, to defray the expence attending the execution of the above-mentioned Act of Parliament	—	700	0 0
The charge for the clerks in the Office of the Clerk of the Pells, for their service in executing the said Acts, for one year, ended the 10th of October 1797	—	880	0 0
The charge for necessities furnished by the Usher of the Exchequer to the Officers for managing these annuities	—	302	6 4
	—	26,521	13 6
		44,876	19 7½
		59,036	2 5½

An ACCOUNT of the produce of the duties imposed for the purpose of defraying the increased charge occasioned by the Annuities granted in pursuance of the following Acts; viz, An Act of the 29th year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for raising a certain sum of money by way of annuities;" and of one other Act of the same session of Parliament, intituled, "An Act for raising a certain sum of money by way of annuities, attended with the benefit of survivorship, in classes;" Part of which annuities were, by an Act 30 Geo. III. cap. 45, converted into annuities for an absolute term of years; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
The Produce of the additional duties on horses, granted from the 5th July 1789, for one year, ended the 10th day of October 1797	—	15,170	4 8½
The produce of additional duties on carriages, granted from ditto, for the same time	—	17,423	17 11¼
The produce of the additional duties on news-papers, granted from the 1st of August 1789, for the same time	—	33,974	17 10
The produce of the additional duties on advertisements, ditto	—	11,819	10 0
The produce of the additional duty on cards, ditto	—	5,109	6 0

	£.	s.	d.
The produce of the additional duty on dice, ditto —	184	10	0
The produce of the duties on legacies or shares of personal estates, ditto — — —	5,040	0	0
The produce of the duties on probates of wills, ditto — — —	34,575	10	0
	123,297	16	6½
The amount of the charges for annuities, &c. as on the other side — — —	59,036	2	5½
Surplus of these duties in the year ended the 10th of October 1797 — — —	64,261	14	0½

By virtue of an Act 33 Geo. III. the sum of 4,500,000*l.* was borrowed for the service of the year 1793; the contributors whereof were entitled, for every 72*l.* contributed and paid, to 100*l.* capital stock, after the rate of 3*l.* per centum per annum, amounting to 6,200,000*l.* and to be added to, and make one joint stock with, the 3*l.* per centum annuities, consolidated by Acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 Geo. II. and several subsequent Acts, and to commence from the 5th day of January 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
The charge in respect of the same, for one year's annuity and management, amounts to — — —	190,312	10	0
In pursuance of an Act 32 Geo. III. cap. 55. directing the one hundredth part of any loan or capital stock created after the passing of the said Act, there is set apart at the Exchequer, in respect of the said capital of 6,250,000 <i>l.</i> and issued quarterly to the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt, the annual sum of — — —	62,500	0	0
	252,812	10	0

An ACCOUNT of the produce of the Duties directed by an Act 33 Geo. III. to be applied in aid of the Consolidated Fund, in respect of the charge thereupon by the annuity and management on 6,250,000*l.* payable out of the said fund.

The produce of the additional duties on British spirits, continued by the above-mentioned Act, in the year ended the 10th day of October 1797 — — —	69,323	0	0
The produce of the additional duties on foreign spirits, continued by ditto for the same time — — —	132,278	0	0
	201,601	0	0
Deficiency of this Fund to answer the charge — — —	51,211	10	0
	252,812	10	0

By Virtue of an Act 34 Geo. III. the sum of 11,000,000*l.* was borrowed for the service of the year 1794, upon the following terms; viz.

The contributors to be entitled for every 100*l.* contributed and paid, to 100*l.* capital stock, at 3*l.* per centum per annum, to commence from the 5th of January 1794, to be added to and make one joint stock with the 3*l.* per cent. annuities consolidated by Acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 Geo. II. and several subsequent Acts; which for one year, ended the 5th July 1797, with 4,950*l.* per annum for management, amount to — — — — —

334,950 0 0

And to an additional capital of 25*l.* at 4*l.* per centum per annum, to commence from the 10th of October 1793, making a capital stock of 2,750,000*l.* to be added to and made one joint stock with the capital stock of 4*l.* per cent. annuities, established by two Acts of the 21st and 22d years of the reign of His present Majesty, and several subsequent Acts; which for one year's annuity, together with 1,237*l.* 10*s.* for charges of management, due the 10th of October 1797, amount to — — — — —

111,237 10 0

And also to an annuity of 11*s.* 5*d.* per cent. on the said 11,000,000*l.* to commence from the said 10th of October 1793, to continue for the term of 66½ years, and to be added to the joint stock of annuities, which by two Acts of the 11th and 2d years of the reign of His present Majesty, were granted for 99 and 98 years, from the 5th January 1761, and the 5th of January 1762 respectively, and then to cease; which annuity for one year, together with 706*l.* 8*s.* 1½*d.* for charges of management, due the 10th October 1797, amount to — — — — —

63,498 1 5½

In pursuance of the Act 32 Geo. III. directing the one hundredth part of any loan or capital stock created after the passing the said Act, there is set apart at the Exchequer, in respect of the said 11,000,000*l.* in 3*l.* per cent. annuities, and issued quarterly to the Bank of England, to be by them carried to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the national debt, the annual sum of — — — — —

110,000 0 0

And in respect of the capital of 2,750,000*l.* in 4*l.* per cent. annuities, created by the said Act 34 Geo. III. the further annual sum of — — — — —

27,500 0 0

And also in respect of the future actual value of the annuities granted for 66½ years, at the end of 45 years, the further annual sum of — — — — —

9,680 0 0

656,865 11 5½

By two Acts 34 Geo. III. for granting annuities in lieu of certain navy and victualling bills, to such

proprietors of navy and victual-
ling bills, as were made out on
or before the 31st of March 1793,
who should deliver up their bills
to be cancelled, were to be en-
titled for every 100l. contained
in such bills, to a capital of 101l.
in annuities, at 5l. per cent. per
annum, to be added to, and made
one joint stock with, certain 5l.
per cent. annuities, established by
two Acts of the 24th and 25th
years of the reign of His present
Majesty, and to commence from
the 5th of January 1794, where-
by an addition was made to the
said capital stock of 5l. per cent.
annuities granted by the said Acts
24 and 25 Geo. III. of 1,926,525l.
12s. 5d. The annuity payable
for the same, together with 866l.
18s. 8½d. for management for one
year, amount to —

£. s. d.

97,193 4 3½

In pursuance of the abovementioned
Act of the 32^d Geo. III. direc-
ting the one hundredth part of
any loan or capital stock created
after the passing of the said Act,
there is set apart at the Exchequer,
in respect of the said capital of
1,926,525l. 12s. 5d. and issued
quarterly to the Bank of England,
to be by them carried to the account
of the Commissioners for reducing
the National Debt, the annual sum
of — — —

19,265 5 0

116,458 9 3½

773,324 0 9

The Produce of the following Duties, granted or continued by
fundry Acts of Parliament of the 34th year of the reign of His
present Majesty, for defraying the increased charge on the Con-
solidated Fund by annuities, &c. established by several Acts 34
Geo. III. for one year, ended the 10th of October 1797:

£. s. d.

The net produce of the additional duties on British
spirits, granted from the 21st February 1794 —

69,418 0 0

The net produce of the additional duties on foreign
spirits, granted from ditto — — —

133,992 0 0

	£.	s.	d.
The net produce of the stamp duties on indentures of clerkships to solicitors and attornies, granted from the 5th February 1794 — — —	18,466	0	10
The net produce of the additional duties of excise on bricks and tiles, granted from 28th March 1794 —	50,890	0	0
The net produce of the additional duties of customs on bricks and tiles, granted from ditto —	270	7	9½
The net produce of the additional duties on glaſs, granted from the 17th April 1794 — —	43,787	0	0
The net produce of the duties on ſlate, ſtone, and marble, granted from the 5th July 1794 —	11,937	18	11½
The net produce of the duties of exciſe on diſtilleries, and on licences to diſtillers in Scotland, 28,500l. but the Act directs to be deducted therefrom the annual ſum of — — — £. 36,000 0 0			
The net produce of the duties of exciſe on paper, granted from the 5th April 1794 — — —	150,525	0	0
The net produce of the duties of customs on paper granted from ditto — — —	6,526	1	5½
	157,051	1	5½

Deduct,

The annual ſum directed by an Act 34 Geo. III. cap. 20. to be ſet apart out of duties on paper, to be carried to the Conſolidated Fund — — —	75,000	0	0
	82,051	1	5½
The annual ſum of the duties on ſugar — —	279,204	18	0¾
The annual ſum of the ſtamp duties on certificates iſſued for killing game — — —	63,345	14	9
The annual ſum of the duties on bills and receipts, after deducting 128,600l. per annum, carried to the Conſolidated Fund — — —	51,821	8	0
The annual ſum of 10l. per cent. on Aſſeſſed Taxes — — —	106,034	10	4¾
	911,219	0	2¾
Charge on this fund for the year ended the 10th of October 1797, as per contra — — —	773,324	0	9
Surplus — — — — —	137,894	19	5¼

By virtue of an act 35 Geo. III. the sum of 18,000,000*l.* was borrowed for the service of the year 1795; the contributors whereof were entitled, for every 100*l.* contributed and paid, to 100*l.* stock in annuities, at 3*l.* per cent. to commence from the 5th of January 1795, and to be incorporated into, and made one joint stock with, the 3*l.* per cent. consolidated annuities, which were granted by Acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 Geo. II. and by several subsequent Acts; and also to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in annuities; at 4*l.* per cent. to commence from the 10th of October 1794 and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain 4*l.* per cent. annuities, established by two Acts of Parliament of the 20 and 21st years of His present Majesty's Reign, and several subsequent Acts; and by the said Act also to a farther annuity of 8*s.* 6*d.* per cent per annum, for a certain term of $65\frac{1}{4}$ years, to commence from the 10th of October 1794; and also, by one other Act of the same Session, to an additional annuity of 1*s.* per cent. per annum for the same time, and for the same term, making together 9*s.* 6*d.* per cent. per annum, and to be together incorporated into, and made one joint stock with certain annuities, which were granted for 99 and 98 years, from the 5th January 1761 and the 5th of January 1762 (and then to cease) and were made one joint stock of annuities with certain other annuities by divers acts of His present Majesty's reign: all which several annuities, and the charges attending the same, are charged upon, and made payable out of, the Consolidated Fund; viz.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The annual charge in respect of 18,000,000 <i>l.</i> at 3 <i>l.</i> per cent. per annum, granted by the said act, commencing from the 5th January 1795, including 8,100 <i>l.</i> per annum for management, amount to	548,100	0	0
The annual charge of the said 4 <i>l.</i> per cent. annuities at 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> for each 100 <i>l.</i> contributed, and making a capital of 6,000,000 <i>l.</i> commencing from the 10th October 1794, including 2,700 <i>l.</i> per annum for management, amounts to	242,700	0	0
The annual charge of 9 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per cent. per annum on the said 18,000,000 <i>l.</i> commencing from the said 10th October 1794, to continue $65\frac{1}{4}$ years, including 961 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> for management, amounts to	86,461	17	6
The one hundredth part of the said 18,000,000 <i>l.</i> , to be set apart at the Exchequer, and issued to the Bank of England, to be by them carried to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt, pursuant to the Act 32 Geo. III. will amount to the annual sum of	180,000	0	0
The one hundredth part of the said 6,000,000 <i>l.</i> in 4 <i>l.</i> per cent. annuities, to be set apart at the Exche-			

quer, and issued to the Bank, to be carried to the account of the said Commissioners, will amount to the annual sum of	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
The annual sum to be set apart at the Exchequer, to be issued to the Bank, and to be carried to the account of the said Commissioners, in respect of the value of the annuities granted for $65\frac{1}{4}$ years, at the end of 45 years, amounts to	—	—	—	60,000	0	0
				12,835	0	0

By an act 35 Geo. III. for granting annuities to satisfy navy and victualling bills, to such proprietors of navy and victualling bills as were made out on or before the 30th September 1793, who should deliver up their bills to be cancelled, were entitled, for every 100l. contained in such bills, to a capital of 108l. in annuities, after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, to commence from the 5th of January 1795: and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities, established by the acts 24, 25, and 34 years of His Majesty's reign, whereby an addition was made to the capital of 5l. per cent. annuities, granted by the said	£.	s.	d.
acts, of 1,609,897l. 17s. 1d.: the annual sum payable in respect of the same amounts to	80,494	17	10
And for management of the same, the annual sum of	—	724	9 1
	81,219	6	11

The annual sum to be set apart at the Exchequer, in respect of the one hundredth part of the said capital of 1,609,897l. 17s. 1d. pursuant to the above-mentioned Act of the 32 Geo. III. will amount to	—	16,098	19 6
		97,318	6 5
		1,227,415	3 11

The following Duties granted by sundry Acts of Parliament of the 35th year of the reign of His Majesty, for defraying the increased charge on the Consolidated Fund in respect of the Annuities, &c. established by the Acts 35th Geo. III. from the 5th July 1795, for one year, ended the 10th October 1797.

The produce of the additional duties on wines, from the 23d February 1795	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
The produce of the additional duty on sweets, from ditto	—	—	—	226,490	0	0
				5,943	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
The produce of the additional duties on British spirits, granted from ditto — — —	91,829	0	0
The produce of the additional duties on foreign spirits, granted from ditto — —	133,717	0	0
The produce of the additional duties on tea, granted from the 16th March 1795 — —	211,832	0	0
The produce of the additional duties on coffee and cocoa nuts, granted from ditto — —	24,093	0	0
The produce of the duties on fruit, fallad oil, waste silk, &c. granted from 5th April 1795 —	91,585	8	0½
The produce of the additional duty on the exportation of rock salt and coals, granted from ditto —	19,041	14	4½
The produce of the duties on certificates issued for using hair powder, granted from the 5th May 1795	183,757	13	7
The produce of the additional stamp duties on writs, agreements, indentures, &c. granted from 5th July 1795 — — —	45,170	8	2
The produce of the additional stamp duties on receipts, &c. granted from ditto — —	6,675	6	9
The produce of the stamp duty on sea insurances, granted from ditto — — —	96,609	14	6
Cash brought to this account from the revenue of the Post Office, on 40,000l. per annum, pursuant to an Act 37 Geo. III. chap. 18, for three quarters, ended the 10th October 1797 — — —	30,000	0	0
The produce of the duties of excise on distilleries and on licences to distillers in Scotland —	23,500	0	0
	1,190,244	5	¾
Deficiency of this fund. for the year ended the 10th of October 1797 — — —	37,170	18	¾
	1,227,415	3	11

By virtue of an Act 36 Geo. III. the sum of 18,000,000l. was borrowed for the service of the year 1796, the contributors whereof were entitled, for every 100l. contributed and paid, to 100l. stock, in 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, and to an additional stock of 20l. in like 3l. per cent. Consolidated annuities; the whole to commence from the 5th July 1795, and to be consolidated and made one joint stock with certain annuities consolidated by the acts 25, 28, 29, 32 and 33 Geo. II. and several subsequent Acts of Parliament; and also to a farther additional stock of 25l. for each 100l. so paid in reduced annuities, at 3l. per cent. to be added to, and made one joint stock with, the 3l. per cent. annuities, which were reduced from 4l. per cent. per annum to 3l. per cent per annum, by an act 23 Geo. II. and consolidated and made one joint stock with other annuities by sundry subsequent acts, and to commence from the 10th October 1795; and also to a farther annuity of 6s. 6d. per cent to continue for a certain term of 64½ years, from the said 10th October 1795, and then to cease; and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities granted for 99 and 98 years, and by sundry Acts of Parliament with other annuities consolidated and made one joint stock, and charged upon the Consolidated

Fund: and by one other Act 36th Geo. III. the sum of 7,500,000l. was also borrowed for the service of the said year 1796, the contributors whereof were entitled, for every 100l. contributed and paid, to 100l. stock in the said 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, and to an additional stock of 20l. in the said 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, to commence from the 5th January 1796, and to be consolidated and made one joint stock with certain annuities consolidated by the said Acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 Geo. II. and several subsequent acts; and also to a farther additional capital of 25l. per cent. for each 100l. so paid, in reduced annuities, at 3l. per cent. to be added to, and made one joint stock with, the said 3l. per cent. annuities, which were reduced from 4l. to 3l. per cent. by an Act 23 Geo. II. and consolidated and made one joint stock with other annuities by sundry subsequent acts, and to commence from the 5th April 1796; and also to a farther additional annuity of 5s. 6d. per cent. to continue for a certain term of $63\frac{3}{4}$ years, to commence from the said 5th April 1796, and then to cease.

The annual charge in respect of 18,000,000l. together with the additional capital of 20l. per cent. making together 21,000,000l. (but reduced by certain persons neglecting to complete their whole payments for 4,200l. to the sum of 21,595,800l.) in consolidated 3l. per cent. annuities, from the 5th July 1795, together with 9,718l. 2s. 2d. for management

£. s. d.

657,592 2 2

The annual charge of the additional 25l. per cent. in 3l. per cent. reduced annuities, amounting to 4,500,000l. from the 10th October 1795, with 2,025l. for management of the same

137,025 0 0

The annual charge of the additional 6s. 6d. per cent. on 18,000,000l. for $64\frac{1}{4}$ years, from the said 10th October 1795, together with 658l. 2s. 6d. for management

59,158 2 6

The one hundredth part of 21,595,800l. in consolidated 3l. per cent. annuities, to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the said Act 32 Geo. III. for one year

215,958 0 0

The one hundredth part of 4,500,000l. in reduced 3l. per cent. annuities, to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the said Act 32 Geo. III. for the same time

45,000 0 0

The annual sum to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the said Act 32 Geo. III. in respect of the value of the annuities granted for $64\frac{1}{4}$ years, at the end of 45 years,

8,460 0 0

The annual charge in respect of 7,500,000l. together with the additional capital of 20l. per cent. making together 9,000,000l. (but reduced, by certain persons neglecting to complete their whole payments for 65,800l. to the sum of

1,123,193 4 8

8,934,200l.) in consolidated 3l. per cent. annuities, from the 5th January 1796, together with 4,020l. 7s. 9½d. for management — —	£. s. d.
	272,046 7 9½
The annual charge of the additional 25l. per cent. in 3l. per cent. reduced annuities, amounting to 1,875,000l. (but reduced by certain persons neglecting to complete their whole payments for 15,375l. to the sum of 1,859,625l.) from the 5th April 1796, with 836l. 16s. 7½d. for management —	56,625 11 7½
The annual charge of the additional 5s. 6d. per cent. on 7,500,000l. for 63¾ years, from the said 5th April 1796 (after deducting the annuity of 42l. 12s. 6d. forfeited by certain persons not completing their whole payments) with 231l. 11s. for management	20,813 18 6
The one hundredth part of 8,934,200l. in consolidated 3l. per cent. annuities, to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the Act 32 Geo. III. for one year, from the 5th July 1796 — —	89,342 0 0
The one hundredth part of 1,859,625l. in reduced 3l. per cent. annuities, to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the said act 32 Geo. III. for one year, from the 5th July 1796 — —	18,596 5 0
The annual sum to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the Act 32 Geo. III. in respect of the value of the annuities granted for 63¾ years, from the 5th April 1796, at the end of 45 years — —	2,925 0 0
	460,349 2 11 1,123,193 4 8

The produce of the following Duties, granted by fundry Acts of Parliament of the 36th year of the reign of His present Majesty, for defraying the increased charge on the Consolidated Fund, in respect of the Annuities, &c. established by the Acts 36 Geo. III. from the 10th October 1796 to the 10 October 1797:

	£.	s.	d.
The produce of the additional duties on tobacco and snuff, granted from the 17th December 1795	161,585	0	0
The produce of the additional 10 per cent. on Assessed Taxes, from the 10th October 1795	101,450	0	7
The produce of the new duty on horses, from the 5th April 1796	66,840	0	0
The produce of the additional tax on ditto from ditto	65,795	0	0
The produce of the tax on horse dealers, from the 24th December 1795	1,167	11	9
The produce of the tax on legacies, from the 26th April 1796	37,236	18	10
The produce of the duties of customs on wines, from the 17th April 1796	263,140	12	7½
The produce of the duties of excise on wines, from ditto, on account of the stock in hand	201,102	0	0
The produce of the additional duty on sweets, from ditto	6,115	0	0
The produce of the tax on hats, from the 5th August 1796 (after reserving 9,479l. 11s. for the Consolidated Fund)	50,386	5	9
The produce of the tax on dogs, from the 5th July 1796	44,715	0	0
Reduction of the drawbacks on sugar (after reserving 280,029l. 18s. 8½d. in each quarter) from the 24th December 1796	116,676	5	8
Reduction on the allowance for waste on salt, from the 5th of January 1796	32,000	0	0

By an Act 36 Geo. III. chap. 122, for granting annuities to satisfy certain navy, victualling, and transport bills, such proprietors of the said bills as were made out on or before the 31st of May 1795, who should deliver up their bills to be cancelled on or before the 1st of July 1796, were entitled, for every 100l. contained in the said bills, to the sum of 105l. capital stock, attended with annuities, after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, to commence from the 5th January 1796; and such proprietors of bills made out after the 31st of May 1795, and on or before the 30th

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of September 1795, who should deliver up their said bills to be cancelled before the said 1st of July 1796, who should be entitled, for every 100l. contained in the said bills, to 104l. capital stock, attended with like annuities, after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, to commence from the said 5th of January 1796, and to be added to, and made one joint stock with, certain annuities, at 5l. per cent. per annum, established by the Acts 23, 24, 34, and 35 Geo. III. and charged upon the Consolidated Fund; in consequence of which act there has been delivered up, in navy, victualling, and transport bills, for which annuities to the amount of 4,414,074l. 4s. 6d. have been established and become payable at the Bank of England: which annuities, with 1,980l. 6s. 8d. amount, per annum, to —

£. s. d.

£. s. d.

222,690 0 10½

The one hundredth part of 4,414,074l. 4s. 6d. in annuities at 5l. per cent. to be set apart at the Exchequer, quarterly, pursuant to the Act 32 Geo. III. to be paid to the Bank of England, to be by them carried to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt, is per annum — — —

44,140 14 10

727,179 18 7½

Deficiency of this fund for the year ended the 10th of October 1797 — — — — —

702,053 8 1½

1,850,373 3 3½

In pursuance of an Act 37 Geo. III. chap. 10. 18,000,000l. were subscribed for the service of the year 1797; the contributors whereof were entitled, for every 100l. contributed and paid, to the principal sum of 112l. 10s. in a capital stock of annuities carrying 5l. per cent. per annum, to commence from the 10th of October 1796: and by one other Act 37 Geo. III. the sum of 14,500,000l. was directed to be raised by way of annuities for the service of the said year 1797; the contributors whereof to be entitled, for every 100l. contributed and paid, to 100l. with an additional capital of 25l. in the 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, and to commence from the 5th of January 1797: to an additional capital of 50l. in the 3l. per cent. reduced annuities, to commence from the 5th of April 1797; also to an additional capital of 20l. per cent. in the capital stock of 4l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th April 1797; and to a farther annuity of 6s. 6d. (subject to such deduction as is mentioned in the said act) to continue for a certain term of 62 years and 9 months, from the 5th of April 1797, and then to cease: the said several annuities to be payable at the Bank of England, and charged upon the Consolidated Fund.

By one other Act of the same Session of Parliament, for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of 1,620,000l. to the Emperor of Germany, and the regular redemption of the capital to be created thereby, the contributors for raising the same were entitled to an annuity at 3l. per cent. after the rate of 226l. 10s. capital stock for every 100l. contributed and paid; which annuity, upon the failure of depositing in the hands of the Bank of England sufficient monies to pay the said annuities, and of a sum equal to 1l. per cent. per annum on the capital of the said loan, is charged upon, and was made payable out of, the Consolidated Fund.

N. B. The whole sum of 3,500,000l. in addition to 14,500,000l. not having been raised, a deduction was therefore made on the annuity for 62 years and 9 months of 6 pence per cent.

The annual charge on 20,124,843l. 15s. (the amount of 112l. 10s. at 5l. per cent. on 17,888,750l. the subscriptions paid in full on the first above-mentioned act) with 9,056l. 3s. 7d. for management	£.	s.	d.
	1,015,298	7	4
The annual charge at 3l. per cent. on 18,125,000l. (the amount of 14,500,000l. at 125l. per cent.) with 8,156l. 5s. for management	—	551,906	5 0
The annual charge at 3l. per cent. on 7,250,000l.			

the amount of ditto at 50l. per cent with 3,262l. 10s. for ditto	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
The annual charge at 4l. per cent. on 2,900,000l. the amount of ditto at 20l. per cent. with 1,305l. for ditto	—	—	—	220,762	10	0
The annual charge of 6s. per cent. for 62 years and 9 months on 14,500,000l. with 489l. 7s. 6d. for ditto	—	—	—	117,305	0	0
The one hundredth part of 20,124,843l. 15s. in 5l. per cent. annuities, to be quarterly set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to an Act 32 Geo. III. to be paid to the Bank, to be by them carried to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt	—	—	—	45,989	7	6
The one hundredth part of 18,125,000l. in consolidated three per cent. annuities; ditto	—	—	—	201,248	8	9
The one hundredth part of 7,250,000l. in reduced 3l. per cent. annuities; ditto	—	—	—	181,250	0	0
The one hundredth part of 2,900,000l. in 4l. per cent. annuities; ditto	—	—	—	72,500	0	0
The annual sum to be set apart at the Exchequer, pursuant to the said Act 32 Geo. III. in respect of the annuities granted for 62½ years, from the 5th April 1797, at the end of 45 years to be paid to the Bank of England, to be by them carried to the account of the said Commissioners for reducing the national Debt.	—	—	—	29,000	0	0
				5,920	0	0
By an Act 37 Geo. III. chap. 9. for granting annuities to satisfy certain navy, victualling, transport, and Exchequer bills, such proprietors of the said navy, victualling, and transport bills as were made out on or before the 31 of December 1795, who should on or before the 11th of November 1796, deliver up their bills to be cancelled, were entitled for every 100l. contained in the certificates to be made out for the amount of the principal and interest of the said bills (and so in proportion for a greater or less sum) to 178l. 11s. 5d. in 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, to commence from the 5th of July 1796; or to 138l. 17s. 9¼d. in the 4l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 10th of October 1796; or to 119l. 0s. 11¼d. in the 5l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th July 1796, at the option of such proprietor: and the proprietors of such bills as were dated after the 31st of December 1795, and on or before the 30th of April 1796, who should deliver up their bills to be cancelled on or before the said 11th of November 1796, should be entitled for every 100l. to 176l. 19s. 9¼d. in the said 3l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th of July 1796; or to 137l. 18s. 7¼d. in the said 4l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 10th of October 1796; or to 118l. 6s. 10¼d. in the			2,439,179	18	7	

faid 3l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th of July 1796, at the option of the said proprietors: and the proprietors of the like bills, made out after the 30th of April 1796, and on or before the 30th of July 1796, who should deliver up their bills to be cancelled on or before the said 11th of November 1796, should be entitled to 175l. 8s. 9d. in the said 3l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th of July 1796; or to 136l. 19s. 8½d. in the said 4l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 10th of October 1796; or to 117l. 12s. 11¼d. in the said 5l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the said 5th of July 1796; and the proprietors of such bills as were made out after the 31st of July 1796, and on or before the 27 of October 1796, who should carry their bills to be cancelled on or before the said 11th of November 1796, should be entitled to 173l. 18s. 3d. in the said 3l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th of July 1796; or to 136l. 1s. 1d. in the 4l. per cent annuities, to commence from the 10th of October 1796; or to 116l. 19s. 2d. in the said 5l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the said 5th of July 1796.

And by the said Act, the proprietors of any Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an Act 36 Geo. III. chap. 31. who should on or before the said 11th of November 1796, carry such Exchequer Bills to the Paymasters of Exchequer Bills to be cancelled, should be entitled for every 100l. (and so in proportion for every greater or less sum contained in the certificates to be made out for the same) to 176l. 19s. 9¾d. in the said 3l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th of July 1796; or to 137l. 18s. 7¼d. in the said 4l. per cent annuities, to commence from the 10th of October 1796; or to 118l. 6s. 10¼d. in the said 5l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the said 5th of July 1796 (at the option of the said proprietors.) The said several annuities to be paid and payable out of the Consolidated Fund

N. B. By a subsequent Act, a farther time was allowed to the proprietors of the said bills to deliver them up.

The annual charge at 3l. per cent. on 16,441,175l. 4s. 9d. granted in lieu of navy, victualling, and transport bills delivered up to be cancelled, pursuant to the Acts 37 Geo. III. with 7,398l. 10s. 7d. for management — —

£. s. d.
500,633 15 8

The annual charge at 4l. per cent. on 764,861l. 5s. 10d. granted in lieu of ditto, with 344l. 3s. 7d. for ditto — —

30,938 12 7

The annual charge at 5l. per cent. on 2,030,596l. 7s. 2d. granted in lieu of ditto, with 913l. 15s. 4d. for ditto —	£. s. d. 102,443 11 8
The annual charge at 3l. per cent. on 1,999,699l. 4s. 4d. granted in lieu of Exchequer Bills delivered up to be can- celled, pursuant to the said acts, with 899l. 17s. 3½d. for ditto	60,890 16 9½
The annual charge at 4l. per cent. on 104,432l. 5s. 8d. granted in lieu of ditto, with 46l. 19s. 10½s. for ditto —	4,224 5 8½
The annual charge at 5l. per cent. on 270,202l. 4s. 8d. granted in lieu of ditto, with 121l. 11s. 9¾d. for ditto —	13,631 12 0½
The one hundredth part of 16,441,175l. 4s. 9d. in 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, granted in lieu of navy, victual- ling, and transport bills deli- vered up to be cancelled, pur- suant to the Acts 37 Geo. III. to be set apart at the Exchequer pursuant to an Act 32 Geo. III.	164,411 15 0
The one hundredth part of 764,861l. 5s. 10d. in 4l. per cent. annuities, granted in lieu of ditto bills, pursuant to the said Acts 37 Geo. III. ditto	7,648 12 3
The one hundredth part of 2,030,596l. 7s. 2d. in 5l. per cent. annuities, granted in lieu of ditto bills, pursuant to the said Act 37 Geo. III. ditto —	20,305 19 3
The one hundredth part of 1,999,699l. 4s. 4d. in 3l. per cent. Consolidated Annuities, granted in lieu of Exchequer Bills delivered up to be can- celled, pursuant to the said Acts 37 Geo. III. to be set apart at the Exchequer in pur- suance of the Act 32 Geo. III.	19,996 19 10
The one hundredth part of 104,432l. 5s. 8d. in 4l. per cent. annuities, granted in lieu of ditto, ditto —	— — — 1,044 6 5

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The one hundredth part of 270,202l. 4s. 8d. in 5l. per cent annuities, granted in lieu of ditto, ditto	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
—	2,702 0 5	928,872 7 7½
		3,368,052 6 2½

The produce of the following Duties, granted by sundry Acts of Parliament of the 37th year of the reign of His present Majesty, for defraying the increased charge on the Consolidated Fund, in respect of the annuities, &c. established by the Acts 37 Geo. III. from the commencement of the said duties to the 10th of October 1797; viz.

The produce of the duties of customs on sugar and bricks, granted from 28th December 1796	£. s. d.
—	182,817 10 6½
The produce of the duty of excise on bricks made in Great Britain, from ditto	7,973 0 0
The produce of the duty on cocoa nts, from ditto	2,839 0 0
The produce of the additional duty on tea, from ditto	159,258 0 0
The produce of the additional duty on British spirits, from ditto	92,778 0 0
The produce of the additional duty on foreign spirits, from ditto	69,654 0 0
The produce of the additional tax on stage coaches, granted from the 5th of January 1797	27,994 2 8
The additional tax on auctions, granted from the 28th December 1796	21,805 0 0
The produce of the tax on deeds, granted from the 5th of January and 5th of July 1797 (after deducting 117,453l. 15s. for three quarters, pursuant to the Act 37 Geo. III. chap. 19)	26,842 0 6
The produce of the additional duty on insurance from fire, &c. granted from the 5th of July 1797	1,009 16 0
The produce of the additional duty on deeds, granted from the 1st of August 1797	8,359 0 0
The produce of the additional duty on newspapers, granted from the 5th July 1797	23,250 16 10
The produce of the additional tax of 5l. per cent. on customs, from 28th December 1796	
The produce of the additional tax of 3 pence per pound on pepper	35,901 4 0½
The produce of the additional tax on inhabited houses from the 5th of July 1797.	
The produce of the additional tax on male servants ditto	
The produce of the additional tax on horses, charged by the Act 36 Geo. III. with a duty of 2s. ditto	
The produce of the farther additional tax on horses and mules, granted from the said 5th of July 1797.	

The produce of the additional tax of 2ol. per cent. from the 5th of April 1797	£.	s.	d.
The produce of the tax on clocks and watches, granted from the 5th of July 1797			
The produce of the tax on gold and silver plate, granted from the 5th of July 1797.			
The produce of the additional duties on distilleries in Scotland, from the 28th December 1796 —	33,000	0	0
The produce of the additional duties on distilleries in Scotland, from the 5th July 1797.			
Surplus income of the Post Office, after reserving the quarterly sums of 102,630l. and 10,000l. for the three quarters of a year, to the 10th of October 1797	83,983	0	0
	777,464	0	7

Presented pursuant to an Act of his present Majesty.

GEORGE ROSE.

Monday, December 18.

Mr. MAINWARING presented a petition from the inhabitants of the parish of Clarkenwell, stating that the parish contains 21,000 persons, 7000 of whom were watch and clock makers; that by the effects of the duty laid on watches and clocks that body of men were thrown out of employment in such numbers that the assessments of poor's rate in that parish amounted to 54,000l. and that if the tax could remain in force, there would be a great addition to the number who are driven to the parish for necessary support. The petition, therefore, prayed consideration and relief, and it was ordered to lie on the table.

A petition of the same kind was brought up from the parish of Str John, by Mr. Mainwaring.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, he should state to the House in a few words, the general nature of the modifications which he intended to submit with regard to the bill for increasing the Assessed Taxes. He proposed that the modifications should apply to the general amount of the house tax, the window tax, and a farther abatement of the duty in certain cases, to those housekeepers who keep shops, and others who were to be included in the indulgencies; also he should propose an augmentation in the duty on those who kept carriages and male servants, &c. The detail he should enter into hereafter. He was perfectly aware that the matter could not be finally discussed this night for many reasons, and for one too obvious to need a comment, the early hour at which the House

was to assemble in the morning. It would therefore, in his opinion, not be advisable for the House to sit until a late hour to night. He therefore intended to propose to-night one or two clauses, leaving the whole of the matter to be afterwards discussed, for which purpose he should wish that the Chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again, and then to resume the business on Wednesday next, and proceed on it afterwards with as little delay as possible. He wished also that the report should be printed, and that a short interval should be allowed to consider the whole bill. That period he thought should not be longer than Wednesday se'night. He thought that this was the best mode he could take to satisfy gentlemen as to what his intentions were upon this matter.

Mr. PLUMER said he was very glad that the Minister had given this notice of his intention. He must now declare, that if he attended to the bill in the Committee, he was not afterwards to be considered as having given up his right to oppose the bill altogether. He objected to the principle of it. It was unjust at all events, and might in many cases be extremely oppressive, in having a retrospective effect.

Mr. NICHOLLS objected to the bill on two grounds: First, because it was unjust, partial and most oppressive—Secondly, because it would be inefficient; for by the general distress it would occasion there would follow a diminution of the revenue in articles that are already taxed. He objected to it farther, because it was not what the Minister stated it to be, namely, a tax upon property. It was a tax upon income, and that was uncertain in its nature, for the most eminent persons in the country, who supported themselves by their talents, gentlemen of the learned profession, and physicians had no certain income from property; it was always subject to great fluctuations, and could never be otherwise, and therefore it was impossible to make a tax like this applicable to the cases of these persons. He objected to the tax on the ground, that it was novel in its nature, unknown in the practice of our ancestors, and repugnant to the spirit of our Constitution. He apprehended that it would be quite impossible to carry it into effect upon the principle of its author, namely, that of "Taxing every man according to his income," without establishing an inquisitorial power to examine into the private circumstances of every man in this country. That was an objection which could not be remedied in the Committee; the bill must create that power, to be productive. He was not ready to assent to the establishment of an inquisitorial power over the circumstances of every man in this country, and therefore he must op-

pose the Speaker's leaving the chair to allow the bill to go into a Committee.

Mr. JOLLIFFE said the principle of the bill was not understood, but was much misapprehended by the public; he believed that if the principle of it were generally known, there would be a general consent to it. There were parts that wanted modification, but that was easily done. The question now ought not to be in what way a Minister should be opposed, but how we were to exert ourselves against the common enemy? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated the other day, that this contest was one in which all law, order, morality, religion, and all the blessings of civil society, were at stake. He thought it a paltry way of describing the contest; not only our law and religion were at stake, but what were of much greater consequence were at stake—our property and our existence. Should the French come among us, they would not want our laws or our religion, or our morals, they would take away our property and our lives. As a tax upon income he thought this a proper measure; he knew of nothing that was better in principle; he hoped that the public would have some satisfactory account of the manner in which this money was to be applied when raised, as well as a better account of the manner in which former grants had been expended than they hitherto had, for certainly the people were not now in as good a humour as they had been. Although he approved of the general principle of the bill, he objected to that part of it which made the charge retrospective. He hoped that would be altered in the Committee.

Lord W. RUSSEL said, that notwithstanding the modification which the Minister proposed, he could not help considering it as his duty to resist the question for the Speaker leaving the chair. After the determination of the House on a former night, when such arguments had been so well and so powerfully urged, he could not expect to produce much effect by what he had to urge, but he must perform his duty. He was unavoidably absent when this measure was discussed, or he should then have opposed it. He was one of those who thought that a Member of that House ought to follow the direction of his constituents upon points which either promoted their most immediate interests or involved their inevitable ruin. If not, he knew not what sort of representation the House was to be called. Nor did he know how gentlemen who held a contrary doctrine, such, for instance, as that the unpopularity of the measure is a reason for adopting it, he knew not, he said, how such persons kept their consciences at ease, or how they were to face their constituents, if they intended ever to face them, but perhaps the Minister

might place them beyond the reach of their constituents. He however would obey the voice of his constituents, which were also agreeable to his opinion. A great many of his constituents attended the meeting in the Borough when this bill was taken into consideration, and their sense was there expressed. He had received communications from various others, and they all agreed in reprobating this measure as being to the last degree tyrannical. This was admitted by the most able advocates the Minister ever had—of this there was a striking instance in the Borough, (alluding, we presume, to what was said by Mr. Stonestreet.) Indeed the bill appeared to him in a light so odious that he could not think of assenting to its progress one step farther: and should it, in the phrenzy of the day, be passed, he knew not how it was to be put in force. We had indeed heard of a “vigour beyond the law,” perhaps this was thought a fit time to exercise it, especially when we saw the situation to which Ireland was reduced; a situation that excited in his mind nothing but horror. It had been said that this Parliament was not the Parliament of the People, but the Parliament of the King—and this measure was admirably adapted to that idea; indeed he could not help feeling some apprehensions of that kind upon reflecting on the tenor of the speech from the Throne, for it seemed to breathe a spirit of interference with the ancient and exclusive privilege of the House of Commons, by pointing out how the revenue was to be managed in some degree. He knew not how others felt upon this idea, but he had very strong and unfavourable apprehensions upon it, and he had no difficulty in stating them. He had no difficulty either in joining an honourable gentleman in the assertion that he had a general retainer to oppose the present Ministers; that he was sure it was the wish not only of a great and decided majority of his constituents, but also of the great mass of the people of England. That they are in such a situation, from the frantic ravings which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary at War, especially the latter, had urged against the French, that it would be madness to expect peace while they continue in office. He must, therefore, as a friend to his country, never entrust them with the public purse.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that there was nothing novel in the principle of the present measure. About the latter end of the last century a much stronger measure was voted in a Committee of ways and means. After what had been said by the Minister, he thought the House was bound to go into a Committee upon this bill. He believed, indeed, that the people mistook the principle of the

bill, with which, after some modifications, when they understood the whole, they would be satisfied.

Mr. WILBERFORCE considered gentlemen on the other side as having made up their minds to oppose the supplies while the present Administration continued, and therefore they were bound to make out a case against the Ministers in defence of themselves, and surely the case ought to be strong, indeed, before a Member of the House of Commons should vote against the supply of the year. That was the amount of the opposition of the noble Lord who spoke last: indeed, with the materials they had, gentlemen had made out a pretty good case. They said that peace could not be made by the present Administration, and therefore they would not vote for any supplies until they were removed, and then, instead of discussing the measure itself upon its own merits and demerits, they opposed it altogether, on account of the objections they had to the Administration. Did they mean to say that, even if the enemy was in the kingdom, they would not vote any supply unless the Ministers were removed? That was the tendency of their arguments; and he apprehended it had a tendency to increase the ambition of the enemy. Far otherwise were his views, and he would speak out, for his sentiments in public and in private had nothing in them which he wished to conceal. If we wished to preserve any of the blessings we enjoy, we must be prepared to make very large sacrifices; very large sums of money must be raised. He verily believed, that although there was so much violence of contention in that House, and out of it, almost every man meant nothing but the good of his country. He admitted that the noble Lord who spoke last, and many others, really thought it was dangerous to this country that the present Administration should continue. They all meant equally well for their country. They differed only upon the means of serving it. He did not, however, think, that those who thought the worst of Administration, could be justified in withholding the supplies altogether until their removal, for that was an invitation to the enemy. He had not heard any thing said to prove that this bill, however defective in its present form, could not be modified in a Committee, and therefore he should vote for its going into that Committee, in which stage he had many modifications himself to propose. He thought the people of this country ought to know their situation. They should know, that unless they are prepared to make great sacrifices, they will not only lose all their relative importance in the scale of Europe, but must inevitably, and that very soon, be deprived of every comfort which they now enjoy at

home. They should be faithful to themselves, and that they could never be if they refused to make very great sacrifices. Government must be supported, or there must be an end of us as a people. He cared not who was the Minister; any man in that situation, who was a friend to the Constitution, should have his support. He would say again, that unless very opulent commercial men came forward in a manner that no Minister could propose, nor hardly any Parliament insist upon, they would be wanting in the duty they owed to their country, and our ruin must soon follow. But if we all united and came forward, each according to his ability, and submit to Parliament to regulate the direction of our public spirit, all the difficulty would soon be over. But the contrary conduct tended to bring about, among us, those scenes which had excited so much horror in another country. Alas! alas! those very persons who were now so active in creating the discontent of the people against the Government would soon be the victims of their own policy. He begged pardon, but he spoke from the feelings of his heart, when he desired gentlemen to lower their tone when they spoke of the effect of public meetings, and the necessity of yielding to the public voice. We knew how destitute of reflection many of those oppositions were. He wished us to have the present constitution not something else, which some persons might think a better system. He wished us to consider Monarchy not merely as a thing to be endured or tolerated, or suffered, but a form to be loved, cherished and preserved with all the splendor which adorns it, as well as the happiness which it is calculated to secure, by preventing, among other things, the horrors of civil war, which it did, by the check it always held against individual ambition. Gentlemen when they made observations in general terms against the corruptions of Executive Government, did not always reflect what their observations tended to—the destruction of all authority, and the commencement of anarchy. He was sorry to say he had heard many observations made under colour of supporting our Constitution, which certainly were not agreeable to our Constitution at all. Let us remember our situation. “Next year we may wish to meet upon another place of a similar nature with the present.” He owned he wished to meet at the same place; but if gentlemen indulged in general invective against the House and against the majority, perhaps a much larger one would be necessary. He then expressed a hope that this measure would be followed with economy in our affairs both in public and in private, and that we should be all united in one vigorous effort against the common enemy. Of the bill before the House he should say nothing, for of it he had formed no opinion; but as it

was introduced with a view of being modified in the Committee, he should vote for its commitment.

Mr. MANNING, Mr. SIMEON, Mr. BRAGGE, and Mr. VANSITTART, supported the motion.

Mr. MARTYN would not vote for the Speaker's leaving the chair, without, however, pledging himself to give the bill any future countenance, unless its main objections were done away.

Mr. TIERNEY persisted in attacking the principle of the bill, and would not wait for the modification of the Committee; none of which could, in his mind, remove its unjust, cruel, tyrannical tendency; and if the House unfortunately assented to it, could they pretend to be the virtual representatives of the people, when one-third of the population of England had already so decidedly declared against it; He sincerely lamented to see the right honourable gentleman persevere in the measure, which, should it fail, after all that had been said of it, it must inflict a more cruel blow on the country than even the malice of the enemy could meditate.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, the modifications would come to be discussed with more propriety in the Committee. He said, that his desire to make the bill less burdensome to the lower classes had been represented as a wish for popularity; but whether he had acted from public motives, or a love of popularity, his conduct would show. Though not averse to popularity when the pursuit of it did not interfere with public duty, he felt that he owed it to the safety of the country to persevere in the measure, and no consideration of popularity, no personal motive under Heaven could induce him to renounce it, while he held it to be essential to the support of the present conflict. He should deal plainly with the country—he here pledged himself, that it should be the decision of the House, and no cowardly dereliction of the principle of raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year, that should cause the measure now proposed to be abandoned. The honourable gentleman had found out a new objection to the bill; first he had said, that it would bear hard on the lower classes; now he said it would destroy consumption, and destroy the custom of the shopkeeper. What would destroy the shopkeeper, however, would be, if a sufficient exertion was not made in defence of all law, all commerce, all property, which were threatened by an elated and haughty foe. When gentlemen opposed this measure, and the principle of raising a certain sum within the year, did they recommend a continuance of the funding system as a preferable mode of providing for the public service? At present the wealth of this

country was, beyond comparison, greater than any state in Europe possessed; when our industry, under the protection of the law, had raised us to a degree of prosperity unexampled in the history of any nation; and when seven millions were necessary to be raised within the year, were we Englishmen, and would we shrink from this exertion, or could we doubt the possibility of making it effectual? As to the various and contradictory objections which were urged against it, they would come under discussion in the Committee.

Mr. NICHOLLS and Mr. TIERNEY spoke in explanation.

Mr. HUSSEY said, that he wished the right honourable gentleman would give up the measure for his own sake, for he was convinced it would have the most fatal consequences. In his opinion the true mode of raising the sum proposed, was by a tax upon land, the proper object of all taxation.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON was glad that the bill was to undergo modification in the Committee, and he believed that many of the objections to which it was now liable would be removed. He could venture to say, that the majority of his constituents and of the country were willing to make great exertions. The principle he conceived to be essential to the safety of the country; and however the provisions as they first stood might have excited alarm, this principle was recognized.

Mr. MAINWARING said, that almost all the parishes in the metropolis had come to resolutions expressly hostile to the principle of the bill, and he wondered where the worthy Alderman had discovered that his constituents were favourable to the principle.

The House divided against the Speaker leaving the chair—
For it, 19; Against it, 174.

The House was then resolved into a Committee, and Mr. Chancellor PITT stated the modifications he meant to propose. He reminded the House, that in the former statement he had laid before them there were two lines of taxation marked out, the one for houses and windows, with dogs, clocks and watches; the other for those with horses, servants, &c. In the plan as now modified, it was his wish to make a more precise description of each, and to give two distinct tables without blending or mixing them in any case. As to clocks, watches, and dogs, they were to follow the gradation of houses and windows. As to the houses, the modification would be found to be considerable on all descriptions; but he proposed a much more considerable abatement on retail shops, and houses that let lodgings. He then brought to the recollection

of the House, the gradations of his former plan of modification, and then stated, that which he now proposed, and which stood as follows :

Persons occupying houses not having shops, or usually letting lodgings, if the amount now paid to the above duties is under 1*l*. are exempted from additional duty.

	£.	s.		£.	s.	
From	1	0	to	2	0	to 1-4th more
	2	0	to	3	0	to 1-half
	3	0	to	5	0	to 1-third
	5	0	to	7	10	to once more
	7	10	to	10	0	to 1 and half
	10	0	to	12	10	to 2
	12	10	to	15	0	to 2 and half
	15	0	to	20	0	to three times more
	20	0	to	30	0	to 3 and half
	30	0	to	40	0	to 4 times
	40	0	to	50	0	to 4 and half
	50	0	and upwards			5 times.

In adopting this diminished scale, there might arise the inconvenience of the burden falling, in some cases, too light ; but on the other hand, it would be compensated by the charge on the other class of duties, carriages, servants, &c. It would not be necessary in so many cases to require the oath which was necessary on the former scale to entitle to abatement, because the number of cases in which it would be adopted would be greatly narrowed. There were farther mitigations proposed for the class of retail shopkeepers, and those who let lodgings as a means of subsistence. To these, from the various reasons which their situation pointed out, a still farther reduced scale, as a rule to shew in what proportion the value of the house was to be considered separately from the shop, he would take the practice which he was informed took place where in a partnership one-third of the rent was generally allowed as an equivalent for the accommodation of the dwelling-house, and two-thirds for the shop. It followed then, that the rent was to be considered only as one-third. It was proposed, therefore, to make the burden on the presumed ability to pay in these cases one-third less on the new-diminished scale. Thus where such a house stood assessed at three pounds, it should actually be charged only at the rate of one pound ; and when nine pounds was assessed, three pounds would only be charged ; and so on in proportion, varying in different degrees in favour of the shopkeeper. By this means the necessity of disclosure, which had been urged as so great an objection, would be

removed, as it would very rarely be found necessary. The same rule would apply to cases of houses being taken for the purpose frequently of income or assisting income, where the tenant occupied only a small part of the House. Besides these there were various particular classes, in whose favour modifications would be introduced. It was impossible to satisfy, but wherever the claim was fair, he should be extremely ready to give relief: among these classes would be publicans, whose situation made it necessary to keep a number of servants, carriages, &c. Stable-keepers, and a variety of others, would likewise have relief. Coach-makers, cabinet-makers, would be considered as retail-traders. Boarding-houses likewise would be entitled to abatement, and those who let out lodgings furnished on speculation, as at Bath, the watering places, &c. Notwithstanding all these abatements and modifications, he hoped that the defalcation would be compensated by a considerable rise in the higher classes in the enlarged scale of expence to which the additions would apply.

He then proceeded to his last and highest table of taxation; namely, that on horses and carriages, in which he intended there should be no abatement; but on the contrary, in some cases increased rates. In fixing the criterion for this tax, he said he would take up the house assessments just at that stage of the above scale, where three rates and a half additional takes place, viz. where from 20*l.* to 30*l.* assessed taxes are now paid, and then it would stand thus:

IF THEY PAY FROM		
£. 25	to	£. 30 three and a half
30	to	40 four times
40	to	50 four and a half
50	and upwards	five times.

As to the horses of husbandry, he said, they ought to be considered with great attention and temperance; many of those who used them were far from being in proportion to their ranks the least opulent in the country; the taxes on houses was almost the whole they paid; farm-houses were entirely exempted from the increased taxes, and therefore the new increase would fall lighter upon them than on any others: it would therefore be allowed, that it would be very unjust to exempt them altogether; on that class, therefore, he proposed to double their present taxes.

Having thus laid the outlines of his plan, he would propose the resolutions, and then move that the Chairman do report progress, and beg leave to sit again.

Mr. MAINWARING asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was compatible with his present plan to afford any relief to the poor watch and clock-makers, on whose behalf he presented a petition?

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that if this was to be discussed it ought to be made the subject of a distinct motion. He begged to be understood as not giving any opinion upon the effect which this tax might have upon the trade alluded to. He was, however, inclined to think, that an exemption of the articles of clocks and watches from this new duty would not be in favour of the trade, because those who kept watches were assessed already. Even supposing that the old tax should be given up, he nevertheless should then think that this assessment ought to be made. But he by no means said he was satisfied that the original tax ought to be given up; that was a point which ought to be considered before it was given up.

He then said, that he should propose going into a Committee again on Wednesday next, and proceed as far as possible, and to take up the Committee again, and he hoped to finish it on Thursday, to print the whole, and again to take it into consideration on Thursday se'nnight.

He should also have to propose what he hinted at on a former day, some relief in favour of persons who have numerous families.

The Chairman then reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Wednesday.

LIST OF THE MINORITY.

Barclay, Geo.	Nicholls, J.
Bouverie, Hon. E. (Northampton)	Plumer, W.
Byng, George	Russell, Lord John
Coke, D. P.	Robson, T. B.
Combe, H. C.	Sinclair, Sir J.
Denison, W. J.	Taylor, W.
Folkes, Sir B. M.	Thornton, H.
Kemp, T.	Tierney, George
Lloyd, J. M.	Wigley, E.
Mainwaring, W.	

TELLERS—Lord Wm. Russell and Wm. Hussey.

Wednesday, December 20.

The report of the ways and means respecting the augmentation in the assessed-tax bill was brought up and read once.

Upon the question for the second reading,

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR said a few words.

Mr. Chancellor PITT suggested, that as by the rule of the House it was necessary a day should intervene between the proposing of any resolutions in the Committee of Ways and Means, and the application of such resolution to any bill, he should suggest that the two first clauses of the bill, to which the resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means were to be applied, should be deferred till to-morrow.

This suggestion being agreed to, the House resolved itself into a Committee upon the assessed-tax bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT, after saying that this was not the time to fill up the blanks in the two first clauses, said, that he should proceed to the third clause.

Several of the blanks in the different clauses were filled up.

A great deal of desultory conversation took place upon the question, whether an oath should be added to the declaration of the rate of income of persons making applications for abatements.

Several Members contended the oath to have an immoral tendency.

Mr. Chancellor PITT asserted, that the cause of morality would be best consulted by proving the consequence which the legislative Assembly meant to attach to an oath. He proposed to report progress: if any Member, however, had any observations to make, he would do well in offering them now, in order that the House might be better prepared for the discussion to-morrow.

The Committee agreed to report progress, and asked leave to sit again to-morrow.

Thursday, December 21.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved, that the Committee on the assessed-tax bill be instructed to make provisions in the said bill pursuant to the said resolutions, which was agreed to.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee on the said bill, and a discussion took place on the subject of its duration; on one side it was contended, that the tax ought to be laid for two years; and on the other, that it should expire at the end of one: but it was finally agreed, that the provisions of the bill should remain in

force for two years and a quarter. After the other clauses had been gone through,

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that it had been his wish to have gone immediately into the consideration of the postponed clauses: but having found that, by the regular forms of the House, these clauses could not be considered before the new clauses intended to be offered were brought up, he would now move that the Chairman do report progress, and ask leave to sit again, especially as the intended clauses were not as yet ready, particularly that which regarded the schedule of income.

The Chairman then reported progress, and the bill was ordered to be taken into farther consideration to-morrow.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY suggested, that it was his intention to move a clause for enabling Parliament to alter and amend the bill during the present session, if there should appear any necessity for so doing.

Mr. Chancellor PITT acknowledged the propriety of the clause.

Mr. D. P. COKE hinted that he would move a clause to prevent any of the Tellers of the Exchequer from receiving any fees proportionate to the immense sum of money to be raised within the year. He was confident, that if the noble Lords to whom he alluded could be present in the House, they would gladly second such a motion; or that in their absence a noble relative of theirs would, with equal eagerness, accede to such a proposition.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that the Tellers of the Exchequer should not be more benefited by the present plan, than if the supplies of the year had been raised by the usual, or any other mode.

Friday, December 22.

On the question being put for the third reading of the bill for raising three millions from the Bank upon Exchequer bills,

Mr. TIERNEY said, it was impossible for him to assent to that bill without saying a few words. It appeared to him to be a measure quite inconsistent with the professions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon former occasions, for which he had considerable credit at the time he made them, and which he would continue to have if he adhered to his professions; the substance of which was, that there should never be issued any Exchequer bills for which there was not made an adequate parliamentary provision. It was necessary to adhere to this principle at all times, but more particularly so

at the present time, when the right honourable gentleman was calling upon the public to contribute so large a sum to defray expences, and to raise it within the year. The Minister had stated the sum to be provided this year to be 25 millions; twelve millions of which he proposed to be raised by a loan, of which we as yet had heard nothing but the amount; eight millions he proposed to be raised by the additional assessment upon taxes; three millions and a half upon land and malt, and three millions upon Exchequer bills, the bill for raising which sum was now before the House. How this last sum of money was to be provided for did not appear. The Minister had said that we must look our difficulties in the face. He granted that we should do so. But this did not appear to him to be the way of doing it; for by this bill, instead of meeting, it was postponing our difficulty to the amount of three millions, and that too in a way perfectly new. It was possible that there should be now outstanding four millions upon Exchequer bills. But how these millions now to be voted by this bill were to be provided for, no man had heard a word. No provision was made for the issue of fresh Exchequer bills, when these should become payable, which will be on the 4th of April next. Should the Minister issue Exchequer Bills for three millions more, to answer for these when they become due, there would then be 6 millions unprovided for. Considering the discount upon Exchequer bills, he would ask, whether the Minister thought it prudent to issue them again, after these became payable, supposing the Bank to have no objection, and supposing neither to be provided for by Parliament? he was sure that this mode of proceeding was intirely different from that for which, two years ago, the Chancellor of the Exchequer took a great deal of credit, that of providing for Exchequer bills in a manner that had not been done before. But he seemed now to abandon his plan, and the manner in which the Bank acquiesced in the plans of the Minister was, in his opinion, alarming to those who wished well to the credit of this country. They accommodated the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a way that was not highly creditable to either party. They stated their circumstances to be flourishing, but that, with a view to public financial operations, they seemed to invite a continuance of the restriction upon them as to the payments of their debts in specie. What would be said of a private man who would thus league himself with the Executive Government, and for that reason refused to pay his debts, was a question which, he apprehended, was not difficult to answer. The Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed with one another, that the restriction should conti-

nue, as to the issuing of cash by the Bank. They agree farther to advance to him three millions upon Exchequer bills, for which at present no parliamentary provision is made. At the end of six months the Chancellor of the Exchequer is called upon to make good the payment of these Exchequer bills. Supposing, then, that provision should be made for the payment of three millions upon fresh Exchequer bills at three months, the question then would be, Whether we are likely, in the month of April next, to be in a more prosperous state than we are at present; and that money will be more plenty? then there would be no objection to any thing but the expence of this measure. But those who thought there was danger in our present situation could hardly approve of the present measure; because, if the hour of difficulty should arise, and neither the Directors of the Bank should be disposed to grant any farther money upon Exchequer bills, nor the proprietors agree to it if they did, then indeed shall we see the mischief of voting away money thus upon credit without making provision for the payment of it. Although he differed from the Minister on the subject of raising money within the year, he did not differ from him as to the necessity of our looking at our difficulty in the face, and providing for it; but he did not think it consistent with that idea to postpone that difficulty by a measure, the pretence for which was to provide for it. He thought we should be prepared for a storm, but we should be prepared for it like prudent and skilful mariners, so as to be ready to meet it, not to talk of a storm and conduct ourselves as if nothing was to be apprehended but a calm, and to postpone the preparation to the hour of tempest, which appeared to him to be the case as far as the present bill extended. He could enlarge upon these topics, but he had reasons for forbearing.

Mr. Chancellor PITT remarked, he was very glad to notice that the honourable gentleman had, on this day, more distinctly than he had heard him before, acknowledge that we ought to meet our difficulties in the face. He should rejoice if that declaration of the honourable gentleman was likely to be followed up by a plan that would contribute to the sentiment which it conveyed. He should be glad to hear from him reasons why he thought that the present plan was not consistent with that object; and if he did so, and the reasons appeared conclusive, he should be as ready to abandon it as he hoped the honourable gentleman would abandon his opinions if he found them inconsistent with the general object, namely, that of meeting our difficulties in the face. He neither wished to be himself misunderstood, nor to misunderstand the honourable gentleman. The bill now before the House was not in-

consistent with the plan for the augmentation of the assessed taxes. He did not mean to raise the whole of the supplies of the present year within the year. Indeed he proposed otherwise when he opened the outline of the whole plan. He stated the measure now before the House as part of the original proposition. With regard to the restriction upon the Bank, it had been already decided by the House that it was necessary during the continuance of the war. There was no hope that such necessity would cease but with the war. Here the Bank, without inconvenience to themselves, or the public, but with advantage to both, can make this advance, and can prolong it: and here was a provision for the payment at a certain period, in order that, if necessary, they might open their operation of payment, if it should be thought wise to open. While the present circumstances remain, the restriction should continue. If it should be necessary that the Bank should continue its advances, they would of course continue; but by the very bill now before the House, provision was made for the payment from time to time as such advance should be made. Their continuance, or discontinuance of advances would depend upon their circumstances; and although they are at present in a flourishing situation, yet they should not be called upon to make advances upon Exchequer bills but to a limited amount, such as was specified by the present bill. With regard to the discount upon Exchequer bills, he knew of none.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he understood the discount upon Exchequer bills to be at present one and a half per cent. He had heard nothing against what he had said already, that this was matter of accommodation from the Bank to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that it was likely to be mischievous to the public. With regard to the pledge which he was supposed to have entered into, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he could only say, that he said nothing, except that we ought not to postpone our difficulties. He did not call the funding system a postponing of our difficulties. It had not been so considered for the last century. He wished to know where these three millions could be raised again if the Bank should find any difficulty.

Mr. NICHOLLS did not see how this bill was to be provided for, except in the issuing of Bank notes. There had formerly been a limit to the issue of Bank paper. Now there was none. This measure was calculated to make the Bank a mint for the coinage of paper-money. This was worse than the mode that was adopted in France, for there they had a limit, here we have none. Should they be unable to pay again, what was to be the re-

medy? This appeared to him to be the most dangerous measure that was ever tried in any country.

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the assessed-taxes bill; the House resolved itself accordingly.

Sir CHARLES BUNBURY proposed that tax carts should be excepted from the operation of the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT suggested the propriety of reducing this exception to a distinct proviso. He hinted, that upon the subject of tax carts, there ought to be some discussion hereafter; for that great frauds were practised under that article of the revenue at present.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then proposed a clause, to carry into effect the modification, as printed in the schedule, which is already published.

Mr. WILBERFORCE wished another modification; such, for instance, as making the higher classes contribute more than they are called upon to do at present.

Mr. SPEAKER (Addington) said, that no advance in charges upon the subject could take place in any mode but in a Committee of Ways and Means, but a diminution might.

Mr. BAKER thought this proposition improper. He wished the House to act as the real representatives of the whole people of England; for they were so. To agree to such a measure as this was to act otherwise than such representatives ought to do. It would be to attend not to the interest of the people, but to the clamour of some of them; he considered that to give way to the very extraordinary and heretofore unheard-of resolutions that were passed in some very extraordinary meetings, would be to act upon caprice.

Mr. I. H. BROWNE did not wish the House to act upon caprice, but he thought that by taking time, the people had an opportunity of examining the bill, and to judge how it would affect them, from which they might communicate to their representatives many important facts which might influence their determinations.

The clause was then, after some conversation, agreed to.

On the reading of the clause for laying a double tax on horses used in husbandry,

Mr. I. H. BROWNE rose and said, that he disapproved of apportioning the tax to the different means of the farmers: he thought that the same exemptions and gradations as those applied to the

other classes of society ought to be applied to them. He could assure the House that many of the small farmers were as poor as day labourers, and he therefore meant to propose that, instead of a double rate of assessment upon all farmers who pay more than 70*l.* rent, a single rate only should be laid.

This produced a long discussion, in which Mr. BURDON, Mr. Chancellor PITT, Mr. POLE CAREW, Lord CARYSFORT, Mr. RYDER, Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, and Mr. DENT, took part.

Mr. I. H. BROWNE then moved an amendment of the resolution to the effect already stated, viz. That a single rate only be laid upon all farmers who pay from seventy to one hundred and fifty pounds a year. Upon this a division took place, when the amendment was rejected. For it, 6; Against it, 94.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had a clause in his hand intended to alleviate the burden of a class of artisans, who had already felt themselves aggrieved by a former tax: he meant the clock and watch-makers. It had been suggested that this bill would injure that trade, and therefore the clause he proposed to bring up was intended to prevent any stagnation of the trade in those articles arising from it, by exempting from the new tax all watches purchased after the 5th of January, 1798.

The clause was brought up and read, and directed to be made a part of the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up the clause requiring the oath, which he understood some gentlemen intended to oppose. He submitted it to the consideration of those gentlemen, whether it would not be better to defer that discussion till the clause containing the schedule should be brought up, when it would be seen more fully whether the objection to the oath was well grounded. If it should be still thought so, gentlemen would have an opportunity of opposing it on the report.

The clause was then read and agreed to.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then brought up a clause to provide an abatement in favour of persons having a certain number of children, in the following proportions:

To all persons having from 4 to 8—10 per cent.
from 8 to 10—15 per cent.
from 10—20 per cent.

Mr. WILBERFORCE was for extending the abatement to the age of twenty or twenty-one years instead of sixteen, because the system of education pursued from the age of sixteen to twenty-one was far more extensive to parents, both with regard to their sons and

daughters, than it was at any time previous to that period. Sons received at that time an education preparatory to their entering into the navy or army; and daughters required a greater number of masters; both of which cases exposed parents to considerable expence.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that the age of sixteen was the age generally adhered to in all former acts where the distinction of age had been introduced; it was so even in the poll-tax; but the object of the present clause was to extend relief not to the opulent classes, to which his honourable friend seemed to allude, but to the inferior classes of tradesmen and manufacturers, whose sons, if properly brought up, would, at the age of sixteen, be able to afford considerable assistance to their parents, instead of being a burden to them.

Mr. BRAGGE thought it expedient to take the age of sixteen for such parents as paid 50*l.* assessed taxes, and the age of twenty-one for those who paid 100*l.* per annum.

Mr. Chancellor PITT disapproved of this mode, and said, that the object of it might be answered in another way, by means of the schedule which he intended to give in for the calculation of income.

The clause was then brought up, and ordered to make part of the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT next moved, a clause for subjecting all academies, boarding schools, and public houses, only to the same rates of assessment as were imposed on lodging houses and on shopkeepers.

Mr. BAKER thought that schoolmasters and schoolmistresses might be enabled to pay for their full proportion, by throwing it on the parents of the children whom they undertook to educate.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the question at present simply was, whether the persons to whom he wished to extend the abatement, did or did not inhabit houses of greater extent and expence than was requisite for their personal comforts?

Mr. ADAIR coincided in the latter opinion; and after some farther conversation, the clause was brought up and agreed to.

Mr. SARGENT moved a clause for limiting to one rate the increased assessment on the medical gentlemen of the metropolis.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL moved to amend this clause by extending its provisions to physicians practising in the country, who stood more in need of the use of horses and of a carriage.

After a short conversation the Committee divided on the proposed amendment—Ayes, 59; Noes, 42.

And on the motion that the clause so amended do make part of the bill, the Committee again divided—Ayes, 59 ; Noes, 39.

Mr. D. P. COKE then rose to make his promised motion for limiting the fees of the Tellers of the Exchequer during the present distressed and calamitous situation of the country. He assured the Committee, that in making the present motion he was prompted by no personal hostility, either against the two noble Lords who held this office, or against any of His Majesty's present Ministers ; on the contrary, he wished them to retain their places, because he felt extremely adverse to the doctrines held by the gentlemen who were likely to succeed them, especially to the doctrine of Parliamentary Reform, which, if attempted and effected, must, in his opinion, be productive of much mischief, and must necessarily end in a Revolution. But he could not at the same time forbear observing, that the country must feel surprised, nay indignant, if the House were to oppose bringing up of a clause tending to limit the enormous fees which the measure now under discussion would throw into the hands of the noble Lords who held this and other lucrative offices, and that at a moment when the people were groaning under an almost unsupportable weight of taxes, and when they were going to be still farther loaded with a burden which he was convinced it was utterly impossible they could bear ; for should the measure now under discussion be unfortunately passed into a law, he was sure it would be altogether impracticable to raise the sum of money it called for.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he had no reason to suppose that the motion of the honourable and learned gentleman arose from any personal hostility to the noble Lords in question, because he was sure the learned gentleman had not received from them any provocation that could justify such hostility—but though the motion might be free from a spirit of hostility, it was far from being free from very great injustice, for it went to deprive the noble Lords of what they possessed, as the just rewards of the great public services which their fathers had rendered to the country, and which they held as a freehold tenure, confirmed to them by an act of Parliament ; nor was there any thing in the present act to warrant their being thus deprived of two-thirds of their income, as it would not make the addition of one shilling to the fees of the tellers of the Exchequer. Besides, there was a clause for permitting gentlemen to contribute towards the present exigencies of the state, as far as their inclination and their circumstances would allow them. For was it then fair or agreeable that these noble persons should be singled out and called on for a compulsory contribution, while it

was left optional to every other gentleman? Was it not, moreover, glaringly unjust, that they should be assessed two-thirds of their income, while the rest of the country were at most only required to pay one-tenth of theirs?

Sir W. PULTENEY thought the present clause had a close connection with the bill, and said he was surprized that gentlemen were not ashamed at putting such enormous fees in their pockets, when the country laboured under such general distress.

Mr. Chancellor PITT contended, that the tellers of the Exchequer were to receive no greater addition to their fees by the raising of seven millions within the year, than if the money to be raised for the services of the year had been procured by any other mode.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS could not sit silent and hear the honourable and learned gentleman insinuate that the people would be indignant if the present measure passed into a law. The language, he said, was highly unparliamentary, and he wished the honourable gentleman and the country to know, that no degree of unpopularity that could possibly attach to any man should prevent him or the House from using their own judgement and understanding, in the opinion they should deliver, or in the vote they should give upon this or any other question.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL advised his learned friend to withdraw his clause.

Mr. H. ADDINGTON opposed the clause.

Mr. D. P. COKE was determined to persevere in his motion, but he would have the committee to understand, that in what he advanced, he never meant to throw out any unparliamentary or factious idea; in the part of the country where he acted as magistrate, it was well known that he always strictly enforced obedience to every act of Parliament, whether, in his own private opinion, he approved of it or not. He would now again repeat it, that the country was decidedly against the present measure; its execution was utterly impracticable; and should the right honourable gentlemen persist in it, it could not fail to work his downfall. The right honourable gentleman had said, that if a less objectionable and equally effectual mode of raising the supplies was suggested, he would not hesitate to adopt it. He had a plan to propose which would fully answer the end in view, and that was to lay a shilling in the pound on all transfer of stock.

After a few words from Mr. PITT and Mr. RYDER, the House divided on the motion of Mr. Coke—Ayes, 6; Noes, 75.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then said, he would propose that the

report be received to-morrow, *pro forma*, that an order might be made for having it printed; and that gentlemen might have sufficient time to examine it, he would move that it be taken into farther consideration on Thursday next.

Saturday, December 23.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved that the report of the Committee on the assessed-taxes bill might be received.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he understood the report was merely intended to be brought up this day: that it was to be printed, and in point of fact, was not to be received till Thursday. If this delay was meant as an accommodation to the Members of the House, he was ready to allow that the time was sufficient—for himself, he had no wish it should be extended on that consideration; but if, on the other hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer conceived that the delay proposed would enable the House to ascertain how far their constituents were likely to be satisfied with the adopted modifications, then he could not but consider the interval as far too limited. This hint, however, he had only thrown out for the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not meaning to object to the period he should think proper to take the report into consideration. What he wished to know with certainty was, when the right honourable gentleman intended the bill should be read a third time? He supposed that from the length of discussion which the report would take up on Thursday, it would hardly be possible to have the third reading on Friday, and therefore he wished to have it precisely understood, whether it would be read on Saturday, Monday, or Tuesday?

Mr. Chancellor PITT agreed that it would be much more convenient to the House to settle with certainty when the third reading would take place. He should think it would occupy so much of Thursday, that it would not be possible to get the bill printed with the amendments, so as to be ready for the third reading on Friday. The Monday following would be New-Year's Day, and therefore Tuesday was the day he should submit for the third reading of the bill.

Mr. TIERNEY asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the modifications would produce an increase or a decrease of the sum originally estimated?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, certainly, a considerable defalcation.

Mr. SMITH brought up the report.

Mr. BUCKNALL rose for the purpose of making a few observations previous to the report being read; but he was interrupted by the Speaker, who informed him, that it being the intention of the House to have the report printed before any observations were gone into, there was no opportunity, consistent with the forms of the House, for any Member to offer objections to the report, until it was taken into farther consideration.

The report was then read, and the farther consideration of it appointed for Thursday next.

Thursday, December 28.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the report of a bill for granting additional duties on assessed taxes, now read,

Sir ALAN GARDNER said, he had a few observations to make upon the bill, which he would take this opportunity to offer. He was happy to find that it had already undergone full discussion, and that the objections made by those who would have been too heavily affected by its provisions had been completely removed. He said, that the enemy must be resisted, and the country defended, and without supplies neither fleet nor army could be supported, in which case we could neither resist the enemy nor procure a safe and honourable peace. Allowing this, and it could not be denied, the safety of the country depended on the conduct that would take place this night. Therefore, notwithstanding certain resolutions of disapprobation had appeared in the public prints, which he had read with great regret, he felt himself obliged in conscience and in duty to the public, to give his support to the measure, and thereby to provide for the safety, honour and independance of the country. Under the circumstances of the country, he thought it was impossible to withhold the supplies.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER said, that he would not oppose any particular clause of the bill, because he meant to oppose the whole bill and its principle.

On reading the clause which was amended in the Committee upon the bill, and by which amendment an alleviation was agreed to be given to those who occupy Houses to which there are shops or warehouses, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to negative the amendment of the Committee, so as to take warehouses out of the exemption, and to confine the alleviation merely to shops; to which, after a few words by Mr. WILBERFORCE and others,

on the other side, the House agreed. So that warehouses are not now exempted.

On reading the clause which imposes a double assessment for horses kept for agriculture,

Mr. I. H. BROWNE proposed a provision, that those who kept farms under the yearly rent of 150l. should be charged only with a single additional duty.

Mr. Chancellor PITT opposed it, upon the grounds which the Committee had rejected a similar proposition.

Sir M. B. FOLKES, Mr. POLLEN, Lord CARYSFORT, and several others, supported it.

Sir W. GEARY suggested a modification, the substance of which was, that no farmer who rents a farm under 150l. a year, and who has no other means of livelihood, shall be charged by this duty for more than five horses for agriculture.

This was agreed to by the House.

Mr. I. H. BROWNE's clause was negatived.

Mr. WILBERFORCE moved to amend clause (P), by leaving out the words "or any other sufficient." On this amendment the House divided: Ayes, 5; Noes, 94.

Mr. BRAGGE moved to amend the clause for allowing certain abatements to persons having a certain number of children, by leaving out the word "five," and inserting in its stead the word "four."

This amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Serjeant ADAIR was of opinion that this clause was too confined by the limitation of the words "children born in lawful wedlock;" for several instances might occur where the wife or the husband might have children by former marriages, the number of whose children added together would place them within this clause of the bill; but if the children were taken separately, then such persons must be deprived of the benefit of the clause. It undoubtedly could not be the intention of the House to refuse the proposed abatement to a family composed of the united children of the master and mistress, and whose expence were defrayed out of the funds of both. With a view to remove every doubt and obscurity on this subject, he would move to amend the clause, by introducing, after the word "children," and before the words "born in lawful wedlock," these words, "of him or her, or of his or her wife or husband, or of both of them."

Mr. RYDER, the SOLICITOR GENERAL, and the MASTER OF THE ROLLS, objected to this amendment, on

the ground that such children had generally separate provisions made for them.

The motion for the amendment was then put and agreed to.

Sir W. PULTENEY here observed, that, in his opinion, it was improper to proceed farther on a business of such serious importance at so late an hour (past eleven) when the House must be naturally very much fatigued.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that his wish was that the few remaining clauses might be gone through, and that the most important part, the consideration of the schedule, might then be deferred till to-morrow.

On the motion for agreeing to the clause which makes the parishes liable for the punctual payment of the tax,

Mr. BAKER said, that it would be very hard on the parishes to be thus made liable to the payment of the taxes when they had no share in appointing the persons who were to collect them.

Mr. PLUMER and Sir W. PULTENEY urged the same objection, and said, that the county, and not the parishes, should be made liable.

Mr. ROSE said, that the parishes named the persons out of whom the Commissioners were chosen, who had the power of appointing the collectors. There was, therefore, no hardship in making the parishes liable for the payment.

The original clause was then put and agreed to.

On the motion for agreeing to clause (X).

Mr. BURDON moved to leave out the word "schoolmaster," and to leave simply the words, "person keeping any academy, or seminary of education," &c.

Mr. H. ADDINGTON said, that there was another description of persons not exactly to be classed under the denomination of schoolmaster or schoolmistress, to whom, he thought, the same exemptions should be extended. These were persons who received into their houses grown-up young ladies, in order to give a certain degree of instruction, by way of finishing their education.

Mr. Chancellor PITT observed, that if the honourable gentleman took the word "instruction" in its ordinary sense, then undoubtedly the persons he alluded to would come under the description of schoolmistresses.

Mr. BURDON moved, that undertakers for funerals, or all persons letting out horses and carriages for such purposes, be entitled to the same exemption as coachmakers. Agreed to:

Mr. PLUMER objected to the clause which granted certain

abatements to gentlemen exercising any branch of the medical profession, as inaccurately worded.

Mr. Chancellor PITT thought the objection well founded, and did not wish to extend the abatements to persons not regularly bred to the medical profession. He then moved, that instead of the words, "any person," &c. the words "physician, surgeon, apothecary, and midwife," be inserted, and that the abatement granted to such persons should extend only to such as kept but one carriage and two horses, either for riding or drawing, or for both purposes. The clause so amended was agreed to.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that the clauses for allowing persons to make voluntary contributions beyond the amount of the assessed taxes, required some important alterations: he would therefore bring them in at some future stage of the bill.

Mr. BAKER gave notice, that he would move a clause for granting certain exemptions to clergymen, whose income did not exceed 150*l.* per annum.

Mr. DUNDAS hoped that the benefit of such a clause might be extended to the clergy of Scotland.

Mr. BAKER said, that such was his intention.

Mr. TYRWHYTT asked, when it was the intention of the right honourable gentleman that the bill should be read a third time?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that it was his intention that the report be taken into farther consideration to-morrow, that the bill, with the new amendments, be reprinted, and that it be read a third time on Tuesday next.

Friday, December 29.

At four o'clock the Speaker counted the House, when there being only twenty-eight Members present, an adjournment till next day immediately took place.

Saturday, 30th December.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, the House must recollect an act of the last session of Parliament, commonly called the "Supplemental Militia Act." That measure had been carried into execution, a great number of men had been raised under it, and had been employed for the public service. It was a very large and able body of men, and might be extremely useful in a case of the last necessity; but in consequence of so large a body of men being thus situated, a great number of men were prevented from giving aid

to His Majesty's arms for the general defence of his cause, in any part of the world; they were thus prevented, because there was no regular power to enlist them into His Majesty's regular service, from which great inconvenience had arisen, and if not remedied, greater must hereafter arise. He had no complaint to make against the different officers who had been called upon to act under the provisions of the militia bill; undoubtedly they had done their duty. Thus it happened, that many of the men composing this militia, having enlisted into His Majesty's regular service, were reclaimed as militiamen, and were obliged to be restored; for so the law stood at present; so that if any man, belonging to the militia, should, from his ardour for more active service, or any other motive, enlist into the regular service, such man may, at any time, be reclaimed as a militiaman, and if so claimed, must be restored, to the manifest prejudice of His Majesty's service. The object of the bill which he intended to move for, was to remedy that defect, by enabling any man, if desirous of enlisting, so to do, and if he does, he shall not afterwards be reclaimed as a militiaman; nor should the parish be bound to replace him. This plan would add to the general and regular force of His Majesty's arms, without any additional expence to the public.

The House, he was sure, would feel the importance of this subject, and would be ready to give it their most serious attention. It would appear to be necessary in another point of view. There are at present a number of regiments, thirteen or fourteen of them, in some of whom there are hardly any but officers; so that however meritorious and useful their services have been, and how much and how justly soever His Majesty might be disposed to confide in them, their services could not be had, unless their regiments were supplied with men. There were of the militia from fifty to sixty thousand; now, if in consequence of the measure he now proposed, these regiments could be filled up, the country would be no longer deprived of the services of these officers, who, of all men, were the most desirable to be employed in the public service at a period like the present, and, he trusted, that within a short period, a body of no less than fifty thousand men might thus be brought into active service for our general defence, to act as occasion might require, either offensively or defensively, either within or out of this country. He did not mean by this description of the proposed service to say, that this force would be called upon to serve out of His Majesty's European dominions; for he meant only home service, extending to Jersey and Guernsey, and the North Seas.

He certainly should not now enlarge upon this subject in the detail, nor need he say any thing on the probable consequence of such a measure. He would leave it to every man's feelings. Let every man ask himself, whether, for the purposes of our general defence, or for annoying the enemy, where that may be adviseable, can any measure be more likely to be effectual than that which will raise a body of men immediately, probably twenty thousand, every one accustomed to the use of arms? He would leave it with the House to consider, and he desired them to look at the history of this country at the proudest periods of its military glory; for instance, at that of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the time of the destruction of the Spanish armada, when we were menaced, as we are now, with invasion. This country had no greater reason to be proud of its power then, than it has now; but it should also have the same vigour and the same precaution.

He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for allowing certain proportions of men, raised in pursuance of two acts of Parliament of the last session, to enlist into His Majesty's other services for a time to be limited."

An idea had been stated, he said, and the experiment might very safely be tried, in order to see how far it is possible to recruit the service, by enlisting soldiers for a shorter period than for life. In the bill he proposed, he intended to introduce a limitation of the time of service of those who should enlist in consequence of any recruiting under the power of the bill.

Sir W. PULTENEY said, he did not oppose this measure, on the contrary, he approved of it as far as it went, but he thought that some measure of a more extensive nature ought to be devised and brought forward to prepare us against invasion. The right honourable gentleman who moved this, had said that fifty thousand men might be raised in this manner, and that twenty thousand might be raised immediately. This was not a time to trust to fifty thousand men. The people of this country should be called upon to arm in a much larger force. Let them stand forward and take such vigorous measures as are suitable to their present crisis. There was not one in that House, nor any intelligent person in this country, who did not know that much more force than was proposed to be made effective by the present bill would be necessary for our present situation.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that if the present measure should prove inadequate it would become Executive Government to attend to measures for supplying the deficiency, at the same time he would not have the honourable Baronet suppose that we were to be

defended from invasion only by twenty thousand men. So far was that from being the case that there never was a period when the internal strength of this country against invasion was so complete as at the present moment. All the menaces that were made against this country were such as he for one would neither totally despise nor apprehend with any timidity. There had been many attempts industriously made to discredit all the menaces that had been made, but that he thought very improper, because they were intended to have a general effect on the general character of the people of this country. These menaces, if the people were disposed to meet them properly, he should be prepared to treat as an idle, feeble vapour, and regard with as much contempt as any man in this country. On the other hand we were to take care that we should not be attacked while sleeping in our beds under a misplaced security. He did not mean to dispirit the people of this country, nor to delude them by false hopes. It was only by being on the one hand not too secure, nor on the other unworthily intimidated, that their interests could be secured. According to the sentiments of the honourable Baronet the energy of the people would not be sufficiently called forth. He should always be happy to hear any other plan proposed that could call that energy into action. But then the Executive Government could not be justified in assenting to any measure, without a due consideration of all circumstances; because the trade, commerce, agriculture, and wealth of the country, must not be wholly employed in military operations, since that would soon destroy our real resources. It became the Executive Government to consider the general population of the country, and to take care also to keep the expence of their operations within due bounds. If all the zeal and the energy of the people was probably called forth, always regarding the objects which he had just hinted at, there would be nothing to fear. Indeed we were partly secure already. But any other measure for these purposes he should be glad to listen to, if they came either from the honourable Baronet or any other person in that House or out of it. The force now proposed was intended for immediate defensive, offensive operations, if he might be allowed the use of such an expression. It certainly tended to add to the strength of the British empire. If we neglected the opportunity of availing ourselves of it, we should have to reflect that we encouraged the enemy to attack us, more than by any measure which we might afterwards have it in our power to adopt to repel them.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY explained. He said that as to twenty thousand men to be raised immediately by this measure, he knew they were not sufficient; a great deal more must be raised.

As to the expence of it, he did not mean to increase the expence. He thought highly of the spirit of the people of this country. But they must be prepared to do a great deal without expence.

Mr. BURDON said he did not oppose this measure ; what was said upon the subject by the right honourable gentleman, coincided with his opinion and his feelings. He hoped that Government would consider of the expediency of changing the provisional cavalry into a regular force. They were, at present, ineffective, but they might be made very useful. From what he had observed, and had been informed, he had no reason to doubt the country would be ready to adopt the measure which he now suggested.

Mr. BAKER said a few words on the subject.

The question was then put ; leave was given to bring in the bill, and Mr. Secretary Dundas, Mr. Chancellor Pitt, and Mr. Huskinson, were ordered to prepare and bring it in.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he rose to give a conditional notice. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would bring a communication to the House, stating, that the royal family are desirous to bear part of the burdens of the present assessments ; if not, he should certainly move, that all the laws which exempt them from bearing any such burdens should be repealed.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day on the assessed taxes-bill.

The House went through the schedule, and then proceeded to receive clauses, and to add them to the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT brought up a clause to allow houses kept for the reception of lunatics the same modification of assessment as houses for letting lodgings. Agreed to.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS brought up a clause to put those who keep rooms for public entertainment on the same footing as innkeepers. He was desired to do this by a person who kept public rooms at Bath, for which he paid a rent of 1000 guineas a year. He was willing to pay his share, but the assessment on him would not be according to his ability. He now paid 81 guineas to the assessed taxes.—Clause agreed to.

Mr. Chancellor PITT then proceeded to propose several clauses, which were all agreed to, viz.

To charge the royal academicians and associates only one addition to their present duties.

To exempt the horses of volunteer corps.

To exempt the keepers of stage coaches.

To exempt those who have kept a carriage and laid it down, and

never used it since the 5th of April last, to the day of making the appeal ; the proof to lay on the party charged.

To exempt persons who have served or may serve offices in great corporations, such as the Lord Mayor of London, and other offices of corporate bodies, and Sheriffs of counties, from any more than the proportion of assessment to which they would have been liable, independent of the equipage incident to their office.

To charge those who pay for dogs by a composition, such as those who keep kennels of hounds, &c. not for each individual dog, but a ratable proportion according to the present composition.

To put those who keep houses at bathing places, &c. upon the same footing as those who keep houses for lodgings.

To charge those who enter houses that have never before been inhabited, only the duty that would attach upon them, had they staid in the houses they shall quit. This exemption to continue during the continuance of the act.

Providing that those who remove in a given time, shall not be charged for the houses they have quitted.

Providing how affidavits shall be made of absence or illness, if the duty be not paid in due time.

Allowing agents and guardians to make declarations for infants in cases of appeal.

Giving ten days time to appeal after notice of assessment, ten days more for hearing appeals, and ten days farther for payment after the determination of appeals.

Regulating the mode of appointing collectors within the bills of mortality.

Directing that collectors shall give security to the amount of the first instalment, which are to be six in the year.

Providing that the securities of the collectors, as well as receipts for the payment of the new assessed taxes, shall be on unstamped paper. Upon this Mr. Ryder wished the receipts to be stamped.

Mr. Chancellor PITT opposed it.

Division—For unstamped paper on the receipt 34

For stamped - - - 14

Obliging the collectors to pay the money they receive within seven days after it comes into their hands.

Giving the commissioners discretionary power of paying collectors for their trouble, but not to exceed three-pence in the pound, and to the commissioners' clerks three halfpence in the pound.

Providing that the commissioners should not be allowed pound-

age, but should be allowed a reasonable sum for their trouble, at the discretion of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

Providing a mode for opening an account with the Bank, and the Commissioners of the Treasury. Allowing those who chuse to pay a certain number of installments, discount at 4 per cent. &c. for prompt payment, &c. &c.

Sir W. PULTENEY asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how he intended to go on with the bill?

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, he should propose that all the clauses which any other person had to offer should be discussed to-night, as well as amendments to the body of the bill; that then an order should be made for its engrossment, and the third reading should stand for Wednesday.

Sir W. PULTENEY said, he wished the bill might be rendered as free from defects as the nature of the thing would allow, and therefore he thought that another day should be taken for the discussion of clauses or amendments in the body of the bill.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that it was only from the accident of there not being a House yesterday that the third reading was not to come on on Tuesday next. He allowed that the bill was such as required great discussion. But he maintained that there never was a bill which had gone through so many stages as this had, nor one that was so deliberately considered: it had been committed twice, and twice printed; he proposed printing it a third time—a thing quite unusual; for, until lately, it had not been usual to print a revenue bill even once. Under these impressions, he would not consent to any farther delay in the measure.

He then introduced a clause to make those who should be guilty of forging certificates of the Bank, to be used for the purposes of the bill, guilty of felony, and that they should suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy, which was agreed to.

Mr. BURTON brought up a clause to empower certain persons who had contributed by rates levied upon them for the purpose of erecting jails, churches, workhouses, and other public buildings, to withhold any farther contributions for that purpose for seven years, the better to enable them to pay the present assessment.

It was proposed that this should continue only for three years, and afterwards for five years.

The first division was—

For seven years,	6
Against it, - -	40
For five years, - -	7
For three years, -	38

Mr. WILBERFORCE proposed three clauses, but the House refused leave to bring up either.

The first was, to exempt Justices of the Peace in the country, or to make them an abatement from this duty, if their incomes were under 2000*l.* a year.

The office in favour of those who keep but one horse, and keep no servant.

The third was in favour of a religious sect of people called Moravians.

Mr. BURTON proposed a clause to enable landlords and tenants to lend money to each other, and the one to take the same remedy to recover it as he has for the recovery of his rent; the other to deduct out of the rent, for their mutual accommodation, the better to enable each of them to pay this duty when called upon.

Division for the clause, 16; Against it, 32.

The House then went through all the amendments in the body of the bill, which are numerous:

After which the bill was ordered to be ingrossed, to be printed with the amendments, and to be read a third time on Wednesday next.

Wednesday, January 3.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS moved the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the bill for allowing a certain proportion of the supplementary militia to enlist in the regular troops; which being done, and a motion being made by Mr. Secretary Dundas that the Speaker do leave the chair,

General FITZPATRICK said, it was not his intention to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, nor to object to the bill, the principle of which he highly approved. His object in rising was to state to the House, that he wished to see the bill extended, if it were possible, to the whole military. By the provisions which were to receive the sanction of the Committee, a limited time was fixed for the engagement of the militia soldier who should enlist in the regulars, while in all the regular troops the engagement of the soldier ended only with life. He reminded the House of the suggestion he had offered on the night of the Secretary at War's bringing forward the army estimates—it was a general one, and went to the whole body of His Majesty's land forces—he wished that he could now propose to have that suggestion acceded to and incorporated with this bill, but apprehended that a Committee was not a proper stage for

that purpose; he however intreated the right honourable gentleman to consider the disagreeable effects which might be produced by the adoption of this bill without adopting his suggestion also. Perhaps the right honourable gentleman had considered that subject since the time on which it had been started, and meant this bill as a kind of experiment. If so, he was most egregiously mistaken in the mode of proceeding, as the present measure, by comprehending some, and not extending to all, in the same service, would only create jealousies to the injury of the service. He said it appeared to him that at the time he made that suggestion, it was not perfectly palatable to gentlemen on the other side, though they gave no precise opinion upon the subject; and he wished to know from the right honourable gentleman in express terms, whether Ministers had revolved the matter in their minds, and if so, whether they agreed with him upon it? For his own part, since that time, he had much conversation with military men, in order to get at their sentiments; and he found their opinions uniformly to coincide with his own, that enlisting men for a limited term only would be of great use to the service. If it were useful before, it would certainly be rendered absolutely necessary by the present measure, which would have a tendency to create confusion, and excite discontents. He thought one of His Majesty's Ministers would be much better qualified than he was to bring forward the measure to which he had alluded, with all its details—But if they should think proper to decline it, he gave notice to the House that he would himself bring it forward after the holidays.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that whatever opinion he might now entertain, or should hereafter form, respecting the suggestion started by the honourable general on a former night, there was nothing in it that could possibly lie as an objection to the present bill, which only enabled men in the supplementary militia corps voluntarily to extend the limits of their service, without extending its duration—that is to say, to enlarge the scene of their action, but not the period of their service—not to interfere at all with their present engagements. If indeed the bill went so far as to extend to both, and mix them together, the observations of the honourable General might be supposed to apply, but in point of fact it had no such tendency. He said, it would be an unpardonable want of candour in him to deny that the suggestion thrown out by the honourable General had undergone some consideration, but it was not a question of so important or easy a nature as would allow them to form an opinion upon it at once. He said it was still under consideration, but at the same time it was perfectly com-

petent to the honourable General to bring forward the proposition in his own way ; and he would not presume to offer any thing to prevent or dissuade him from it, but would only say, generally, that at present he had not made up his mind, or formed any precise opinion on the subject.

Mr. HOBHOUSE said that he had yesterday expressed his doubts, whether this scheme would succeed according to the design of the right honourable gentleman ; but supposing it to succeed, would it not either defeat the purposes of raising the supplementary militia, or else shew that there was no occasion for raising them ? The supplementary militia, he said, was raised for internal defence ; if they were originally wanted, they were still wanted ; nay, were they not wanted now more than ever, on account of the menaces of the enemy ? If an invasion should take place, would not substitutes for them be wanting ?

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, the House would see how improper it would be for him to enter into a detail of the particular service in which those men might on occasion be engaged, or of the particular application of them. But ten thousand men were not employed less in the defence of their country, when put under the command of officers belonging to the regular troops, than if retained in militia corps, and confined to one particular spot.

Mr. HOBHOUSE said, that if 10,000 men belonging to the supplementary militia were, at this hour of imminent danger, sent out of the kingdom, and their places were not supplied, it was evident that, *pro tanto* the supplementary militia ought not to have been raised, and such an unnecessary expence ought not to have been laid upon the country.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, that, after deducting the ten thousand in question out of the 60,000 enlisted for the supplementary militia, 50,000 men would remain according to the terms of the original act. Of this application of those men the Executive Government had the best right and best means to judge.

General TARLETON observed, there was no way whatsoever in which we could apply our troops to offensive operations : the measure was therefore unnecessary.

The clauses were then read one by one, and agreed to. By those the duration of the bill is limited to six months after the conclusion of a general peace ; and the number of men to pass over from the supplementary militia to the regulars confined to 10,000, or at the utmost to one fifth of the number of that body.

The Chairman reported the resolutions ; the report was brought

up and read, and the bill ordered to be engrossed and read a third time to-morrow.

Mr. BRAGGE brought up a petition from 160 clock and watch makers of the city of Bristol, complaining of the mischiefs sustained by them in consequence of the tax on those articles, predicting the entire annihilation of that branch of manufacture, and praying consideration, &c.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved the order of the day, for the third reading of the bill for raising a sum by an increase of assessed taxes.

Mr. TIERNEY rose, and complained of the hasty and indirect manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer attempted to bring on that business, with a view, as it should seem, to preclude him from an opportunity of making the motion of which he had given notice, and which ought to be entertained prior to the present bill passing into a law. He requested that he might be permitted to make his motion; and he assured the right honourable gentleman that he did not mean to say one word more than merely to propose a clause, which, if not thought right, might be rejected. All he desired was to have the sense of the House upon it, as a plain, simple point, of which every one is competent to judge. If he should not be allowed this to-day, he would move for a Committee of ways and means on Friday next.

Mr. Chancellor PITT said, that he had as little understood what particular day the honourable gentleman had proposed to himself to bring on his motion, as he did the particular matter he had in view to move. The honourable gentleman had said in general terms, that some time before the holidays he would make a motion touching a particular source of finance, but had neither particularized the day nor specified the terms of his intended proposition. The honourable gentleman must unquestionably have a strong confidence in the propriety of his motion, when he thought it so little doubtful and so very unequivocal that it would require no aid from his eloquence.

He fancied, however, the honourable gentleman had not altogether a right to presume that every one in that House would see it so plainly in one extreme or other as to determine all at once on one reading for or against it. At all events it was worth the honourable gentleman's while to recollect that in the present state of the bill, and under the urgent circumstances of time, no proposition could by possibility be so managed as to be ingrafted upon it. The honourable gentleman must know that to indulge him at present could answer no purpose but that of creating delay—he might therefore as well postpone it to a subsequent day. In the mean time it might

not be amiss to give the House a hint of the nature of his intended motion—for his own part, he declared he did not know what it was intended to be.

Mr. TIERNEY then rose, and gave notice, that on Friday he would move for a Committee of ways and means, to consider of a repeal of those laws which exempt the royal family from the payment of assessed and other taxes.

The question was then put by the Speaker, that this bill be now read a third time.

Mr. THOMPSON got up, and in strong terms reprobated the bill, as being not only unwise, impolitic, and ruinous in its principle, but cruel, unequal, oppressive and unjust in its particular provisions and distributions, and illusory and deceptive in its pretended mitigations. He entered into a minute detail of the clauses, commenting on them with much ability; pointing out the objectionable parts of the modifications; opposing the inequality of the scale laid down by the bill; and insisting that it lay with insupportable weight upon the poor, while it affected to exclude them from contribution. "Thus," said he, "the House must see that in this horrid Roberespierian requisition, no distinction is made between the poor and the rich, between the wretch who drudges for his daily subsistence, and the gentleman who keeps twenty powdered lacqueys. In short it is a tax upon poverty. Mr. Thompson then adverted to the evils which would arise to gentlemen of very contracted circumstances, whom age or infirmity obliged to retain certain establishments that swallowed up the whole of their present income; and he instanced the particular case of one who, by a paralytic stroke, was rendered utterly helpless, almost motionless, and reduced to the necessity of keeping a servant. In the case of this gentleman it so happened that, while his expences were now up to the last shilling of his means, this bill would add full ten pounds a year to his expences. After pointing out several other severities that would attend the bill, he declared that, after all, the part which he thought worst, was the concluding clause; by which it was enacted, that the bill might be altered during the present session of Parliament; for when he considered the temper of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the disposition of the House to agree to any thing he might propose, he could not think that that clause was intended to leave room to alter the bill for the better—it was therefore brought in only with a view to making it worse, if indeed that could be made worse which was already a compound of oppression, trick, and delusion. He supposed the Chancellor of the Exchequer was blind to the ruinous tendency of the measure, and thought it probable he would re-

main so ; for he could hardly think the right honourable gentleman would venture to walk along the streets, and count the desolation he occasioned by the number of houses that would be emptied by it. To sum up all, it would put an end to private bounty, destroy the morals and intellects of the rising generation, by abridging their parents of the means to educate them ; and totally annihilate the education of the poor.

Mr. TYRWHIT said, that it was with infinite difficulty and regret he rose to oppose a measure which he could not help thinking was closely interwoven with the safety, nay the existence of the country—but he had been so generally and uniformly pressed from all quarters, quarters not tainted in the smallest degree with the spirit of party, to oppose the bill, that he felt himself bound to give it his negative. And for his own part he apprehended that it would be found in its operation very different from the expectation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Instead of one-tenth, the tax would amount to one-sixth of the property of the rich, and that could not fail to lessen consumption, to fall ultimately upon the poor, and in that way to alienate their affections.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, that he had not as yet heard an answer to any one of the objections which had been made to this tax, when first proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The first objection made to this tax was, that it was unequal, and therefore unjust. If a tax is to be imposed on income, it must be on the idea that income is the evidence of property. Let two men draw each 1000*l.* a year, one from the long annuities, the other from the short annuities, their incomes would be the same : and they would therefore pay the same tax, viz. 100*l.* Yet they had manifestly different portions of property ; the annuity of one being worth 12 years purchase, while the annuity of the other was only worth six years purchase. But equal burdens on unequal portions of property was unjust. There was the same injustice if the income was drawn from land, and one received his income from lands of which he was proprietor in fee-simple, and the other from land of which he was tenant for life. It was in like manner unjust if one drew his income wholly from property, the other partly from property partly from skill and industry.

The next objection which had been taken was, that by compelling the higher orders of the middle class to economize, it would destroy the employment of the artizan, and diminish the revenue, by rendering the taxes on consumption less productive. To this some answer had been attempted ; the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he had relieved the lower orders by diminishing the tax

on them. As far as the relief granted to the lower orders would occasion less money to be raised, he acknowledged the modification to be beneficial; it was *pro tanto* an abandonment of the bill. But as far as an additional burden was laid on the higher orders of the middle class, he thought the modification was not beneficial. For the mischief was, that the direct pressure on the higher orders of the middle class would occasion an indirect pressure on the lower orders, viz. that it would destroy their employment. He denied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer spared the lower orders. He destroyed the life of the poor man, if he took away the employment by which he lived. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that the money would not be hoarded in the Exchequer, that it would be expended, and afford employment. It was true, it would be expended, and afford employment; but to whom? to soldiers and sailors? Was there no inhumanity in saying to the artisan, 'you have hitherto been entitled, from the usages and customs of society, to expect employment, but you cannot now have it; the money which used to feed you must now feed others; you must seek other employments, and emigrate, or go to the parish.' Was not this language somewhat inhuman? But the revenue would not suffer; yes, it would suffer; the same money spent by soldiers and sailors would not yield the same revenue from the consumption of taxable commodities by soldiers and sailors, as it would if spent by artisans. The next objection which had been taken was, that if income was to be made the standard of taxation, you must consent to the means necessary for investigating income. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had resorted to the assessed taxes as the criterion of income; but he had acknowledged that this was an incorrect criterion; he had therefore assisted this criterion by the declaration of the party on oath, where the amount of his assessed taxes exceeded one tenth of his income. The first objection to this was, that though it might relieve the man of the middle class, if assessed beyond one tenth, yet it would not compel the great land proprietor, if taxed less than one tenth, to pay more. But if this declaration on oath was to be resorted to, mark the consequences: If a man swore falsely, was he punishable or not punishable? Take it either way, he was punishable; but punishment must be preceded by conviction; conviction by trial; trial must involve inquiry and investigation. Were they prepared to subject every man to such an investigation into his most secret concerns, which must be the case if he was indicted for having given a false account of his property? He thought it not consistent either with the principles of a commercial nation, or with those of civil liberty, or even with domestic happiness. By

whom might the prosecution be preferred ? by any man, or only by the Attorney General ? If any man might institute the prosecution, every man who ventured to take this oath was at the mercy of his enemy ; for if indicted for perjury, though acquitted, his character would be stained. Was the Attorney General alone to prosecute ? Whom would he find to hold the office of Attorney General ? If they held that the man who swore falsely was not punishable, to what a situation was the country reduced, when they acknowledged that the only means by which the revenue of the country could be collected, was the oath of the party ; but that if he swore falsely he could not be punished ! But it had been said this measure would intimidate our enemies : What was there in this measure which could intimidate our enemies ? The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the funding system had been carried to its utmost extent ; that taxes on consumption or property were no longer expedient ; that recourse must be had to a new mode of taxation, viz. by making income the standard of taxation. That it was true he had not yet discovered any correct criterion for investigating income ; that he admitted that the criterion proposed, viz. the assessed taxes, was in many cases unequal, and therefore unjust ; that it would destroy the employment of the artificers ; that it would diminish the present revenue arising from taxes on consumption, and must be assisted by the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal, inconsistent with civil liberty and private happiness. Was this the picture which would terrify our enemies ? But supply was necessary : be it so ; but not by these means. But was the supply necessary ? He had doubts on that question. Was the continuance of the war necessary ? He doubted it.—He could not say the continuance of the war was necessary, except he could see that sincere endeavours had been in vain employed to obtain peace. He did not think that sincere endeavours had been employed by his Majesty's Ministers to obtain peace. He remarked on one circumstance in the papers laid on the table, viz. That after the French Directory had intimated that the choice of Lord Malmesbury was not acceptable to them, yet our Ministers had persevered in that choice. He was assured by those who were conversant in diplomatic subjects that this was a conduct unexampled in diplomatic history. But other circumstances led him to doubt the sincerity of his Majesty's Ministers in the late negotiation : some of them never could have been sincere, except they have abandoned those principles which first induced them to involve us in the present war. He did not believe they had abandoned those principles. He recollected the language of the Secretary at War on a former night, viz. " That if peace brought

reform, that reform he should consider as revolution." As a loyal subject, he could not wish a revolution; and if he thought reform synonymous with revolution, he could not wish for that peace which he and all men saw would necessarily produce reform. Some of those who are now in his Majesty's cabinet had involved this country in war, not from a dread of the power of France, but from a dread of the Commons of England. They feared that the commons of England might be influenced by the example of France to claim their rights, viz. that every man in that House should sit by the election of a body of the commonalty; that no Peer should interfere in the election of a member of that House; and that that House should become what the law had directed it to be, viz. the virtual representation of all the Commons of England. This the Peers, proprietors of boroughs, dreaded; and there were some among his Majesty's Ministers who were influenced by this fear.—[Here Mr. Nicholls was called to order by the Speaker.]—When he rose again, he said he bowed with deference to that high authority, and would relinquish that line of argument which he had been endeavouring to follow; but he requested permission to observe, that in considering a tax bill it had been usual to allow great latitude of discussion. Their constituents could not themselves apply directly by petition to the House. Their interest could only be protected by the exertions of their Representatives. He submitted to the authority of the Speaker, requesting at the same time to state the line of argument he had endeavoured to pursue:—he opposed the tax because not necessary; he thought the tax not necessary because he thought the continuance of the war not necessary; he thought the continuance of the war not necessary, because sincere endeavours had never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace.—“Why do I say that sincere endeavours have never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace?—Because some among his Majesty's Ministers never can have employed sincere endeavours to obtain peace, except they have relinquished those principles on which they involved us in the war; and, if we might argue from the language of the Secretary at War on a former night, when this bill was under consideration, they have not abandoned these principles.” But, in submission to the authority of the Speaker, he said, he would desist from that line of argument. He said, there was another ground on which, as a Member of that House, he thought it his duty to hesitate before he assented to the proposed tax; viz. a doubt whether, even supposing the continuance of the war was necessary, and that we now must contend *pro aris & focis*, whether, even in this case, it was expedient to trust the money in the hands of the present Ministers, and whether

it was not our duty to suspend the vote of the tax, and to vote an address to his Majesty to remove his Ministers. He said, every event of the present war had convinced him, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a man of no talents. He had no wish to do injustice to the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He acknowledged his talents as a debater in that House, that he possessed sarcasm, sneer, irony, wit : above all, he possessed the happy talent of multiplying and bringing his words in such a manner, that it was hardly possible to affix a precise meaning to his language ; that to this he joined the most successful knack of misrepresenting the arguments of his adversaries ;—in one word, he acknowledged that he was *maximus* as a political gladiator in that *Aræna*, while he was *minimus* as a statesman. That if all which was required from a Minister, was the faculty of amusing that House by his speeches, he acknowledged his talents ; but he recollected the expression of a great Athenian statesman, *Then istochus* ; he said, “ he could not play on a fiddle, but he could make a little city a great state : ”—The language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer must be the reverse of this ; he could play on his fiddle, and amuse this House, but he had reduced a great empire to be a little state. “ You judge of a painter, of a statuary, of an architect, by their works. He had read of an architect who had been buried in a church, which he had himself erected, with this epitaph, “ *Si queris monumentum, circumspice.* ” Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his character as a statesman to be decided by this test ? It had been said, by an honourable Alderman on a former night, that though the bill was odious, yet those he conversed with feared nothing so much as the removal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was very possible that this was true ; those who profited by the wasteful expenditure of the public treasure, could never find a Minister more suited to their wishes. But could any man say that he confided in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from a review of his conduct ? Was he a war-minister ? Was he a skilful finance-minister ? Was he an able negotiator ? His friends acknowledged that he was no great war-minister ; and how could they avoid making this acknowledgment ? Beginning the war with all the powers of Europe on his side, he had so conducted it that every ally had either abandoned him, or been subdued, while France had been exalted to a power almost beyond the dreams of ambition. View him as a finance-minister :—The funding system exhausted ; a paper currency introduced ; taxes on consumption no longer practicable ; while recourse is had to a requisition on income. What is he as a negotiator ? He tells you himself that he has three times

attempted to make peace, always sincerely, but always unsuccessfully. View him as a statesman in the late negociation, I mean at its close, after his paltry intrigue to overturn the French government had failed. He knew that Austria would make a separate peace; he knew that in consequence of that peace France would establish her ascendant in Italy, in the Mediterranean Sea, in Spain, in Portugal, in Holland, and in Germany. He knew that he had exhausted the funding system; that he could no longer lay his taxes on consumption; that he must have recourse to this new mode of a requisition on income; yet, knowing all this, this great statesman thought it advisable to continue the war for those paltry objects, Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, and Trincomale.

Mr. DICKINSON, junr. said, he had in his mind many arguments against the gentlemen who spoke against it, but doubted whether his delivery would bear him out—he did not however presume to hope that any thing he was capable to offer, would convert the sentiments of those gentlemen, if any, who had made up their minds upon the business. He confessed, that at first he disliked the measure, but upon investigating, and maturely considering the subject, he thought it was the only measure that could maintain the dignity or ensure the safety and security of the realm. It had been called unjust and unprecedented. If indeed it were unjust, no precedent could sanction it; but until it was proved to be unjust, (and he believed that would be difficult) he must, in conformity to his duty, support it, not only on principle but on precedent. He was aware that it might seem presumptuous in him to instruct one so learned and so ingenious as the honourable gentleman who had just sat down. In history, he would nevertheless remind him, that immediately previous and subsequent to the revolution, up to the establishment of the sinking fund, large sums were raised, precisely on this principle; and the honourable gentleman would recollect that when the spirit of the revolution was most ardent in the minds of the people, the land tax, taking five per cent. was passed, and commissioners were actually appointed to receive statements upon oath of the property of the subject. At present the question was, whether the House would agree to accept any peace France chose to dictate. He was surprised the honourable gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) had omitted to make some remark upon what had been said a few nights before by an honourable Member, (Mr. D. P. Coke,) viz. that “fundamental and radical reform meant nothing more than fundamental and radical ruin.” As to a new land tax, proposed by the honourable gentleman, he conceived it would be a most unjust and ungenerous system of taxation in a country like this, where so

large a proportion of the property and means of the people was commercial. It was the fashion for gentlemen in that House to renounce all attachment to, or influence by, party, as if it were criminal. If it were criminal, he acknowledged that he must submit to the stigma; he had his party affections, but in a case of such importance and magnitude to all parties as the present, he should detest himself if he was influenced by any thing but sterling principle and truth.

Mr. SIMEON said he was as averse as any man could be to oppose a measure that seemed to involve the safety of the country; but having fairly compared the possible benefits with the probable evils, he had come to a determination in his mind against it. He thought the war was just and necessary, and that every thing we held dear was at stake, but that could not induce him to vote for a tax which would be, he was persuaded, at once oppressive and ineffective. He was aware of the censure and contempt that attached to any man, not being a Minister, proposing any species of taxation; but that should not deter him from doing his duty, and offering to the country a plan which he had for some time had in contemplation. He then proceeded to state the substance of his plan, which, as well as we were able to collect it, was to the following effect:

To charge a duty of five per cent. upon all deviseable property above a certain amount.

To charge a duty on all retail tradesmen and dealers; and to make the rent of the house the criterion of property or income, and not to take away above one fifteenth of the income, after deducting the charges of trade.

To charge the transfer of stock with a duty of half a crown in the pound.

He then observed, that the produce of it would be nearly double that which would be raised by the present measure. He did not think it would fall short of eight millions and an half, perhaps it might produce ten millions. It would produce not half the oppression of the plan now before the House. He approved of the idea of our raising a large sum of money within the year, but he objected to the mode now before the House. Indeed it was essential to our existence as a nation. For, our enemy having manifested a hatred to our Constitution, it must be defended by extraordinary exertion, otherwise we should become a province to France. We had waded before now through much blood and treasure—for what? For the establishment of a Republic, of which, however, we soon became tired, and hailed the return of

Monarchy with joy. That Republic died a natural death. We afterwards, however, sent for a foreigner, and made him our Monarch. We had now a Monarchy and a Monarch that we revered, and he did not believe there was any honest or unprejudiced man in this country, who would hesitate to deliver up, if necessary, his last shilling for the defence of our present establishment. As to the sincerity of our present Ministers in their negotiation for peace, he owned it excited his wonder that any body should doubt it. He did not think that the honourable gentleman who had charged them so much with insincerity, in his heart, believed the truth of the charge. The truth of the matter was, that Ministers could not help the rupture of the negotiation. The French called for a *carte blanche* from us—would state no terms of their own. Their aim was at the destruction of the Constitution of this country, and it must be our business to counteract their efforts. However he thought the measure before the House was not calculated for that purpose, it rather tended to encourage than deter the enemy, and therefore he thought it his duty to oppose it.

Mr. ANDREWS said he had perused this plan with attention, and he thought it the best that had been hitherto devised, and therefore he should support it. He thought that the plan of the honourable and learned gentleman who spoke last, would be productive of much inconvenience and some injustice, although the House were obliged to him, as they would be to any member for submitting his ideas in the same manner. He thought the bill now before the House would produce much good; it had a direct tendency to preserve the credit of the funds. The burden was certainly great, but in our present situation, strong measures were necessary. The enemy had avowed an hostility against the existence of our Constitution; and we had no alternative; we must either exert ourselves or perish. The enemy had chosen the road: that road was war. War was now our only road to peace. Our Government had twice tried to obtain peace by negotiation. Should we now by tame and abject submission sue for peace? Should we allow them to enslave us under the pretence of giving us liberty? He trusted that we should shew our enemy what Englishmen can do. They talked of a "Loan of England," and an "Army of England." True it was that they might have an army of England on the coast of France, but he did not believe that we should find an army of France on the coast of England. Supposing that we should, he trusted there was not an arm in this island capable of wielding a sword that would not be proud to do it against such a foe. He was not in habits of intimacy with His Majesty's Mi-

nisters, but he could not help observing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer evinced his patriotism by bringing forward the present measure. It was much against his personal convenience, and by it he risked, at least, his existence as a Minister. This bill created for him no friends, but gave his enemies many opportunities of employing their devices against him. He was a friend, however, to the principle of the bill, and he thought it would have been happy for this country, had this system been adopted long ago; for then it would have been impossible for the ambition or folly of any Minister to have carried on any war so long as many wars had been carried on; for by recurring to the funding system perpetually, a fatal facility was created for carrying on wars.

Mr. MARTIN said, that had there been no other plan offered for raising a large sum of money within the year, he should have thought it his duty to vote for the present bill, because a very large sum of money must be raised for the public service; but as he thought the bill liable to much objection, and as another plan, and perhaps a better, had been proposed by an honourable and well-meaning gentleman, he thought himself entitled to say he should oppose the present bill, for the purpose of introducing another.

Mr. H. ADDINGTON said, that he should not detain the House by examining the calculations of one learned gentleman who had spoke, or follow the example of another, in endeavouring to ascertain the merits of any Member of that House, either as a statesman or as a gladiator; he rose merely to make some general observations on the bill, in doing which, he should claim the attention of the House but for a few minutes.

Before he had heard that any such measure as that now under discussion was in contemplation, it had occurred to him, as no doubt it had to many other gentlemen, that it would be extremely desirable, if practicable, for the House to adopt some plan, by which a part of the supplies might be raised within the year. It seemed of the utmost consequence to give breathing time to public credit; to avoid making a very heavy addition to the national debt in the present state of the funds; to avoid laying permanent taxes to so large an amount to pay the interest of that additional debt, some of which must necessarily affect the lower classes of people, and to convince the enemy that we were in possession of resources, on which, perhaps, they had not calculated. He would not go so far as to say, that this bill, now under discussion, after all its modifications, was entirely free from objections, which must necessarily attach on any plan for raising so considerable a sum within the year. But, satisfied as he was of the necessity of some such

measure, feeling what difficulties and pressures of another sort we avoided by it, (which should never be lost sight of,) what immense advantages would be attained by it, and not having heard any one less objectionable suggested, he should feel himself bound to give it his support.

Mr. Addington said that he would not detain the House by entering into a detailed examination of the various objections that had been made to this measure. Some gentlemen thought that the bill did not go far enough—more, that it went too far. Some disliked it on account of its novelty, which was, to him, a strong recommendation of it. In the present crisis, whilst our enemies were enabled by new measures, and by calling forth new means, to make such extraordinary exertions, not to meet these exertions by new and vigorous measures on our part, would be to leave the country to destruction and ruin. One gentleman declares it unjust to make a tax on luxury, as he calls this bill retrospective; which, if it was not, it must be unproductive, and of course useless. But it could not be properly called a tax on luxury; it was a general contribution, levied for a limited time, in different proportions on those who were best able to bear it, according to the fairest criterion that could be found. With respect to the argument of its diminishing consumption, that was equally an objection to any measure whatever, the principle of which was to raise a large supply within the year. A learned gentleman (Mr. Nicholls) had declared, that he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had so long prosecuted the funding system, and had added so largely to the national debt, was the last person who ought to have proposed this plan. Mr. Addington thought this a very good reason why his right honourable friend should feel it to be peculiarly his duty to recommend some deviation from a system, his perseverance in which was supposed to be injurious to the public. It could with more propriety be urged, that those who had been in the habit of emphatically calling the national debt *the best ally of France*, should be the last to oppose a measure, peculiarly calculated to defeat the hopes, and to prostrate the reliance which the enemy might have on so formidable a coadjutor.

The reign of King William had been referred to on another occasion, and again on that night, as a model for public spirit. He wished it to be considered so. Gentlemen very well knew, as had indeed been stated in the House, that the year after that Monarch came to the throne, a measure had been proposed and received without resistance or murmur, the Land-tax Bill, which required one-fifth of every person's property to enable the King to carry on

the war. It was, indeed, abandoned, because it was found to be attended with considerable difficulties in the execution of it. What was the object of that war, and what was the enemy with whom we then had to contend? To preserve the balance of power in Europe; to secure the country, not against a pressing and a most alarming danger, but against one, distant and problematical. The enemy was a prince, certainly of vast ambition, fond of glory and of conquest:—but had no particular antipathy to crown'd heads; had never threatened conquered countries with the annihilation of their nobility; the destruction of all their old institutions; the subversion of their established forms of government. Did we want to know the object of the enemy in the present contest? Read their own declarations, and we should find that it was not merely subjugation, but universal plunder; with the exception only of the mutineers in the navy, and the friends of reform, on whose co-operation they foolishly and madly relied. Were he to describe this enemy, he would call them “*Raptores orbis, quibus cuncta vastantibus cum defensu terræ, et mare scrutantur. Si locuples hostis, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi. Quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit. Qui auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium; et ubi solitudinem faciunt, Pacem appellant.*” This was the enemy, to secure ourselves against whose fury we were now called upon to subscribe a sum not exceeding, in any case, a tenth of our incomes. No man lamented, Mr. Addington said, more than he did, that this measure should bear hard on any individual; but let those on whom it pressed look at the French manifesto; at the speech of the President of the Directory to their favourite general; and their complaints would soon be lost in sentiments of indignation, which he defied any man not to feel who called himself an Englishman.

On the charges of corruption which had been frequently thrown out against the majority of that House, Mr. Addington observed, that judging of other gentlemen's feelings by his own, perhaps they might be thought scarcely worthy of notice. He knew the motive of his own conduct, and had no intention of acting by any other. But he would ask those gentlemen on the other side of the House, who had uniformly supported their right honourable friend in his opposition to all the measures of the present Minister for fourteen years together, during which period, he must have accidentally stumbled on a few, at least, beneficial to the country; how would they be pleased that their conduct should be imputed to a corrupt motive, to the hope of reward, whenever the success of that opposition should enable their friend to bestow it? From him they

should never hear any such insinuation, because he thought he had no right to express any such suspicion. He thought they would do wisely to dissuade their friends from throwing out such charges at random, which those who threw out, did not themselves believe.

He would not presume to remind the House, that on the continuance of that firmness which he thought had been so conspicuous during the whole of this arduous contest, never more so than at the close of the last session, rising in proportion to the difficulties that threatened the salvation of the country, altogether depended. Gentlemen need not be told that the pulse of the people would beat according to the language held, and to the measures pursued by their representatives within these walls—by those who had been called, with what decency he would leave it to the country to determine, the *Jacobin* representatives of the people of Great Britain. Perhaps they might be thought less undeserving of that epithet, if they had been found at a most important crisis shrinking from their duty;—if they ever had, or ever should, in moments of emergency and danger, hesitate to adopt measures, proportioned to the magnitude of the evils with which they were threatened; if at one particular period, they had been basely and wickedly passive in suffering the sacred person of a beloved monarch to be exposed to the repetition of insults, which they had it in their power to prevent;—if they should be backward in employing whatever means they might possess, and in a manner worthy of Englishmen, to secure those blessings, which, as Englishmen, they so peculiarly enjoyed, against the efforts, whether combined or separate, of the internal and external enemies of the country.

Mr. Addington said, that he should not now be provoked into any discussion on either of the questions, whether this country or France was the aggressor in the war, or whether Ministers were or were not sincere in their negotiations for peace, on both of which, the House had heard a good deal of declamation in the various discussions on this bill, to which he conceived they were wholly irrelevant. At a proper time, he for one should not be disposed to shrink from either of those questions: facts were the best evidence on both. But there was another consideration which might possibly, at some future time, be found connected with the decision of the House this night, namely, whether Great Britain should accept peace on whatever terms an arrogant and vindictive enemy might think proper to grant. He never thought more highly of the abundant wealth of the country than at the present moment, nor of the ampleness of our resources, if we were true to ourselves,

and called them forth wisely and vigorously. Confident as he was, that persons would continue to be selected for situations of high naval and military responsibility, who were the best qualified for them, without regard to influence or interest; satisfied as he was with his Majesty's gracious assurance, that the most rigid economy should be observed in the farther prosecution of a war, which had hitherto been necessarily attended with heavy expences; relying above all on that providence who knew the sincerity of his right honourable friend in his wishes to restore peace to the country—who had made this country great and free, and by giving us a proper sense of the blessings that we enjoyed, had, in fact, enabled us to provide means for preserving them, he trusted that the issue of this contest would still be fortunate: that peace, whenever its blessings might be restored to those realms, would find us, as the war has found us, rich in commercial prosperity; rich in the industry of our countrymen; unbroken in spirit; formidable in resources; determined at all times and under all circumstances, to resist by arms, if necessary, any act of aggression, any insult, any provocation, that we might receive from any power whatever; never forgetting, as he trusted we never should forget, that on the continuance of the public spirit of the country, not merely its commercial prosperity, but its very existence as an independent power, essentially and substantially depended.

Mr. ROSE, jun. expressed his full and entire conviction of the necessity of the present measure, and therefore it should have his support. He felt great pain at the idea that he should displease any part of his constituents by his conduct, but he hoped that although they might have disapproved of the bill originally, the subsequent modifications would meet their wishes. He felt himself, not as the representative of a particular body of men, but as one of the guardians of the interests of the country in which he lived, called upon to vote for the present measure; and he could not help expressing a hope that when the inhabitants of this island at large came to be well acquainted with this measure, they would approve of it highly. He thought that without strong measures like the present, we should not be able in a proper manner to resist the enemy.

Sir FRANCIS BURDET. Mr. Speaker, it is not from any vain idea that any thing I can urge should have weight with this House, that I am now induced to address you. I have too frequently and too recently witnessed the little effect that can be produced by the utmost exertions of argument, eloquence and knowledge; it is, Sir, in order to speak my sentiments to my countrymen, from the only place in which it is any longer permitted to

peak them; and no time appeared to me so proper for that purpose as the present, when we are called upon for such extraordinary supplies. Sir, I shall not enter into the detail of the bill before the House, as its unjust and tyrannical principle renders every modification of it of little importance. But, Sir, every thing that can be said concerning the nature of this bill has been so ably stated by a right honourable Member below me upon a former occasion, that I shall not presume to add any thing farther upon that subject. The honourable gentleman who spoke last says, that by the present mode of raising the supplies, the people will be relieved. I shall endeavour to shew the fallacy of that idea, and to prove that every part of the expenditure of Government must in the end fall upon the shoulders of the people. Direct taxes, which frequently raise so much clamour, do not however injure the people. Let me be understood, I mean by their direct operation, because the wages of labour being regulated by the demand for labour, any direct tax upon the labourer, supposing the demand to continue the same, although it may be paid out of the hand of the labourer, must, however, come out of the pocket of his employer. But, the way in which these taxes and all other taxes do, and every part of the expenditure of Government does injure the people, is, by their indirect tendency to decrease the demand for labour, by dissipating those funds which pay the wages of industry. Now, Sir, to illustrate what I am saying—by the bill before you inasmuch as it falls upon country gentlemen, they can less afford to pay and maintain their servants; inasmuch as it falls upon manufacturers, they can less afford to maintain and employ their workmen; inasmuch as it falls upon farmers, they can less afford to maintain and employ their labourers. The present Minister has already made away with above two hundred millions of that sacred wages fund, and now a scheme is brought forward to enable him to destroy a still greater portion of the capital of the country, which we are told is not to be felt by the people. I should as soon put faith in an architect who talked of laying an immense weight on the head of a column, without increasing the pressure at the base, as in a financier or political economist, who talks of depriving the rich of their wealth without injury to the poor. Now, Sir, having shewn the fallacy of this mode of reasoning, I shall proceed to treat the present question, not merely as a question of finance; objects of finance, important no doubt in themselves, are however become of small import in the actual situation of our affairs. Although I perfectly agree with those who think the mode of raising the supplies highly objectionable, yet, was it altogether unobjectionable in itself, I would oppose the granting of the supplies, because I

detest the purposes they are intended to promote, the prosecution of this disgraceful war, and the support of an infamous system of corruption; these are the accursed ends for which the people of this country are to groan beneath a load of increased taxes. The honourable gentleman who spoke last, says, he shall not now speak of the justice and necessity of the origin of the war, nor of the propriety of continuing it, but reserve himself for a proper opportunity; but, what opportunity can be so proper as that in which we are called upon for fresh taxes, in order to continue it? Sir, I am not sorry, at this late period, when the clouds of prejudice are in some measure overblown, and when men, from distress being brought home to their door, are inclined to think and to reflect upon the past, to have an opportunity of saying a few words upon that head. The partakers of the present system of abuses were aware that the establishment of a wise and frugal Government in France might possibly infect the people of this country with a desire of seeing their own affairs administered in a like wise and frugal manner. This I sincerely believe to have been the true grounds of that alarm at French principles so industriously propagated by all the connections of Government, who feed upon corruption, and fatten upon the spoils of the people. It was in this point of view, Sir, French liberty was so hateful to those whose best patrimonies arose out of the corruptions; for this has the Minister been exalted to his present Jacobin eminence; for this has he passed decrees that would not have disgraced the most tyrannic code, destructive of that freedom of opinion, once the pride and security of Britons; for this have those laws, so highly prized by our ancestors for the protection of general freedom, been by him suspended or repealed. Sir, he has placed terror in the throne of reason, and, under the pretence of maintaining the Constitution, he has squandered the wealth, he has shed the blood, and he has annihilated the liberties of the people of England. These are the achievements of the right honourable gentleman, and this is the Minister, and this the system we are now called upon to drain the very hearts blood of the country in order to support. I will call upon those country gentlemen who have been frightened into a support of the present system, to stand forward at length in support of their country. Would they render their properties secure, let them show by their conduct that they really have a feeling for the interests of the people, and not always exhibit themselves in the odious point of view, of a set of men ever ready to combine against their liberties; let them exert the high privilege to which they were born, and not basely become the tools and minions of that Government it is their province to control. And now, Sir, that supplies are demanded,

let them, in the wise spirit of their ancestors, demand in their turn that grievances be redressed, and, by bringing down vengeance on the head of the Minister who has brought all this ruin on us, prove to the people of England, that their Constitution is not a dead letter, but that there is a point, beyond which the most profligate Minister cannot with safety advance.

But, Sir, was every feeling which the sacred love of our country should inspire altogether extinct within our bosoms, one would think, by this time at least, fatal experience must have taught us the absurdity of entrusting the remaining property of the country to the same hand that has already made away with so large a part of it in the most unjustifiable and ill-conducted projects, that we might by this time at least begin to perceive the error of that modern political maxim (the source, I believe, of our present misfortunes) that money is the sinew of war. Sir, we seem to imagine we have only to assemble within these walls to devise ways and means for extracting large sums of money from the country : then we are told we are to be relieved from all our embarrassments, and our enemies to be struck with terror and dismay. But, Sir, we must first cleanse away those foul corruptions which the present Minister has carried beyond any former example ; which unnerves every heart and every arm, and deprives us of that vigour and that courage once characteristic of this now-degraded country. Sir, money is not the sinew of war. Was money so all-powerful as most persons, in spite of experience, continue to believe—I say in spite of experience, for the whole tenour of history serves to prove the contrary—the extravagance of our own Minister would surely have entitled him to every sort of advantage, and the people of France would long ere this have been exterminated, according to the pious intentions of the undertakers of the war, and would now have been held out as a dreadful example to trembling nations of the danger of incurring royal vengeance, the nature of which may be learnt from the specimen afforded in the infamous conduct of the coalesced Kings towards the brave and unfortunate La Fayette. In truth, Sir, as it has been managed, our wealth has been formidable principally to ourselves. By means of the immense revenue raised upon the people of this country, a corrupt Minister has debauched the very spirit of the nation, and prepared us to become slaves, and the proof of it is our want of generosity and spirit in submitting to become the instrument for enslaving others. For let no man flatter himself that he is not implicated in the guilt of that horrible conduct which the Minister has adopted with regard to Ireland (unless he has done all in his power to prevent it). Sir, as the right honourable gentleman did

not upon a former occasion set up the disingenuous plea of the independency of the Irish Government, I shall consider the measures pursued in Ireland as the measures of the Minister; and here, Sir, his conduct stands unrivalled in the annals of human atrocity, exceeding in cruelty even that of the modern monster Roberfpierre, in as much as the cruelty of inflicting upon men excruciating torture exceeds the cruelty of inflicting upon them immediate death. A noble personage on his return from Ireland made the public acquainted with many instances of savage barbarity; but, Sir, individual instances of barbarity are scarcely worth the noticing in this stupendous system of cruelty and oppression. I have received information from that country, stating that in the county of Armagh alone above four thousand families have been barbarously driven from their homes, that is, have been robbed of their houses and their gardens under pain of being put to death if they remained. The right honourable gentleman did, I remember, express his regret at having been obliged, as he said, to adopt the measures he has adopted in Ireland. I do believe the right honourable gentleman was sincere in that expression of his regret, not from any sympathy with the unhappy sufferers, not from any compunctious visiting of nature, but because he finds those measures are productive of effects very different to what he had expected. He finds that the people of Ireland are not to be butchered out of a firm determination to emancipate their enslaved country. Let it not be thought, Sir, that what I am now stating is irrelative to the subject before you, it is one feature of that political monster engendered from the corruption of the British Constitution; nor are the people of England uninterested, or ought they to behold with selfish indifference the unheard-of sufferings of the Irish people. It is the nature of despotism to make its root in the extremes, and gradually to spread inwards. This Irish system has already passed over into Scotland. The same spirit also discovers itself in the Government at home—The same principle, though not to the same extent, is acted upon in this country; we have many victims of oppression rotting within the walls of our prisons. Sir, not to intrude too long upon your time, I will content myself with stating one case, not because it is the hardest that can be picked out, (I believe the case of that wretched, forlorn, friendless man, Kid Wake, is much harder); but because I happen to be particularly acquainted with the circumstances of the one I am about to mention—A printer of Newark, whose name is Holt, has suffered a three year's imprisonment, with a heavy fine, to be paid before he can obtain his liberty—a fine, let me observe by the way, it was utterly impossible a man like him, who earned his daily

bread by his daily labour, should of himself ever be able to pay, especially after a three-years imprisonment, and this I take to be highly unconstitutional, as well as the sending him to a prison a hundred miles distant from that of the county where he was tried, which I take also to be a gross violation of the law of the land. I know, Sir, there will never be wanting lawyers to say that all the prisons are the King's, and that he may send men wherever he pleases; but, Sir, I do not believe this to be the case—not that I pretend to any deep knowledge of the laws of this country, but it is impossible that in any country where the Constitution is supposed to secure any degree of liberty, that such a power should be trusted in the hands of the Executive Magistrate; for every one must immediately see to what dreadful purposes the abuse of such a power might be perverted, and in the present instance has been perverted, as it has put the person in question to an additional expence of four or five hundred pounds, besides depriving him of the consolation to have been derived from his wife, his children, and his friends. And Sir, what is the crime that has thus drawn upon him all the vengeance of Government—for vengeance it must be called; it never can be regarded as equitable punishment, even supposing there had been some degree of criminality in the act which he had committed. But what was the act? For reprinting resolutions supposed to have been drawn up by that right honourable gentleman himself; but whether drawn up by him or not, certainly having publicly received his sanction and his approbation. I allude to the famous resolutions known by the name of the Thatched-house Resolutions; thus, as every thing in a corrupt system is tainted, the very laws themselves, by the partial execution of them, are forged into instruments of tyranny. Now, Sir, is this justice? Can liberty exist in a country where such practices prevail? Notwithstanding the right honourable gentleman will, with a power of face I own I always behold with additional admiration, get up in this House and talk to us gravely of our liberties, and of the blessings we enjoy under our most excellent constitution, and would fain persuade us that there are no difficulties we ought not to submit to, no dangers we ought not to encounter, no extremities we ought not to endure, in order to maintain it. *Speciosu verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque majore libertatis imagine tegebantur tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.* But I do hope the spirit of my countrymen, humble as it is, will at length be roused to a redress of the wrongs they have received. That they will at length shake off the torpid effects of that sleepy drench of corruption, which seems to have benumbed their senses. That they will make one effort at least to wrench

their bleeding country from the grasp of these domestic spoilers. The Minister has made many bold and wicked strokes to destroy us, let us make one bold and honest stroke to destroy him. Should he, after such repeated treasons—for his whole conduct for these last four years has been one continued tissue of treasons to the people—should he after all escape with impunity and remain secure in office, then indeed the grand object of this libticide war will have been completely attained, and government will regard itself as amply recompensed for defeat and disgrace abroad, by a shameful triumph over the liberties of Englishmen at home! Sir, whatever may be the final event of the wicked system pursued by the Minister, whether we are tamely and meanly to sink beneath the degrading yoke of military despotism, or to be tossed on the storm of Revolution, I shall at least have the satisfaction to think, that I have exerted every little effort in my power in defence of the liberties of the people. Sir, it is not therefore on account of the heavy pressure which this mode of raising the supplies must occasion; it is not on account of the unjust and tyrannical principle of the bill now before you; it is not on account of the waste and extravagance of the Government, enormous as it is, that I now raise my voice against the granting the supplies demanded by the Minister; it is because I never will at any time, or under any circumstances, become an accomplice in the guilt of supporting a system, which, if it can be supported, and is to be persisted in (and if it can it will) must eventually destroy the freedom of my country.

Mr. Alderman LUSHINGTON explained what he had said upon a former occasion relative to this measure.—He then observed that this country was involved in considerable difficulty and some danger, but it was the duty of every man in that House and out of it not only to examine the difficulty with care, but also to face the danger with fortitude and perseverance, and farther to examine well into the circumstances which have constituted our present crisis—[A great cry of Hear! hear!] He repeated the expression, saying, “It becomes us in point of prudence to examine well into the circumstances which constitute the crisis of the present moment, in order to ascertain its real character, and form our opinion of its probable extent and duration.” This was not the crisis of a single day, or year, nor was it likely to be terminated when the present war shall be concluded. It was brought on by that awful event, the French revolution. An event that was more formidable in its nature than any thing we had ever read of in history. It became so from the situation of the people by whom it was accomplished, as well as by their numbers and disposition. He had always considered this not

only as an event that would affect us merely, but also would extend to future generations ; and therefore we should not only look to our own interests, but take care of those of our posterity in the provisions we were to make. It was upon this enlarged ground that he had viewed the subject, and had all along been friendly to the principle of the present bill. All his apprehensions were, that it might press upon the lower orders of the people : but he hoped that all apprehensions of that nature were done away with others as they were with him, by the modification that had been introduced. It had been said that the expenditure of each individual would be diminished by it, and that therefore it would tend to diminish the revenue. That appeared to him to be a very inconclusive argument, for it might be said of every tax, whether it was to raise the sum of one million or five millions. The question was entirely on the too general policy of the measure.

He was as sincere an advocate for peace, and as pure in his wishes for it, as any man in this country ; but he could not consent to any peace that would be a disgrace to us, and he believed we could not obtain any other but by vigour and exertion. There was indeed one expedient for peace, for which he hoped there was no advocate in that House, nor any that was considerable out of it, that was, a peace to be obtained by submission to an exulting foe. That foe had exulted over its opponents in many instances, but he had pride in observing it was not an exultation applicable to us ; for wherever the British force had been brought into action, the character of the country had been kept up, in a manner that maintained its honour.

Something had been said to-night upon the subject of parliamentary reform. That was a subject to which he was as much attached and was as fast a friend as ever he had been, and he should be glad to see it discussed whenever the time shall come that may be fit for the discussion of so very great, nice, and complicated a subject ; but at the present moment he thought that discussion would conduce to anarchy and confusion.

But it had been said, that if the executive power of this country were placed in other hands, or given to another description of persons, we might obtain peace. He questioned that : for he doubted whether there were in this country any description of men who, by their address, or by any other talents, could convert so vindictive a foe as that which we have now to contend with, into any thing like an opponent ready to treat with us upon honourable terms. He would go farther, and say, it was contrary to the principles of our enemies, and contrary even to the character of the human mind,

that men who have acquired so great and so new a power as our enemies lately had, contrary to the spirit of a great military republic, or rather a military democracy, to act upon just and equitable terms towards its opponents. We had found this verified by the conduct of the French; they had acted with cruelty, not only to their foes, but also to their friends. To suppose that Great Britain, which has so long been their rival, would be better treated by them than they have treated others, would be insanity. We must, therefore, continue the contest, notwithstanding it had been declared by some that such contest must be succeeded by our ruin. We must continue the contest, and follow the system of the present bill, although our comforts might not only be diminished, but be, in some degree, unhinged by it. We were like a party who had a suit depending in Chancery, who must keep it to preserve his honour, however fruitless it might be to him, or however tedious and expensive in other respects.

He then expatiated upon the horrors of the French revolution, and the mischievous tendency of French principles, as well as upon the advantages of our constitution. He had heard, he said, of the danger of the invasion of this country. He was no military man, but he thought there was no necessity for military knowledge, in order to shew the difficulty of such an enterprize; and he thought he was not speaking extravagantly, when he said, that it was above 1000 to one against the success of such an enterprize. What if the enemy should land 40 or 50 thousand men, he thought the country in wealth and spirit, and especially in naval force, equal to the destruction of such a force. He concluded with saying, that he did not believe there was a man, even on the opposition side of the House, or any where in this country, who, if we were invaded, would not say he was ready to die for the service of his country.

Lord STANLEY disapproved of the principles of the bill.

Mr. ELLISON said, he thought he should not have discharged his duty either to his country or his constituents, if he had not given to the present bill all the consideration in his power. Having done so, he conceived he could not discharge that duty without supporting the bill. He was sorry to hear an honourable Baronet speak in such terms of the all-wise and all-prudent government of France. He was sorry also to hear him talk of the corruption of Executive Government, and the minions of the Minister. This reduced him, adverse as he was to egotism, to declare, that he was as independent a Member of Parliament as that honourable Baronet could pretend to be. He then delivered his opinion upon the tendency of

French principles, and declared himself a warm friend to the bill, as a measure calculated to preserve the constitution of this country.

Mr. JEKYLL rose. He said, the honourable Member who had just concluded had taken the most singular mode he had ever witnessed of rescuing his character from the imputation of egotism; for, in the course of what he had delivered, at some considerable length, he had literally talked of nothing else but himself. He meant no personal disrespect to the honourable gentleman in alluding to an opinion he had somewhere heard, namely, that there were four topics on which a man might publickly dilate, though totally uncredited by all his hearers, without stigmatizing himself in society for a want of veracity:—a man might parade his prowess in love, his triumphs in drinking, his exploits in hunting, or his independency as a Member of Parliament.

In the loudest tones, and with the most energetic gesture, the honourable gentleman had boasted his extreme humility; and of the correctness of his conception and statement, he had afforded an example equally novel and remarkable: he had totally misrepresented the words and meaning of an honourable baronet, (Sir F. Burdett) whose expressions had precisely been, that “the Ministers of the country, being afraid that there might arise in France a wise, prudent, and frugal form of government, could not bear the contrast, and therefore they entered into the present war;” this the honourable gentleman perverted, and tortured into a eulogium on the republic of France: thus the accuracy of the honourable gentleman was strictly on a par with his humility.

As to the detestable measure of extortion and rapacity now submitted to the House, it appeared to him much to resemble, in its attempt at least, other efforts of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, wherein his arrogance and pertinacity had affected to contemn and hold at nought the unanimous opinions of those whom the House called its constituents. It reminded him of the contemptible conduct of the Minister when he dragged through the dirt that execrable majority who supported his infamous measure of the Russian armament; he made them vote with him; and when the public voice without doors thundered its detestation of the project, he instantly abandoned the very measure he had directed them so implicitly to support. It might have been hoped he would have done so in the present instance, and would have obeyed the same unanimous reprobation of his conduct.

Amidst his various and endless incapacities as a statesman, his ignorance of the condition of the various gradations and classes of

the community was not the least prominent feature, especially of the middle and inferior orders of men; what was the nature of their necessities, what was the extent of their ability. Whether this was owing to his own sudden and incalculable elevation, at an earlier period of human life than gives a thorough knowledge of such a subject, he could not pretend to say, but certain it was he laboured under the peculiar inability alluded to. Of his total ignorance of the middling class of society, perhaps the most useful and efficient, as to the interior welfare of a great empire, he had afforded in this very bill the most flagrant proof. By this harsh and inequitable project of taxation the gentlemen of four, five, or six hundred a year would not only be compelled to abandon superfluities and luxuries (God knows the present pressure would hardly afford them!) but he would be deprived of common comforts; his state would be degraded; and if a foreign refuge were open to him, he would be driven to emigration and exile, like those of a similar rank in France when violent and tyrannical measures were adopted.—Such was the consequence of the right honourable gentleman's ignorance of this order of men. Of the lower class he was, if it can be so stated, still less competent to form the remotest judgement;—witness the pompous and celebrated speech he made on that subject when he snatched from the hand of an able and intelligent friend of his, now absent, (Mr. Whitbread) a wise and salutary measure he had offered to that House for the amelioration of the state of the labouring poor—The speech was swelled with a few general ideas, borrowed from any quarter on the subject; and was as celebrated for its eloquence as it was remarkable for its inanity—jealous, and apprehensive that the able and intelligent person who had proposed the original measure should have reaped the applause of his country, so justly due to his suggestion, he tore the subject from his hand, and promised to do something miraculous upon it himself. Months elapsed, and at last this arrogance was ripened into a bill, which had as much relation to the speech that had announced it, as it had to the system of the poor, which it purported to revise and reform.

The bill was such a haph, such a farrago of absurdities, such a tesselated composition of impracticability and nonsense, that there was not a lawyer, a magistrate, nay not a parish officer, in the kingdom, nor a single individual who had a glimpse of understanding on the subject, that did not turn from the project with disgust and derision. The consequence was, that though the speech still stands recorded as a beautiful display of what may be said without any applicability to the subject in question, the bill was sneaked out of

the House in a way that marked the disgraceful manner the original subject had been wrested out of the hands of its intelligent and honourable author.

With regard to the present monstrous measure, he begged leave particularly to appeal to those honourable persons within these walls who affected a more than ordinary degree of piety, whether they could consent to the enactment and multiplication of oaths which this bill professed to establish? Whether they would consent to an increase of the incitement to perjury? He would ask all those who were solicitous to preserve the morals of the people, whether they would agree to violate a principle which he conceived was the basis of civil polity, namely, a respect for even the lesser virtues practised in the course of human society? Among these, a due economy was surely to be ranked; the exercise of that virtue was proscribed by the bill. Has a man been profuse and extravagant, to the detriment of his family and his creditors, he must remain so. Retrenchment, by the most inequitable principle of retrospective enactment that ever entered into the minds of legislators, is rendered impracticable; and, if attempted, is punished as a crime and misdemeanor.

What, too, was to be the fruit and produce of this wild and unjust exaction? he was confident that if the tax-gatherers were to be examined at the bar, they would prove to the House, what he knew they had informed the Minister of in fifty parts of the metropolis, and elsewhere, that the new collection would be totally impossible; they state, that at this moment the present taxes are not to be got at. What is the remedy for that deficiency, double, triple, and quadruple the exaction? Why, it is too ludicrous to be commented upon! But persons are to be distrained upon if they cannot pay: where, he asked, are the warehouses to contain the enormous mass of goods so distrained? where are the purchasers? Paris saw its streets filled with confiscated goods on the emigration of the noblesse; and London would present a scene not totally dissimilar.

If this ruinous measure was persisted in, would it not be obvious to the meanest critic in theoretic politics that the House of Commons had no sympathy with those it professed to term its constituents? It would be a melancholy and curious instance of the deterioration of the principles of the constitution of Great Britain, to see a bill passed by a large majority of the House of Commons, when the people without doors had pronounced their unanimous abhorrence of it. It would be an unfortunate manifestation of the fact that there was no mutuallity of interest and feeling between the people of England and those who are styled its representatives.

But this extraordinary exertion was to shew to the enemy the energy and extent of our resources; he begged to remind the House of the language held in the year 1795 by two of his Majesty's Ministers: the right honourable Secretary at War had described "France then as bleeding, but that our wounds were only skin deep." The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed with much exultation on the purity of our own mode of revenue, that "the French could only support their present system by an arrest of property and a requisition of men: a system," said the right honourable gentleman, "that could only originate in despotism, and be maintained by terror."—Requisition of men we had seen repeatedly; arrest of property is the avowed object of the present measure—will the right honourable gentleman accept of the inference? a system that could only originate in despotism, and can only be supported by terror.

It was said, men may borrow, to meet this heavy contribution. What! when the State gives usurious interest? But some contend that the right honourable gentleman has so degraded the reputation of public credit, that he has thereby afforded an inducement to lend on private security. Individuals have much to congratulate themselves upon, if public ruin is to be the path to private advantage. It was said to the ballast-heavers on the Thames, by some ingenious person to whom they had complained of their loss of bread by the employment of the convicts, that they might easily restore themselves to their former situation by committing felony.

There was another point of view, and a most serious one indeed, in which he contemplated this disastrous measure; he trembled when he attempted to state it. Should this unjust and tyrannical exaction, as in his conscience he thought it would, tend to alienate the affection of the people from the Constitution of this country, it would be more alarming than all the menaces of invasion from the most formidable enemy.

The distress and difficulty of the present awful crisis was the natural consequence of such a system as his Majesty's Ministers had uniformly persisted in, of the delusions they had practised to plunge the people into a war, from whence they were neither able nor anxious to extricate them—a situation the country had been placed in by duplicity and alarm, and continued in by declamatory jargon. He would conclude his speech with the memorable words of the right honourable gentleman's illustrious father, pronounced at a period when the national burden did not amount to an hundred millions; it was long since he had read them, but the impression was still warm in his memory.

"We have suffered ourselves," said that great statesman, "to be deceived by names and sounds; the balance of power, the liberty of Europe, a common cause, and many more such expressions, without any other meaning than to exhaust our wealth, consume the profits of our trade, and load our posterity with intolerable burdens. None but a nation that had lost all signs of virility, would suffer itself to be so treated."

Doctor LAURENCE did not feel inclined to follow the learned gentleman who spoke last, or many of those who spoke on the same side with him, into any long dissertation on the Poor Bill, the state of our finances, or on the speeches delivered by the father of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt;) nor would he dwell on the arguments to which they had principally resorted this night; with regard to which he could produce as many speeches against as could be quoted in favour of them. He felt, above all other arguments, the force of that which arose from the present critical situation of the country, the extraordinary exigencies which it occasioned, and which the Bill now under consideration was intended to meet; for he thought it necessary first to touch on the nature of the terms of peace which we were likely to hear proposed by the enemy. These we might collect from the language they were daily in the habit of using, and which, so far from being of a mild and pacific tone, seemed to breathe nothing but our utter destruction. They talked of nothing but of our tyranny over the seas, which at no period existed, and which they have never been able to prove; they hold out to their countrymen the example of Carthage with regard to Rome; they represent us as the Carthaginians, and themselves as the Romans. For their safety they think it necessary that England must be expunged from the earth; and that they have to avenge on our heads whole ages of oppression. Such is their avowed disposition and designs towards this country; and this disposition so expressed amply proves that the war they wage against England is, on their part, an internecine war, and not on ours. This same object it has long been their study and their ambition to accomplish, and in furtherance of that end they endeavour to destroy the old established political system of Europe, the head and principal support of which England has been long both generally and justly regarded. To disunite that system, they have turned and pointed all their political batteries, in order to prevent the different European powers from co-operating with us in order to counteract and crush the present despotic and tyrannous system pursued by the rulers of the French Republic.

The learned and honourable gentleman next proceeded to shew

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the striking contrast between our financial situation and that of France, and the very different mode pursued by the two countries, in order to maintain their respective financial operations. No description of persons or of property had been spared in France; they have seized on ninety out of an hundred parts of the landed property, the proprietors of which they have vexed by exile, persecution, and murder: nor have they been more tender of mercantile property; for merchants and bankers they have unmercifully plundered. But notwithstanding this immense accumulation of plunder and wealth, they have imposed heavier taxes on land, and on every species of property, than have ever been known in this country. They have also raised heavier loans, even to the amount of one-third of the income of individuals; and nevertheless this is the wise and frugal government of France which the honourable Baronet would hold out to us as a model of our imitation! Would he also have us adopt the physical force of requisition of all ages, to which have been attributed the great victories obtained by the enemy? To all those victories he would content himself with opposing our commercial prosperity, which, under our present circumstances, was great beyond all example. The learned gentleman then proceeded to inquire into the causes of the war, and the necessity of resisting and defeating the projects of aggrandisement which the French had evidently in contemplation to accomplish. He next adverted to the tendency and consequences of the new measure of increased Assessment, and endeavoured to prove the propriety of not bearing too hard on the Funding System.—Money had lost its level, and this would continue unless something was thrown out to counteract it; some plan should therefore be adopted in order to reduce the interest on money, so as that government might not be obliged to give higher terms than those that were given on private security.

To a measure of this nature it was at the present moment peculiarly proper to resort, as it would be unwise to persevere in the Funding System, by which heavy additions must be made to our permanent burdens, and a rapid depression fall upon the Stocks. No solid arguments had been urged against this measure; on the contrary, it had been said that the national debt of England was the powerful ally of France. Should, therefore, sincere well-wishers to the country advise the increase of that by which the interest of the country must be injured? In his mind, all the arguments opposed to it were but random-shots. Some said the poor would suffer from it; others, that it would press hard upon the rich; others again, that it would be peculiarly oppressive to the middle

classes of society. But this was a mode of reasoning which ought to be discouraged; nor should one class of society be prompted to inquire what this or that other class could best afford to pay. The landed property had least opposed the Bill; and, since it had received so many material modifications, the country would be disposed to accede to it with unanimity. The necessity of raising the money was generally admitted; and if admitted, it must be supplied some way or other. The learned gentleman then referred to similar measures adopted in the reign of King William, when few objected to them, and all were unanimous against the ambition of France. He commended the new amendments that were introduced, as tending to impose an increased proportion on the rich, and thereby to alleviate the burdens that were to fall on the lower classes. As to the objections made against the taking of oaths, he was not a little surprised that they should come from a professional gentleman (Mr. Jekyll,) and that he, or any other gentleman, should animadvert on the opinions, whether moral or religious, entertained and professed by any member of the House. Such animadversions he could not but look upon as unparliamentary. But, to return to the general question, Whether any man was to pay too little, or more than his neighbour? he would only say, that whoever had a stake or an interest in the country should cheerfully contribute towards the exigencies of the State, according to the amount of that stake or interest; and, whatever might be the nature of that stake or interest, all should be unanimous in resisting the declaration of the French, who openly declare that it shall be their endeavour to annihilate our trade, and compel us to pay the ransom of the war. To the adoption of this resolution we should be the more readily inclined, if we but attended to the mode of taxation pursued in France, which was in all views far more oppressive and burdensome than that which was now so loudly inveighed against. The learned gentleman here entered into a comparative view of the taxes imposed in both countries; and asked, if after that view we should be ready to receive the French and their kind offers of French freedom? He was sure that on the contrary, the people of England would think the present contest should be vigorously supported, and that without such a vigorous support they must forfeit the dignity, the interest, the power, and the greatness of their native country. To this effect it was necessary to carry on an offensive as well as a defensive war, and to let loose that arm of our power which was too long kept tied up. If this other branch of our strength was powerfully to co-operate with our navy, then indeed we might safely deride and baffle all the projects of invasion so proudly meditated by the

enemy. After illustrating his arguments and references to the history of Carthage and of Rome, as applicable to the present situation of this country and of France, the learned gentleman vindicated an opinion which he had thrown out in a former debate respecting the continuance of the war; and said, that were it to be a war of fifty years instead of fifteen, the country would have sufficient spirit and resolution to carry it on until they could obtain a safe and honourable peace. He then concluded by approving the measure before the House, as a measure both wise and expedient, and as one that was at the present moment necessary to the existence, to the honour, and the safety of the country.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Dr. LAURENCE spoke in explanation.

Mr. COURTENAY could not approve of the coarse invective with which the French Government, and all their measures, were treated by the learned gentleman. Such language was more becoming the poissardes of Paris than the dignity of that House; and he was sorry to see it persisted in by those on whom a great man (Mr. Burke) seemed to have thrown the mantle of Christian persecution, but who did not appear to have imparted to his disciples one spark of his genius; nor was there more force in the learned gentleman's arguments in favour of the Bill, than there was liberality in his language. He confessed that it affected the rich, the poor, and the middle classes of society, and by this confession he must admit that all descriptions of persons were unanimous in reprobating it. The learned gentleman seemed also desirous to prepare transports and every necessary, again to march to Paris under the command of the noble Lord (Hawkebury), and to renew the triumphs of our Henries and our Edwards. His language was glowing and warlike. His object was—

Are ciere Viros, Martemque accendere Cantu.

The Bill now so highly approved of by the learned gentleman, was however as vehemently opposed by the Court of Aldermen, who were uniformly in the habit of supporting the administration of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt); but how to account for this opposition on their part, he was somewhat at a loss, unless he must regard it as an unpremeditated effusion of English integrity. The learned gentleman also denies that we have ever acted tyrannically at sea, and asserts that no nation ever wielded the trident with more tenderness and moderation than England. He would only ask him then, was this moderation and tenderness exemplified in our conduct towards Denmark and Sweden? And why two mil-

lions had been voted as an indemnity for the ships we had taken from those powers. Was not this on our part a confession of piracy? He would not follow the learned gentleman into the pompous account which he endeavoured to give of the flourishing state of our commerce, nor into the proofs of our national prosperity which he derived from the increase of the national debt. If the tax which he supported was right and just, why not let its merit stand on its own principle, and not support it on French examples? If any thing in the measures of the right honourable gentleman could terrify France, it was undoubtedly the power which he shewed to be possessed by the Crown, in levying a tax against the will of the English people, and by proving that the energy of the English Government was armed with the force of a Roberfpierre, and that it was in vain for them to war against the people of England, who were thus at the disposal, and obedient to the nod of their rulers. In this, indeed, there was something to alarm France. As to the tax, he thought its principle was neither just nor equitable. It would bear hard on all classes of the community, and it could not be raised unless it was to be enforced by military power.

Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS did not now intend to go at large into his objections against the bill. He rose principally to observe that the will of the people was decidedly against the measure, and he could not see how Parliament could be supposed to represent the people while it disobeyed their instructions. An honourable Member (Mr. Rose, jun.) confessed that he had been instructed by his constituents to vote against the bill; but that he would not obey their instructions, because the meeting held at Southampton, for the purpose of taking the tendency of that bill into consideration, was principally composed of persons of a political complexion, not favourable to his political ideas.

At this meeting Mr. B. Edwards said, he had attended, and that if respect be supposed to arise from fortune, rank, and talents, that meeting was composed of the most respectable persons in that town; and not only did they disapprove of the bill, but they also moved a vote of thanks to those gentlemen who had opposed it in the House of Commons. It was a measure which, in their minds, created apprehension and dismay; they conceived it to be destructive to property, and to every thing that tended to make trade and commerce prosper. That it would be attended with these mischievous consequences was universally felt, and therefore it was universally opposed. Neither could he refrain from condemning the invectives that were heaped on the frantic and intemperate language said to be used by the French Government towards this coun-

try. He had in his pocket papers containing reflexions and expressions no less virulent against France — They were uttered against that country before the murder of their King, by a gentleman whose name and writings must live as long as the annals of England shall remain. — What were the expressions of this distinguished man (Mr. Burke) when speaking of that country? — “If ever,” says he “we enter into that country, we must enter into it as into a country of assassins, with whom no modified hostility is to be waged, and where all that is not battle must be military execution.” The same or still more intemperate language was used by our Minister at Genoa in 1793. That city wished to observe a strict neutrality; but we would not permit it. In adopting this asperity of language, we are the more blameable, because we began it, and the French now only retaliating, or following our example. As to the measure now under consideration, he must give it his most decided negative. Its principle was pregnant with mischief, and could not be amended; and in his opinion it would breed discontents that would shake the peace of the kingdom.

Mr. W. SMITH opposed it, as tending to entrust extraordinary resources to the hands of those Ministers whose uniform conduct since the beginning of the war proved them utterly incapable of effectually applying them to the purposes for which they were intended. Not even our naval victories would he allow to be attributed to the exertions of Administration: for they often left our naval commanders on the enemy's coast with an inferior force. Their ignorance and incapacity he also exemplified in their attempts at forming a confederacy against the French, and their inability in keeping it together after it was formed. He also reprobated their conduct in the expeditions planned against the French West-India islands, and against France itself, all which cost an enormous expence both of blood and treasure. The evils they have drawn on us are such that our very enemies cannot wish us greater. As to the measure now proposed by them, he would only say, that it added injury to insult, and as such he would oppose it.

Mr. ROSE, jun. said a few words in explanation, respecting the persons who composed the meeting at Southampton.

Lord HAWKESBURY said, that the honourable gentleman, when he said that the power of France had not been diminished by the war, did not seem to have attended sufficiently either to the nature of the war, or the mode in which it was carried on. There were two views in which it was to be considered, either as a naval war, carried on by this country, or a continental war, in which Great Britain formed one of an extensive confederacy. With re-

gard to the former, there never was a period in which this country had reaped more distinguished successes. In the course of no former war had we obtained more brilliant and important victories. At no former period, after five years of contest, was our naval superiority more decisive compared with that of the enemy. Wherever the vigour of this country had been exerted on our own resources, and under the immediate direction of our own councils, our successes and glory had been splendid beyond example. The merit which the Administration of the country derived from that success too, was not less than the gallantry of those by whom it was achieved. All naval men, for instance, admitted that the exertions employed to prepare the fleet of Admiral Duncan, which had been so long at sea, to sail on the first news of the sailing of the Dutch fleet, were almost incredible. The war on the continent, indeed, had not been so successful, he was ready to admit. At the beginning of the contest he had been sanguine in his hopes of success from a continental alliance. He had seen great confederacies, formed for purposes far inferior in magnitude and importance to that for which we contended, pursue their object with very considerable success. If the confederacy against France was unsuccessful, to whom was the fault to be ascribed? Was it to the Administration of this country? Had they spared any efforts by which its efforts could be promoted? He had expected that in this, as well as all confederacies, some error, some bad faith, some mismanagement, some incapacity would be displayed. But, unfortunately, in the continental war, all these were combined in a degree which could not be anticipated, and which, in such a mighty contest, could not be expected. But had not the power of France been diminished by the war? Was not her navy destroyed? Was not her commerce ruined? Were not her colonies taken? And were not these the sources of her power? Even the expeditions so much reprobated against the French islands were on the best views of policy, most important to the defence of our own colonies. Could any gentleman then seriously affirm that the power of France was not diminished? What if, in addition to all the success she had experienced by land, she had possessed all these sources of power undiminished; had she possessed all her navy, all her commerce, all her colonies, and fortified by all her recent alliances, would she not have been a more formidable enemy to this country? In every view of policy then the war had been wise, and in this respect fortunate and successful. With regard to the bill before the House, the principle on which it proceeded was so essential to the vigorous prosecution of the war now, and to secure the means of future op-

position to the designs of the enemy, and its provisions were so arranged, as to render it as little burdensome as so great an effort could be. Quite popular it could not be; for what tax was ever popular? To tax and to please was not given to man. But the principle of this measure had not been received with that dissatisfaction which was represented in the metropolis. The resolutions against the bill were taken before the modifications were introduced, and in many places the principle had been recognized. At this hour he should not, however, go into the detail of the measure. He was convinced that it was essential to support our credit, to give vigour to our exertions, and just hopes of success in the contest in which we were engaged.

Mr. SHERIDAN and Mr. Chancellor PITT rose together. The latter said, he wished to speak to order, which by the rules takes precedence.—He said, that as the hour was so late, and so many gentlemen were still desirous to speak to the question, he submitted to the House whether it would not be more advisable to adjourn the debate to the next day. If they thought fit, he ever, to bring it to a conclusion, he was ready to acquiesce.

Mr. Chancellor PITT moved to adjourn till to-morrow.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, that he had no objection, if it was the sense of the House to adjourn the question, though he was not from whence the number of speakers were expected.

Mr. FOX said, that he should only detain the House by a single observation on what fell from the noble Lord (Hawkesbury) who had just spoken. He had said, that no very serious or general objections had been shewn to the bill since the modifications had taken place. In answer to this he must say explicitly, that as far as the sense of the country had come to his knowledge, and particularly where it had been presented to him by his own constituents, though particular descriptions of persons were saved from the direct weight of the tax, yet they saw and felt that the measure was in its principle oppressive, unendurable, and ruinous.

The question of adjournment was then put and agreed to.

Thursday, January 4.

The order of the day for the third reading of the Assessed-tax bill having been read,

Mr. ADAMS made a few observations in favour of the bill.

General WALPOLE hoped that the adjournment would have been to a longer day. He was surprised at the support which the present measure had received, as all Ministers, from Machiavel to the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had had

their admirers.—Among the number of such admirers, he must include the worthy Alderman (Lushington), who had spoken last night in commendation of Administration, and whose commendation reminded him of the story of a Scotch doctor, who, in the reign of George the First, walked in the streets, preceded by a black boy, calling out, “This is the most famous doctor, who cures all chronical disorders:” on which the doctor observed, “the boy is perfectly right.” To the observation of the honourable gentlemen (Dr. Lawrence) who, on the preceding night, had entered into the history of Rome and Carthage, he had only to add, that this country was in that situation in which Rome was described to be by Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, where he says, *Ferendum non probandum est*.—We were now in the condition in which we must hear what we could not help.

Mr. HOBHOUSE.—Having stated my sentiments very much at length, when the resolutions, which are the ground-work of this bill, were introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I shall not long trespass upon the time of the House. I rise, Sir, merely for the purpose of declaring that my opinion of this bill remains unchanged by any of the modifications which it has undergone. My strongest objections ever were against the principles on which it is founded.

The only justifiable mode of taxation, as it appears to me, is this—Let the Government of a country, according to the sense it entertains of the circumstances or exigency in which that country is placed, impose a tax upon houses, horses, carriages, or any other articles whatsoever; but let it never interfere with, or obstruct the exercise of, the right of the individual, to subject himself to that share of the burden, which, in his own judgement, his fortune and condition in life will allow. But this bill takes away all discretion, all option whatsoever; and the same power which thus seizes upon the tenth of my income, may, hereafter, seize upon the fifth or fourth part, or even that capital from which my income is derived. If, Sir, this bill should pass, (and that it will, cannot be matter of doubt) all the property of the kingdom is virtually transferred into the hands of the Minister of the Crown. Did gentlemen consider that I am now pleading the cause of private property against a most unwarrantable act of Government, they would not surely lend the least countenance to so arbitrary a proceeding. That His Majesty's Ministers should thus endeavour to make themselves masters of all the property in the country, does not affect me with surprize. The attempt is quite in unison with their favourite doctrine, that the right of private property is not

stronger than the right by which they hold the emoluments of office. Thus to weaken the right of private property, by reducing it to the level of the precarious tenure upon which they enjoy their salaries, is to undermine the foundation of those pillars, of which they boast themselves to be the most zealous supporters. Is it a wonder then, that they should commit this flagrant violation upon the property of the subject? Indeed, Sir, they seem to tread fast in the steps of those French legislators, whose conduct they have so often and so loudly condemned and reprobated. The inviolability of public credit and private property is the great cement of civilized society. By their assignats and their requisitions, the French legislators violated both. Have not His Majesty's Ministers copied their criminal example, by depriving the Bank of England notes of its convertibility into specie, and by the present forced contribution, a contribution more severe than any which Roberespierre himself extorted from his unhappy country. Roberespierre only said—I must have your tenth horse, or your tenth waggon, but how do our Ministers act? They raise such levies upon the subject, that he would gladly let his house without rent, or make a present of his horse and carriage to any person who would undertake to pay the taxes demanded upon these articles, but he can find no one inclined to accept his offer upon such hard conditions.

Another objection to this bill, is the principle upon which each man's proportion of the present demand is to be regulated. The object of the Minister is to raise a contribution proportioned to the wealth and power of each individual; and to settle those proportions, he has recourse to the last return of the assessed taxes, which, in his judgement, is a criterion of income. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, let me observe, Sir, here adopts two positions, both of which are easily refuted. He assumes that the last return of the assessed taxes is a criterion of income, and that income is a criterion of property. How, Sir, can you discover the income of the individual from his last, or indeed from any, payment to the assessed taxes? I dislike to repeat the arguments which I have before used, or which may have been more forcibly urged by others. But is it not obvious to every gentleman, that many indulge in that species of expence, which subjects them to the assessed taxes, whilst others, who have a much larger income, pay but little to them? And is it not indisputable, that some persons in trade, whether from the extent of the buildings, or from the particular situation which their business may require, are under the necessity of paying a greater proportion of assessed taxes than others, whose mercantile gains are far more considerable? As to the idea that

income is a criterion of property, or of the respective powers of each man to contribute, how is this to be maintained? Is the annuitant for life, as my honourable friend (Mr. W. Smith) well observed last night, a man of equal property with him, who has the same income in fee? Or will it be pretended that the tenant for life, who cannot transmit his estate to his children, is a man of equal property, of equal power to contribute to the support of the State, with him whose lands are descendable to his posterity? Again let me ask, is the person, who has an income arising from the short annuities, with no more than him, who has the same amount accruing from the long annuities? The former, I need not say, are expirable at ten, the latter at the more distant period of sixty years. None I think will be so absurd or hardy as to answer these questions in the affirmative?

But whatever inequalities or hardships may arise from estimating a man's ability to pay taxes by the rule of his expenditure, they are all smoothed, we are told, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; all swept away by the declaration, which affords redress to each individual grievance. But what is this declaration or oath, entitling him who can comply with it, to total exemption in some cases, and in others to such an abatement of the contribution, as reduces it to the tenth of his annual income? I will look into your circumstances, says the finance-minister, I will make myself thoroughly acquainted with your condition, that I may determine whether you be or be not equal to the payment of this exaction. What is this but to erect an inquisitorial power, absolutely repugnant to the principles of a free constitution? Besides, Sir, what will be the effect of this declaration? The conscientious tradesman cannot avail himself of the proposed abatement, because he knows that he can never speak with certainty of an income dependent upon book debts, which may be good or bad; but if we suppose that he could exactly ascertain his net annual returns, he would never, as I observed upon a former night, solicit to be eased from a demand by a disclosure of his affairs, which must impair his credit, and eventually destroy the subsistence and hopes of himself and family. But the wicked and unprincipled of every class, if it be consistent with their interest, will not scruple to make a false declaration, or take a false oath. Thus the virtuous only will bear the burden of the contribution—at the same time perjury will be multiplied, immorality will abound, the nation will each day grow more and more depraved, and the bands of general confidence and civil society will finally be torn asunder.

Upon these grounds, Sir, I object to this bill, notwithstanding

all the modifications which have been made in it. I object to it, because it attacks the sacred right of private property, because it makes payment to the assessed taxes a proof of wealth, and because the very remedy, which it proposes, is pernicious in its effects, and repugnant to every rational idea of liberty.

But although no modifications, Sir, can render this bill agreeable to my palate, I hope I may be allowed to comment upon the object of those which have been introduced by the Committee. The evident design of the Committee is to grant indulgence and relief to the lower classes, and to raise the scale upon the higher. But, however they may guard the inferior orders of men against the direct, they cannot protect them from the indirect operation of this heavy contribution. They cannot force so large a sum of money from the pockets, even of the most opulent, without occasioning them to make retrenchments in their expenditure, which must necessarily and materially affect the tradesman, and oblige him to discharge, some at least, of his workmen, who will become a burden upon the parish. Thus the poor-rates will increase, at the very time that the means of supplying them decrease. As to advancing the scale upon the rich, this is only objectionable, in as much as it is not raised high enough to be just and equitable. It bears no proportion to the weight which falls upon the middling ranks. They must always pay a tenth of their income, and in many cases, more; for, if engaged in trade, they will seek no abatement upon the terms of the declaration: while the very wealthy, notwithstanding the additional rate imposed upon them by the Committee, will not contribute, perhaps, a twentieth of his annual revenue. This favor to the rich, Sir, is too common in the history of our taxation. Do not most of our taxes bear harder upon the middling, than upon the higher orders? A gentleman of immense fortune, who possesses four houses, between which he divides his time, is subject to the tax on house-rent for no more than two: but why should not he pay for the whole four, as well as the man who can afford to have but one, pay for his one? The opulent proprietor of a large and sumptuous mansion, is not rated for the windows exceeding a certain number: but why should not he pay for every single window in his habitation, as well as the man, whose circumstances compel him to reside in a house of moderate size?

You must have perceived, Sir, that I have avoided to speak of any particular clauses. The reason is, that my objections of a general nature are sufficiently strong to determine me to vote against the third reading of this bill. But there is one clause so egregiously

bad, that I should not stand excused in my own mind, if I failed to draw the attention of the House towards it : I mean the clause, which renders parishes answerable for the additional rates with which they are charged, however defective the collection may prove. I know it will be said, that this clause is copied from the land tax act ; but there is no analogy between the two cases. The sum raised by the land-tax is small, compared with the levy now proposed, and the land is a security for all losses. But the amount to be collected by virtue of this bill, is large, and there must be considerable deficiencies in the collection, arising from a total inability in great numbers to discharge, in any shape whatsoever, their share of the assessment. If then those who can pay, must not only pay for themselves, but for those who cannot, how heavy must be the pressure upon their shoulders ! Really, Sir, this clause reminds me of the practice of Buonaparte in levying contributions upon the territories he had conquered. I must have, says he to the magistrates, such a sum for the sustenance of my troops. You must pay it down immediately. How, or by what means, it is to be raised among the inhabitants is your concern, not mine.

But notwithstanding the many powerful arguments against this bill, I have no doubt that the Minister will persevere, so bent is he upon the accomplishment of his destructive project. The prospect of what must unavoidably follow, is dreadful. If any good be derived to a country, from gentlemen who have from 500l. to 1000l. a year, residing upon their estates, employing the labourers of the neighbourhood, and affording occasional assistance to the aged and the infirm, that good must be entirely destroyed. Many, very many, country gentlemen are, to my knowledge, preparing to quit the rural mansion of their ancestors, and to resort to towns from motives of frugality, that they may not be crushed by the severe operation of this bill. A gentleman in Wiltshire has absolutely advertised his country seat to be let, rent free, to any person who will undertake to pay the assessed taxes. As to mechanics, and the whole description of inferior tradesmen, they must soon be reduced to beggary.

Let me now, Sir, say a few words upon the influence which this bill must have upon the revenue. When I last addressed the House upon this subject, I pointed out how the universal spirit of economy, which must necessarily be introduced by so large an exaction, would occasion a great decrease in the produce of the new taxes. I beg now to remark, upon the effect of one clause in particular, against the fairness of which I do not, however, mean to object. I animadvert upon it in no other light, than as it affects

the receipts of the revenue. Those who remove from their houses, to others which have been before inhabited, "cease to be liable to the assessment made by virtue of this act, so far as relates to the amount of the duties in respect of the dwelling-houses they have quitted, but are to be charged to the said additional rate or duty, in respect of the other dwelling-houses which they may occupy, at any time, after such removal." As a mode of retrenchment, how many will exchange a house of high, for one of lower, rent! Whole rows of houses will lie untenanted, and thus the respective amounts of the old duty, the window duty, the commutation duty, and the several per cents., will be lost to the revenue.

I am happy, Sir, in having had a second opportunity of expressing my decided disapprobation of this bill. I deplore the distress and poverty which it cannot fail to produce; but I wash my hands of this business. Let the guilt lie at the door of His Majesty's Ministers, who have brought the nation into a most perilous crisis, from which they are now, in vain, endeavouring to extricate it, by a tyrannical, unjust, oppressive, and inefficient plan of finance.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE spoke in favour of the bill: he said, he hoped that gentlemen of property would step forward, and second the operation of the present measure by voluntary contributions, and that a bill for that purpose would be brought into the House. He then quoted a passage from Smollet's History of England, relative to the contributions of the merchants, made in support of Government in 1745.

Sir ALAN GARDNER had no hesitation in declaring, and upon his conscience he thought that he was correctly doing his duty towards his country at large, and that he was consulting the interests of his constituents, in supporting the only measure which he had heard proposed for providing the necessary sum to answer the exigencies of the State, in their opposition to our present most implacable enemy.

Mr. PERCEVAL said, that all those who spoke against the present measure had carefully avoided speaking of those circumstances in which the country must be placed, should it neglect to adopt it. An honourable gentleman who had spoken that night (Mr. Hobhouse), had said, he was pleading the cause of property; but Mr. Perceval said that he considered himself as particularly the advocate for property, when he was supporting the measure which was to protect it. A learned friend of his had last night opposed the measure, as alienating the minds of the people of the country, and de-

priving it, at this period, confessedly critical, of the spirit of unanimity; but did not that honourable gentleman do this more effectually by his arguments than could be done by the bill; and did he not touch on those topics which were least likely to conduce to that unanimity? An honourable Baronet (Sir F. Burdett), had told the House, that he took that occasion of stating to it what was his opinion of the present war, because he had had no other opportunity; how this had happened he could not say, but he was sure that if the honourable Baronet had attended in his place during that session, in which the subject of the war had been so fully discussed, he would not have had any reason to complain of want of opportunity: the honourable Baronet objected to the present measure, not so much on account of the pressure of it, as on account of the application of the money to be raised by it; and the application he complained of was, that which enabled Ministers to carry on a war against liberty. If the present war was a war against liberty, it was that species of liberty against which, he trusted, we should ever bear arms—it was against the importation of French liberty into England. He begged the House to take notice at what period this observation was made; it was made when the *French army of England* was embodied, when preparations were making for the invasion of this country by an army, bringing with it in its train, all the ruin of French reform and of French principles; yet this was the time chosen for declamation against the continuation of the war, which we were also told by the same authority, was continued from an apprehension that such a form of Government would arise in France, as, by the contrast, should render Englishmen dissatisfied with that under which they lived.

Mr. STURT called Mr. Perceval to order, on the principle that Sir Frances Burdett, not being present, could not give to the particular expressions to which the honourable gentleman objected, that explanation which should convey to the House his own sense of them.

Mr. Perceval continued: he said, that he did not consider himself as bound to suspend his observations till the honourable Baronet returned, which might not be till the next session, or not perhaps till he had received the instructions, not only of his own constituents but those of the honourable gentleman. The honourable Baronet had stated, that he was apprehensive of an economic Government arising in France, least it might produce in this country he did not know what. But the honourable gentleman had not certainly much right to be angry on this subject, when he recollected, that while the provisional Government of France existed, and

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while the system was yet in theory, and before its practical consequences were discovered, we were at peace with France.

When he saw those gentlemen who had now returned to their seats, absent themselves from the House, he had at first supposed they did so lest they should disturb the unanimity of the House. When he had conceived their motives to be such, he felt astonished at seeing them return to give a dissenting vote on the present measure. The right honourable gentleman opposite to him had, however, undeceived him as to the motives of his secession; he had told the House, that he did not hope for a remedy of the evils of which he complained from those within, but from those without the walls of the House; he had left the House from an apprehension that the people might, by his attendance, be deceived into an idea that there subsisted any thing like a representation of them in that House. The honourable gentleman had, however, failed in supporting his charge: the people would see that a large majority of the House, which he asserted had no sympathy with them, attended to their duty; and if reform was necessary, it was rendered so by the conduct of those who were most clamorous for it.

After these observations on the practice of those gentlemen who appeared so desirous of unanimity, he should now proceed to discuss the ground-work of the present measure; in doing which the gentlemen opposite had neglected to consider the situation of the country at the time when it was proposed. It was the urgency of the times which constituted a leading feature in the present measure. He hoped the House would see it in that view. It was not in our power to choose a peace—the enemy would give none. It did not remain with us to sheath the sword. He did not mean that the country was physically deprived of the power of choosing between peace and war, but that the only choice which remained to them, was that of a peace connected with subjection, and with danger to our existence, or of war; under that choice Government had certainly acted, and if gentlemen considered them as having decided improperly, he wished they would come forward and declare so. Had our Government been disposed to shew all the meanness of concession to the propositions first brought forward, the Directory was, he believed, or at least would then have been, prepared to state its ulterior terms of degradation; how humiliating these would have been, it was not possible for him to imagine, but that humiliating they would have been in the extreme, no one could doubt.

If our Government had been disposed, in the negotiation at Lisle, to have conceded those terms of peace which a victorious army would have thought itself intitled to have dictated in the center of

the metropolis ; if such insatiate and unreasonable propositions had been assented to, the Directory, it may reasonably be supposed, would have been content that their successes should have been inglorious, and that they should take possession of all their acquisitions, all our concessions, and all their spoils, without the satisfaction of military triumph, and without the hazard of conquest. The only choice of Government must have been that which was dictated by prudence, and an attention to the safety of the country ; and nothing short of subjection could have been the consequences of a peace which must be attended with an injury to the spirit, the character, the resources, and the energy of the country.

But it had been urged, that the present war was unnecessary, unless as far as it was essential to the continuance in office of the present Administration. If this was the case, we were to suppose, that it was possible that a negotiator was to be found on the other side of the House. We had learned from the speeches of the Directory, that we were to pay the price of our own subjugation ; we had also heard that they would introduce reform, or else they should be liable to the objection of having deserted their friends. Supposing then that a change of Administration were to take place, and that the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox) were to come into power, on what terms would he be willing to form a part of Administration ? He had already declared, he would not come in without a total, fundamental, and radical reform of Parliament ; and he begged the House to attend to those most chosen, dangerous, and alarming words.

He knew the right honourable gentleman would resort to explanation, if he thought this too high seasoned for the public, and that he would say, that by total reform he meant only to touch parts ; by fundamental reform, not to injure the foundation ; and by radical reform, only to meddle with the branches : but words did not cease to be dangerous because they were susceptible of interpretation ; they ceased only in that case to be ambiguous ; they were dangerous as long as they bore that interpretation, most obviously from which it was not possible but that the most violent reformer must see hopes and encouragement for his views and intentions, in spite of any ambiguity. He would, however, go farther, and say, that if they were even less explicit, and could only bear such an interpretation as that which he contended they did bear, there must be alarm and danger in them from the quarter from whence they came : the house and the country would not forget that the right honourable gentleman who told them that a total, a fundamental, and a radical reform was necessary, was the same gentleman who considered an opposition to

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the laws of his country as a question of prudence, and not of morality ; that it was the same who had deserted his duty, that the people might suppose themselves not represented ; that it was the same who had told the House, after the State Trials, that he was not only satisfied with the verdict of the jury, but that he was convinced there was nothing treasonable in the intention of the men, and no design against the Constitution of the country.

If the right honourable gentleman were our negotiator, it was probable indeed that peace might be obtained, since one of the wishes of the French, that of seeing him in Power, would be gratified. He begged gentlemen would attend to the words of the French, when professing friendship for this country, and they would see nothing in them favourable to a peace, on practicable terms, but that all they implied was, that they had a party in this country.

If the House agreed with him in their opinion of the necessity of continuing the war, the only question, as relating to the present measure, then was, whether it was prudent to raise a large proportion of the supplies for the service of the year within the year ? and as he had heard no argument against this, he must suppose that the House coincided with him in opinion. It had been admitted by the honourable gentleman, that it would have been a good measure if it had been adopted in the beginning of the war ; and he supposed that this admission proceeded from an idea, either that the increase of the funding system was injurious to posterity, or that the interest of it was too great for the country to bear ; in either case it seemed to him evident that an addition of two hundred millions of debt rendered it necessary to have recourse to some other system ; and then the only question to be considered was, whether any other manner of raising money promised to be attended with better success than that now proposed ?

Until last night, the measure of the assessed taxes had stood without a rival : last night, however, an honourable gentleman had stated a plan, and he was convinced that he had brought it forward with the best intentions, though, perhaps, without sufficient information, which was to be more productive than that before the House : he had proposed another measure which, taking less than one-tenth of their property from the classes of the people on whom this measure would fall, should be more productive. This, he observed, if practicable, would certainly be a good scheme. The honourable gentleman had not stated in what proportion it was to fall on landlords, and in what upon tenants. In his scheme, as far as it related to shopkeepers, rent was to be the criterion ; and how was this rent to be ascertained—from the parish books of rates ? Certainly not :

they furnished an estimate of the relative value of houses in the same parish, but did not apply to the whole country : it followed, that recourse must ultimately be had to the assessment as a criterion. He looked upon the honourable gentleman who brought forward this proposition as an extremely well disposed man ; and he therefore considered his partiality to this scheme as the natural paternal affection which a man might be supposed to bear to a scheme that was a child of his own ; but he felt some astonishment that any gentleman, without these paternal throbs, should be an advocate for its adoption.

The arguments which had been urged against the assessed-tax bill, applied equally to this and every other measure. The first objection was, the direct operation which the tax would have on shopkeepers ; that its operation, in the manner in which it had first been proposed, would have been injurious, was true ; the House, that House which the honourable gentleman asserted to have no sympathy in common with the people, felt that it would bear heavy, and they immediately gave relief to the class mentioned. When this was done the argument was altered, and we were told, that the thing was worse than before ; its direct operation had indeed been varied, but its indirect operation still continued to be oppressive. To this he could only say, that the money, if it was to be raised, must either come from the rich or from the poor, or from both together ; only we were not to apply to the poor ; and if we were not to apply to the rich, the result would be, that we must have no money at all.

The honourable Baronet had said, that the people now begin to question whether, if the enemy came, they could do worse. Did the people ask this, and was the honourable Baronet, when he heard the question, unprepared with an answer ? If he was, he (Mr. Perceval) would furnish him with one. He might have told them that the enemy would not act better towards us than they had done towards their own subjects ; he might then have shewn in what manner they had acted towards all ranks of men, and particularly towards men in that rank in which he himself stood ; he might have told the inquirers how all merchandize was confiscated ; he might have stated to the shop-keeper, who was fearful of the direct operation of the Tax, what must have been the effect of the Forced Loan ; he might have shewn those who were apprehensive of the indirect operation of taxes, what it must have been in France, when taking from every man, and rising in a proportion till they came to the sum of 9000 livres, when they took half ; they reduced every income to the standard of about 180l., leaving no man a larger sum than that for his annual expences. Let the indirect

consequences of this contracted expenditure be then calculated : yet the present measure of assessment had been said to be worse than any that had ever been adopted by Roberfpierre ; and it had been put in comparison with the total confiscation of property.

He apologized for having taken up so much of the time of the House on a subject on which there ought to be no difference ; and no reasonable person could, he thought, hesitate in agreeing, that Parliament did right in calling for large and liberal supplies, proportionable to the ability of every man to contribute.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Mr. PERCEVAL both rose to explain.

Mr. MARTIN said, the learned gentleman who spoke last had referred to something that he did not say. He had said that unless some measure less oppressive were proposed, he should vote for the present, but that if one more rational was brought forward, he would vote for it. He should attend till a reasonable hour to hear the debate, and, being no party man, would listen with attention to all, and endeavour to form the best opinion he could from the discussion of the respective plans. But he would neither waste his health nor his time by sitting till two or three o'clock in the morning, listening to speeches of two or three hours length. It would be more agreeable to the country, and honourable gentlemen would be better understood by the House, if they compressed their speeches into one quarter of the time. Whatever vote he gave on this measure, he hoped the House would form their opinion of him from his general conduct, and not from any awkwardness of expression.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose, and said, " The honourable gentleman who has just sat down has called for more explanations of what other gentlemen have advanced than I ever recollect to have heard in this House. In candour I must conclude that the honourable gentleman really wanted information upon the points which he affected not to understand ; and that where he did misunderstand or mistake the arguments of others, he did not mean to be guilty of wilful misrepresentation. The speech of the honourable gentleman, however, called upon so many members to explain the points upon which he has commented, that I have been under the necessity to give way to them. I now rise, thus early in the debate, and I feel some satisfaction in reflecting that the adjournment which has taken place gives me an opportunity of presenting myself when the attention of the House was awake, because, had I proceeded last night, I might have found the honourable gentleman (Mr. Martin) wearied and exhausted, and disposed perhaps to give me a hint to sit down before I had finished my argument. I have listened to the speech of the

honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval); a speech of great talent, great ingenuity, and considerable vehemence. The sentiments which it contains seemed to be so much in unison with the feelings of those around him, that I flatter myself that the approbation with which it has been received may contribute to shorten the debate, and to supercede the necessity of many long speeches from that side of the House. It was remarkable, however, that the honourable gentleman, amidst a variety of matter on which he descanted, cautiously abstained from touching upon the real question before the House. Many of the topics which he brought forward, I am ready to admit, were fairly introduced, and perfectly regular in parliamentary debate. While I admit the right of the honourable gentleman to argue the subject in his own way, it perhaps might have been better had he altogether abstained from certain points; or, to use a phrase which has become very fashionable since the introduction of the present bill, had he modified his attack upon my right honourable friend. The honourable gentleman never attempted to shew that the right honourable gentleman below him was the fittest person to administer the affairs of this country, that he was the ablest Minister for the conduct of war, and the most proper person to negotiate with success. The whole scope of his speech was merely to shew that the right honourable gentleman was placed in the avenue to bar my right honourable friend, as if it necessarily followed that he alone could be the successor of the present Minister. Supposing, as he did, for the sake of argument, that my right honourable friend was qualified to negotiate with a better prospect of success than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he said it would be incumbent upon the House, as a preliminary step, to treat with their negotiator. He thought that my right honourable friend could not be invested with that character without danger to the country. What were the grounds upon which this assertion was founded? He accuses my right honourable friend of having considered men as innocent who were acquitted by the verdict of a jury, and having argued upon this acquittal, that there was no proof of the conspiracy of which they were accused. He accuses him of having said, on the discussions to the treason and sedition bills, that resistance would be a question not of morality, but of prudence. Above all, he founded his apprehension upon words which he supposes to have been lately used by my right honourable friend, that he would take no share in any administration without a total, fundamental and radical reform. The honourable gentleman has made a very pretty play upon these words. I cannot but suspect, however, that the honourable gentleman, who has been celebrated for epigram, has put these words

into the mouth of my right honourable friend merely for the sake of the point with which he has contrasted them. He finds out that the reform so broadly stated will not be a total reform, that the fundamental reform will not touch the foundation, and that the radical reform will be confined to the branches without descending to the root. This epigrammatic wit, however, is founded entirely upon the words which the honourable gentleman has purposely added to the expression to which he alludes. They were not used by my right honourable friend. The expression he employed, and which has become more conspicuous from its being made the subject of particular thanks in certain resolutions lately advertised, was that he would take no share in any administration, without a radical reform in the representation and of the abuses of the present system. Such was the expression of my right honourable friend, and the words which the honourable gentleman has added into the bargain, were merely introduced to point a sentence and to enliven his speech.

The honourable gentleman considers the conduct of those whom he represents as unfit successors to the present men in power, as calculated to encourage the Jacobins, and to forward the views of the French. These certainly are formidable evils, but the honourable gentleman quickly discovers some ground of consolation amidst the dangers which he apprehends. He thinks that my right honourable friend would retract the declarations he has made, that he would renounce the principles he has avowed, and that in office he would not act upon the professions he held before he came into power. On what part of the conduct of my right honourable friend he founds this assertion, I am at a loss to conjecture. What are the professions made when out of office which in power he has belied? True it is that such conduct is not unusual with statesmen.—True it is that there have been men who have forfeited such pledges; who have said that there could be no salvation for this country without a radical reform, (for this beyond dispute was the expression of the right honourable gentleman opposite) who have maintained that no honest man could undertake the administration of this country without that reform, and have, like him, abandoned the words and principles they once held, and resisted by all the power of corruption the cause which they laboured to promote. With the right honourable gentleman, the type and image of apostacy before his eyes, it perhaps was natural that the honourable gentleman should consider professions as made only to be renounced. When he reflected that the present Minister had not only abandoned the principles he professed, and violated the faith he pledged to the Public, but had become the most zealous persecutor of those whom he had convinced by his arguments, and influenced

by his example, there was no wonder that he should distrust professions, and ascribe but little sincerity to the declarations of statesmen.

The honourable gentleman apprehends that many dreadful consequences would ensue were this radical reform to be carried into effect. What that radical change of system is to be, the honourable gentleman professes to be ignorant. For my own part I can say, that no man can be more decidedly hostile than I am to any change of system that could lead to a change of the ancient established Constitution of this Government. But I will tell the honourable gentleman what has been the consequence of that change of system which has been introduced into the Constitution of this country. If any Minister of brilliant talents, of splendid endowments, but actuated by principles of the most boundless and colossal ambition, raised up by influence, supported by corruption, should set at nought the rules of parliament, violate the act of Appropriation, raise money without the authority of this House, and send it out of the country without the consent of Parliament; if he has transgressed the Constitution with impunity, if his criminality is suffered to pass even without rebuke; this is nothing less than a radical change of system. If by his folly and incapacity he has raised discontents; if by the burdens which he has imposed to support an impolitic and ruinous system, he has alienated the minds of the people from his Government; if to suppress the opposition which such a state of things must naturally produce, he has had recourse to military force and covered the country with barracks, in defiance of the Constitution; such practices constitute a radical change of system. If he has distinguished his administration by severity unknown to the laws of this country; if he has introduced new codes of treason and sedition; if he has doomed men of talents to the horrors of transportation, the victims of harsh and rigorous sentences; if he has laboured to vilify and to libel the conduct of juries—such proceedings originate in a radical change of system. If he has used the royal prerogative in the creation of Peers, not to reward merit, but converted the Peerage into the regular price of base and servile support; if he has carried this abuse so far that, were the indignant, insulted spirit of this nation roused at length to demand justice on the crime of which he has been guilty, he would be tried in a House of Peers, where the majority of the judges were created by himself—I will tell the honourable gentleman that such a state of things must have originated in a radical change of system. Would it not be right then to pull down that fabric of corruption, to recall the Government to its original principles, and to re-establish the Constitution

upon its true basis? Will any set of men deny the necessity of a radical change of system by which these evils shall be corrected, but those who already share in its corruptions, or who at some future period expect to promote their personal interests by those very abuses which have exhausted the strength and endangered the safety of their country?

So much then for what the honourable gentleman has said upon this subject. It must now be clear that no peace can be obtained. It was not even supposed by the friends of Ministers that they were sincere in their attempts at peace till the last trial. Then I am rather inclined to give them credit for sincerity, though I can see that a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Windham) trembles at the very idea of peace with the French republic. The honourable gentleman, however, takes it for granted, that there can be no choice, but between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and my right honourable friend; on a former occasion, however, I stated, that any other set of men should try to negotiate peace with France, because any set of men must negotiate with a better prospect of success than the present Ministers; it is not in nature, that the French can consider the right honourable gentleman capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with their government. They know that the hostile mind exists, that peace is not sought in the spirit of peace, that no real reconciliation is desired. Any peace that could be concluded I could consider as a false and hollow truce. It could not be a ground of security; it could not restore the blessings of peace. Upon the faith of it I could not consent to the reduction of a single man in the army, or naval establishment of this country. Jealousies and suspicions would poison all the advantages which a sincere peace could bestow. The French would feel that they furnished to the administration of this country the means of fomenting the dissensions in France from which they cherish the hope of re-establishing royalty; they would lay themselves open to those intrigues, and to that corruption which have hitherto been employed to overthrow their new institutions. If the French Directory could encourage or agree to such an insidious truce, and expose the government which they administer to such attacks, as in this way it would sustain, they would be guilty of treason to their country. But it is impossible they could risk such dangers. It is impossible that they could stake their existence on the hollow and deceitful peace which the present Minister could offer.

The honourable gentleman then cannot say, that there is no alternative between those who are in power, and those he points out as their successors. From different men and different measures,

hopes of peace might be derived. But it is said that my right honourable friend, and those who act with him, are co-operating with the French; and what is the proof of this assertion? Why the French say so! This indeed is a curious mode of proving the fact. It would indeed be a hard rule if what the enemy say of what is done by any members of the British Parliament was to be the standard by which they are to be judged. We are not to be tried by what we have said, by the measures we have recommended, by the whole of our conduct, and by our own professions, but by the opinion which the enemy may think proper to express. But how then do we co-operate with the enemy? We are friends to reform; a phrase which, it seems, is henceforth to be deemed synonymous with revolution. But how is this reform, from which such dreadful consequences are apprehended, to be introduced, were my right honourable friend to support it when in office? Will not the right honourable gentleman be still ready to oppose it? The honourable gentleman either thinks that my honourable friend, when Minister, will have in favour of reform that corruption, that influence, those titles, those jobs and contracts, by which it is now opposed; or he thinks that Parliament being dissolved, that corruption and influence will be employed to induce the people to chuse representatives favourable to the cause of reform. What do these arguments prove but the necessity of a reform? It proves that the pretended representation of the country is in the hands of the Crown, to be moulded at the pleasure of the Minister of the day, and thus furnishes the most powerful motive to remove the causes by which this corruption is maintained.

Having made these remarks upon the topics introduced by the honourable gentleman, I shall next say a few words upon some things which fell from a noble Lord (Hawkesbury) in yesterday's debate. The noble Lord says that those who oppose all supply ought to have made that opposition when the supply was voted. For my own part I am not against all supply, though I am not sure that a different conduct would be fully as proper. But in a constitutional view nothing can be more parliamentary than to refuse voting supply. It is fair to infer that if Ministers have not the confidence of this House, the refusal of supplies would be attended with the immediate resignation of those Ministers. Certainly it is not the intention of any man that the army or navy should be disbanded, and the country laid at the feet of the enemy. Such an alternative does not follow from the refusal of supplies. I confess, however, when I consider the desperate characters of some of the Ministers in power, I think it would not be advisable to risk the attempts of

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which they might be guilty to retain their power, even in defiance of the constitutional privileges of this House. The noble Lord however says, that never was the naval superiority of this country more conspicuously displayed, never was our naval glory more highly exalted, than by the brilliant victories obtained during the present war. What however must be the nature of the war, when these splendid successes have not brought us nearer to the objects for which we engaged in the contest? What must be the importance of our acquisitions, when they are all to be given for peace? How would France have stood had we not entered? says the noble Lord. What additional strength would she not have derived from those ships and those colonies of which she has been deprived by our success? But let any man weigh the advantages we have derived from our success, with the sacrifices by which they have been purchased. Will any man say that if this country had preserved a dignified neutrality, France, surrounded as she was by foreign enemies, would have still more oppressed and harassed her subjects to raise a naval power which no danger required? Contrary to all practice, to all experience to what has been considered as the object of continental diversion promoted by this country, would France, in the situation in which she was placed, have turned her attention to naval exertions? But we gained several ships by the victory of the first of June, by the capture of Toulon, by the acquisition of those channel houses in the West Indies, in which 50,000 men have been lost to this country.—Consider the price which has been paid for these successes.—For these boasted successes, I will say, give me back the blood of Englishmen which has been shed in this fatal contest—give me back the 250 millions of debt which it has occasioned—give me back the honour of the country, which has been tarnished—give me back the credit of the country, which has been destroyed—give me back the solidity of the Bank of England, which has been overthrown; the attachment of the people to their ancient Constitution, which has been shaken by acts of oppression and tyrannical laws—give me back the kingdom of Ireland, the connexion of which is endangered by a cruel and outrageous system of military coercion—give me back that pledge of eternal war which must be attended with inevitable ruin! Put what we have lost into the scale against what we have gained, and say if the price exceeds the value of the object. But even all these advantages, we are told may be given up for peace. Surely, then, a person of the noble Lord's abilities can never consider these objects as acquisition, as gain, which are to be given up for peace, and leave us without a compensation for all the sacrifices which we have made for their attainment. The noble Lord says

that the value of the West India islands taken from the enemy must be estimated in relation to our own. By the offensive measures against the former the latter were preserved. If this be the case then, when we give up the islands we have conquered we give up our own islands, and abandon the security by which they are held. Such are the acquisitions which we have made at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

With regard to the continental war, the noble Lord says, that we had done our duty ; but he now discovers that our allies were guilty of every error, and all of them were destitute of common honesty. After some years experience of the conduct of our allies, and of the principles by which they were guided, the noble Lord could vote for giving two millions to one of them. Even this ally, the theme of so much panegyric, in whose success it was said that every peasant in this country was interested, in whose glory every Englishman partook, is now comprehended in the general charge of the noble Lord against the continental members of the confederacy. But in the prosecution of their views of personal interest and aggrandizement they took the example from the conduct of this country. When they found the hypocritical pretences of religion, morality, and social order belied by our eagerness to seize upon every island, to plunder every possession which was exposed to our power, they began to entertain similar views, and to be actuated by the same motives. Those who would succeed Ministers, it is said, however, are connected with Jacobins. Who are they who are connected with the Jacobins ? Would it be the same thing to entrust the administration of affairs in the hands of those who oppose Ministers, as if the Whigs in 1745 had resigned the state into the hands of the Tories ? The latter were avowedly desirous to alter the succession ; but will gentlemen seriously say that they believe that those whom they represent as the only rivals of the present Ministers, are leagued with any faction to alter the Constitution of this country, in the same manner as the Jacobites in the year 1745 were hostile to the existing establishment ?

Availing himself of the latitude of reply which the general topics brought forward by those who have spoken upon any thing but the question before the House, I shall now proceed to make some remarks on the speech of a learned Doctor who spoke last night. Having come to this House several hours after the debate had begun, and finding that the gentlemen who spoke after I came in confined themselves very little to the discussion of the present measure, I was obliged to take it for granted the particular question before the House had been very fully discussed in the speeches which were

made before my arrival. The learned Doctor to whom I have alluded perhaps may not remember that he spoke at all. A wise man, it is said, doubts of every thing; and the learned Doctor seemed to carry his scepticism a great way, for at the commencement of his speech he doubted whether he was speaking. I remember the words with which he began were, "Sir, In rising to address myself to you on the present occasion, if I have risen." If the learned gentleman still doubts whether he spoke at all, I can assure him that he made a very ingenious, a very elaborate, and certainly a long speech upon a variety of topics, without speaking at all to the bill before the House; and if he doubts my authority, any other gentleman may probably give him the same assurance. The learned gentleman went into a wide view of Roman history, and told us, upon the authority of Scipio, that we had little to dread from the threatened invasion of the enemy, because they must conquer us before we could conquer them. What would the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London say if the learned gentleman were to tell them, when Buonaparte was encamped at Blackheath, that they need be under no apprehension, that, before he could advance to burn the City of London, Lord Hawkebury was marching to lay Paris in ashes? I should like to see the faces of the mercantile world, when they were informed, on the authority of Scipio, that they could not be safe till the enemy were at the gates of the metropolis, and that they could not hope for a successful termination of the contest till they had first been conquered! In the representation of the conduct of Hanno, at Carthage, by whose exertions the supplies were refused to Hannibal, the learned Doctor did not do justice to Hanno. At the same time it is to be observed, that he said not a word of the striking difference between Hanno the Carthaginian, and the Hanno whom he insinuated to be in the British Senate. Hanno succeeded in keeping back the supplies. But has the British Hanno ever been able to prevail upon the Senate to refuse supplies? has he unnerved the vigour of our exertions; has he checked the career of success; has he suspended our victorious arms in the moment of triumph? On the contrary, has not the Minister received supplies with unexampled profusion; has he not been allowed to employ them as he thought proper; has he ever been rebuked for misapplication; has his misconduct ever been the subject even of inquiry? Hannibal too was a young man—*flagrantem cupidine regni*. The argument of Hanno was, "I hear of the victories of Hannibal, but I hear of no advantage which they produce to Carthage." Every victory is followed by fresh demands and new requisitions. The continuance of the war therefore must prove ruinous to Carthage.

The affairs of the Carthaginians afterwards miscarried. Hannibal afterwards laughed at his countrymen. But what did he laugh at? He laughed at those men who affected to be dissatisfied with the terms of peace, without considering in whose hands they had left the conduct of the war. In similar circumstances any man might perhaps smile like Hannibal, to see the people of this country discontented with the terms of peace, when it was remembered that the war was prosecuted under the auspices of the present Ministers.

I cannot refrain, however, from expressing my astonishment that a grave personage like the learned gentleman, a member of the gravest profession which this House contains, should bring forward all his school-boy politics to evince the propriety of invading France. The learned gentleman, perhaps, thinks that it falls to his share to support in this House the opinions of a man of much greater talents; of much higher endowments, the late Mr. Burke, whose name ought never to be mentioned but with respect. He thinks, perhaps, that he is the executor of that great man's principles; that he is called upon to administer to his fury without possessing a single spark of his fire. I regret that any gentleman should conceive himself the representative of the violent and extravagant declamations which so fatally were received in this House with so much approbation, and which have been attended with such lamentable consequences to this country and to Europe.

The frivolous school-boy topics, for such they are, upon which the learned gentleman proposes to model our conduct, have indeed no similarity to the circumstances in which we are placed. When he desires to imitate the conduct of the Romans, does he remember that the Romans were a people inured to war and to hardships? Does he mean to compare a commercial country like Great Britain with a warlike people like the Romans, or to point out similar rules of policy for the guidance of our conduct? Had Rome the debt by which this country is borne down? Had Rome the bulwark of a navy supported by commerce? Would sacking that capital have given a death to that credit, by which alone we can subsist as a nation? If the arguments of the learned gentleman could even produce the effect which he desires, the event would not furnish a subject for the moralist and the historian, but the fate which would await the right honourable gentleman, if he was seduced by such counsels, might be expressed in the language of the poet—

*I demens curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fiat.*

Posterity would brand his name in the same manner, furnishing in his destruction only the subject of panegyric to school-boy politicians, and a speech to a grave doctor learned in the law.

The learned gentleman, amidst all his topics of argument, said nothing as to the nature of the bill before the House. If, after the deviations which the course which the debate has taken, I may venture to take that liberty without being called to order, I shall now say a few words to the question. It has been asked, do those who oppose this measure admit the principle, or can they produce any thing better? Certainly no person is bound to propose a measure of his own when he rises to oppose that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet in such a crisis as the present it would be unmanly to withhold any ideas which we can contribute, or any of the sentiments we entertain. I then say that the only mode by which any sum like that required can be raised, is by a loan, the interest of which is to be paid by taxes or voluntary contribution, with a sinking fund for the extinction of the debt. This is the true principle by which money in this country can be raised. Suppose it is impossible to borrow; in such a state of things this country is ruined. If Government cannot borrow, the subject cannot give. I am very far from wishing to inculcate despair. If I really entertained such a sentiment, I should wish to disguise it even to myself. But we may yet borrow. How then are the funds to be raised to that state at which it may be convenient to borrow? It must be done by abandoning the system in which we have proceeded, by retrenchment in the public expence. If public spirit does exist, voluntary subscriptions may afford some aid; but, of this, I confess, I am not very sanguine. Above all, however, it is necessary to restore the Bank to its former credit, to prevent any stipulation being made to prevent it from paying its just debts; and to restore to the country the blessings of peace. As to the present measure, it must end in forced contribution of income by forced disclosure, a thing utterly irreconcilable to the spirit of a free and commercial country. If assessors were to be appointed arbitrarily to make assessments of the income of every individual, which from the surveys already made by the collectors, of the income of individuals, seems to be the design of Ministers, such a mode of proceeding would be a better criterion than the assessed taxes. In my mind, no criterion at all, however good it may be thought, can render the principle tolerable. Those who, from the criterion taken up by the Minister this year, have been caught, will be careful in future to avoid any external symptoms, by which on any future occasion they might be assessed. It will occasion universal retrenchment, and consequently injure the

revenue by destroying consumption. The effect of this system of retrenchment will diminish the public revenue by at least two millions. An arbitrary assessment would be better than that taken on any criterion, because the former would make it indifferent to the person contributing whether he spent all his income or not; while the latter would induce him to avoid every appearance that could be made the future standard of contribution. A coach-maker, in Long-acre, would do wisely, if he could, to give at once an hundred pounds, than a much smaller sum which deprived him of his customers. In the same manner the watch-makers. Their employment was not taxed, because that would seem to tax ingenious mechanics; but those who wore watches were taxed, and many industrious men were reduced to the most deplorable wretchedness. The whole system and principle of the measure appears to me utterly irreconcilable with every wise and just scheme of taxation.

What substitute then is to be taken? There are but three ways in which this sum can be raised within the year—either by voluntary contributions, by increasing the existing taxes, or a forced loan; and of these three the present measure is the worst. Might not the whole of the plan be postponed, except that which provides for voluntary contributions? And I am sure, for one, I have no objection to read the bill in that case three times in one day, that we may try this experiment. With this bill hanging over, such contributions could not be called voluntary, for no man could hesitate, in point of prudence, to pay the full amount of what he would be obliged to pay rather than be made to contribute on the valuation of income taken from any visible symptoms. I am not very sanguine of the success of voluntary contributions, without some such compulsion. From the highest to the lowest of those connected with the Government, there has been no disposition to give up any thing: there has been no example to the people of this spirit of sacrifice. It is not easy to encourage individuals in the habits of acquisition, and the spirit of liberality towards the Government. If a Bengal memshi, or a Chinese mandarin, were to be informed that 400 millions had been lent to the Government by individuals; that a race was run by the competitors for the preference; that men contended about the subdivision of the portions, and to parcel out the parts among a crowd of friends, he would be ready to exclaim, O magnanimous, O invincible People! Were he again to be told that the views which actuated the lenders were selfish, that their profits were usurious; that loyalty-loan holders had besieged their house for indemnification for the loss sustained on a bargain, he would exclaim, O wretched, O undone People! It is by addressing the

interest of this body of men, however, that the accommodation of the Government can be secured ; and how is the credit of the country to be restored to that situation which will render it practicable ?

No disposition to contribute voluntarily has yet been displayed from the very highest to the lowest ranks in the Administration of Government. While a teller of the Exchequer receives ten or twelve thousand pounds a year by the war, a near relation of that person contends that no peace ought to be made. But I am told that it is rude, uncourteous, vulgar, to suppose that such a sum could influence the sentiments of any man. Rude, uncourteous and vulgar as this is, the Constitution is that rude, vulgar fellow, though the right honourable gentleman will flout and scorn those who suppose motives of this nature. The Constitution is jealous of the effect of office, and even sends a man back to his constituents who accepts a situation to which important duties are attached. I have high authority therefore in supposing that some bias may affect the mind where interest powerfully prompts a man to support any system of measures. I recollect, that at the end of the American war, when I was Secretary to the Treasury, the noble Marquis, who is teller of the Exchequer, wrote a letter to the Commissioners of the Treasury, requesting that the office might be placed in the reform, but saying at the same time that his conscience would burn to think that he was profiting by the calamities of the country. This offer, however, was declined. Now, however, when the public exigencies so strongly demand some sacrifice, I am persuaded the noble Marquis will not only be ready to forego a part of the profits of his office, but will bring up all the arrears that burn upon his conscience since the year 1783.

Last year I took occasion to state that twenty-four millions would be necessary for the peace establishment of the country, taking the average peace establishment before the war at seventeen millions. Since that period seven and a half millions of permanent taxes have been added, and it will require another million and a half before the sum already expended and due can be provided. Thus twenty-six millions must be raised, though peace were immediately to take place. When it is considered, however, what any new peace establishment must be ; when the system which is pursued in this country is taken into view ; when the manner in which Ireland is not governed, but ground down and oppressed ; when the hollow and deceitful nature of any peace with the right honourable gentleman is recollected, no man can think that two millions more, making twenty-eight millions, would be an extravagant computation as the amount of the permanent peace establishment. This is a tremendous and awful consideration ; but if the country is to be

saved, we must look our situation in the face, and make provision for the utmost extent of our difficulties.

While the Bank continues in its present state of dependance on the Minister, it is impossible to hope, however, that public credit can be restored, and the funds raised. Last year much was said in the newspapers about the connection between the right honourable gentleman and the Bank. It was said that the banns had been forbid. The conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer shewed that he cultivated the connection on account of the lady's dowry, not for the comfort of her society. At first the affair seemed to present the appearance of a penitent seduction, but now it has degenerated into a contented prohibition. The country wished to forgive the indiscretion, on the hopes of amendment. What has produced the infatuation it is not easy to conjecture, unless the right honourable gentleman had given the old lady love-powder. The heyday of the blood was over, but the rankness of passion has not subsided. The dear dear deceiver is taken into favour, and the ruin he has occasioned is forgotten.

Upon the examination into the affairs of the Bank, the standing Committee of correspondence between the Bank and the Minister pronounce, that there are sufficient means to pay all the private debts of the Bank—but the Minister interposes. The Bank is placed in the situation of a person who can pay and will not. Of all situations none could be more injurious to credit than this. When it is known that men are willing to pay, credit stretches a great way in favour of their ability, but when a person is understood to be able to pay, and will not, the confidence on which credit must be founded is overthrown.

The manner in which the last report of the Bank Committee is drawn up is likewise very curious. It is found there is enough of fund to pay the private creditors of the Bank; but no, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and claps his lock and key on their coffers. Without meaning any quibble on the name of the honourable Chairman of the Committee, the conduct of the right honourable gentleman irresistibly reminds me of an old proverb. The report of the Committee is very favourable, but still the Bank must be kept under confinement. "Brag is a good dog," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "but Holdfast is a better," and the Bank must be kept under the tutorage of the Minister till he finds it convenient for himself to set the Directors at liberty. The advances made by the Bank to Government occasioned the first stoppage, and now three millions are again to be advanced without any security whatever. If the Directors do not insist on some security for their

repayment, they will be guilty of a gross breach of duty, and the most culpable neglect of the interest of their constituents. It seems that the Bank is to be the new Temple of Janus—ever shut in time of war. While war continues we must be contented to view the meagre paper profile; nor will we be permitted to contemplate the golden bust till the return of peace. The French Directory are thus to have the keys of the Bank, which cannot be opened till they grant permission.

The right honourable gentleman says that the French aim their attacks against the credit of this country, and it is necessary to guard against their design. The expression of the report is whimsical enough. It states that the enemy design to attack us “by means of our credit.” No, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I have taken care to take that weapon out of your hands; a dangerous weapon like this I certainly will not leave you to employ. It is said by some that the conduct of those who oppose the Minister encourages the French; while on the contrary the whole system of his Administration tends to encourage their designs. He has taught them to believe that he governs the lower classes only by coercion, and the upper ranks by corruption. More is done by the language held by some gentlemen in this House, that it is necessary to confine the soldiers in barracks, to make them deaf if the people cannot be made dumb, than by any conduct, which can be imputed to the opposers of Ministers. By shewing that the Minister can get no support unpurchased, the enemy are led to think that there is no public spirit in the country, that nothing can be done but by jobs, and titles and pensions. What can they think of those who come forward under the pretence of public spirit, when they see that every man obtains his own private job as the reward of his ministerial devotion? They saw that disgrace after disgrace never diminished his power, that every successive attack on liberty was defended and supported by compliant majorities, that every new failure served only to rivet the attachment of his servile adherents. When they see the nation endure these things, can they conceive that it will be found to contain much public spirit to resist a foreign enemy? Beyond question great sacrifices must be made whoever is Minister; and if the enemy persevere in their designs, resistance to invasion must be encouraged at every hazard. We must give up the idea, however, of doing this and continuing in a state of luxury. Should it be necessary, we must shew that we are ready to strip to the skin to maintain our independence and our liberties, in the same manner as they were compelled to struggle for their freedom. It is mere cant and delusion to talk any longer of giving up a part to preserve the whole, that we

must leave both our liberty and property unmortgaged to posterity. If I am called upon to pay a shilling to preserve, this is intelligible; but if I am called upon twenty times successively for my shilling, it is ridiculous to tell me of giving a part for the preservation of the whole. This will not do; and as a worthy Baronet (Sir W. Pulteney) said on another occasion, if it is so often repeated, it comes to be no joke. This kind of paradoxical insult cannot long be endured. It will not do to tell us that sending millions of money to Germany for the defence of this country is true economy; that to lop off the most valuable of our liberties is to preserve the Constitution; that not to pay its lawful creditors is to support the credit of the Bank; and to introduce a universal disclosure of income is to protect property. This is the last stage of such delusion. The tricks have been too often repeated to elude the most inattentive observation. While the affairs of this country continue in the same hands, they cannot be administered wisely or well. The country cannot have confidence in a system always unsuccessful, now hopeless; and the dismissal of Ministers must be the preliminary step to any vigour of system, or any prospect of peace.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, from the tenor of the honourable gentleman's speech, he should have considered the country was at its last gasp; but when he heard him declaiming with so many lively fallies and such gaiety, he could not suppose the honourable gentleman himself entertained such an idea. One thing he was glad to hear that some of those who objected to the present measure did not despair, even supposing it should be set aside. He was happy that the credit of the Bank was unimpaired, nor had the circulation been diminished. Mr. Dundas complimented the learned gentleman (Dr. Laurence) on his elaborate speech. When he stated the situation in which this country was brought by the menaces of the enemy, and the absolute necessity there was for vigour, in order to bring about the desirable object of peace, he brought forward what gentlemen on the other side chose to keep out of sight, namely, the views of the enemy with whom we were contending; and he believed that the learned gentleman (Dr. Laurence) had left an impression on the minds of many by his speech not to be done away by the pleasantries of the honourable gentleman. He had no hesitation in declaring, that if ever there was a measure which of all others deserved most approbation, and was likely to bring the country out of its distress, it was the present. Our strength as a nation was but little diminished. Could any man suppose, that the wealth of this country was less now than at the beginning of the war, when he looked at our commerce? There was in this country every

criterion of wealth ; the increased value of land, the number of public and private works undertaken, &c. confirmed this. The riches of the country were now in full vigour ; and were the country forced to yield to an imperious enemy, it would be with its sources of wealth unimpaired. It was highly worthy of the wisdom of that House to consider well if any measure could be adopted by which the resources of the country could be called forth, without having the effect materially to depreciate the value of the funds. The present, he considered to be a measure of that sort. With regard to the funded system, he considered that had it not taken place, the glory of this country could never have been raised to its present height. But it was commendable to moderate that system, by raising the supply partly in one way and partly in another ; and by this plan a provision was made for the extinction of the capital. By this means our enemies would learn that this country had within itself the means of raising supplies to prevent such an addition to the capital debt, and also to provide, after peace, for a reduction of that debt. We should endeavour that all the various orders of society should bear their parts : we all enjoyed the advantages, we should equally bear the burdens. If it was in our power, however, by any modification, to exempt the poorest and lowest orders, we ought to do it.

It was important in another point of view—We were engaged in a great struggle, which, he trusted, would not be a long one ; for if it ever came to the question of a descent upon our island, it must soon come to a crisis.

He contended that if ever the objects of the enemy were short of the destruction of all that is dear to us, still the measure would be necessary, and even, if possible, more so, suppose their object was to destroy our credit. This would be an additional reason with him for urging the measure, and for raising that portion of the supply in the manner proposed by the bill. Should the enemy be desperate enough to carry their threats into execution, the struggle, he was confident, would not be long. If the attempt should not be made, but their bravadoes suffered to die away, even then, he conceived the measure of raising the supplies within the year to be necessary. Great sacrifices were undoubtedly to be made ; but gentlemen should bear in mind the magnitude of the object. It was to prevent the capital of the national debt from being too unwieldy for the operation of the sinking fund. The salutary consequences of such a mode of finance were obvious : on the return of peace the capital would be found in such a state, as that, in a few years, by the operation of the sinking fund, the Minister of the day would have the

very agreeable prospect of being able to take off from, instead of being obliged to add to, the burdens of the people. This was a proceeding which his right honourable friend, in consequence of his judicious financial management, had been able to carry into effect a short time previous to the commencement of the present war.— And here he must be allowed to dwell a little on a circumstance which reflected the greatest credit on the financial character of his right honourable friend. Gentlemen at the opposite side of the House, when they exerted themselves to draw an unfavourable picture of the present state of the finances of the country, uniformly compared them with the state they were in in 1792, or a short time previous to the commencement of the war; but who exalted the finances to their then unparalleled state of prosperity? Certainly his right honourable friend. That this assertion was true would be seen by a comparison of the state of the finances in 1792 and in 1783, after the close of the American war, and when his right honourable friend first came into office. He well remembered the grievous complaints which were then made of the state of the finances, the declarations respecting their being ruined, and that no hopes were to be entertained of their revival. He requested gentlemen to compare their deplorable state at that period with the confessedly exalted and prosperous situation in which they were in 1792, and the superiority of his right honourable friend's skill and abilities as a financier would appear beyond controversy—Their unprecedented improvement was solely to be attributed to him. When he considered this, and recollected at the same time the recent language of some gentlemen on the other side of the House—their invectives and assertions respecting his right honourable friend's administration of the finances, he must certainly infer, that these gentlemen either did not express their real sentiments, or that they did not understand the subject—No serious alarm was therefore to be entertained from their comments on that head. He was confident the result would prove the wisdom and propriety of the right honourable gentleman's financial conduct.

With respect to the more immediate subject of debate, much had been said, he observed, respecting pledges given to support or to oppose the measure; on those he would not expatiate—but would notice the project which had been recently suggested by a learned gentleman, with the intent of rendering the present measure unnecessary—whatever partiality that honourable gentleman might have to a darling offspring, he had little hesitation in saying, that it would be found, on examination, liable to all the objections of that now under discussion—and with respect to its details—if that part

of it was left out, which went to impose a tax upon transfers of the funds, much less would be produced by the learned gentleman's plan, than by the bill in question. He would request gentlemen fairly to speak out and say, if they could reconcile their minds to a tax upon the funds? He did not say whether such a measure would be right or wrong; but what would gentlemen say as to the probability of such a proceeding? He would ask for the opinion of any candid man as to the propriety of a tax upon funded property, keeping in mind at the same time the necessity of raising part of the supplies within the year. It would be weak and foolish indeed, to lay aside the present plan, as most probably, after an investigation, the project alluded to would be found impracticable. In such case all their labour would be lost; and this reason would apply against other plans that might be suggested. Procrastinations must ensue of course, and the result would be, that Government would be left without a shilling to pay the army and the navy. It was six weeks since the first introduction of the present bill; it had undergone repeated discussions; had been modified so as to make it palatable to all rational persons; it was matured so as to be rendered practicable; and having gone through all this *fiery ordeal*, was it to be relinquished for every crude, indigested, and perhaps impracticable plan, which any honourable gentleman might think proper to suggest; the good sense of the House, he was confident, would make the option on that point. With respect to the idea of an honourable member of recurring to the usual mode of loan for raising the supply, as well as some collateral points suggested by him, he allowed his candour in fairly speaking out on the subject. His idea of retrenchment was certainly a very good one, and it had been in the contemplation of Ministers for some time. It was also strongly recommended by a respectable Committee of that House, and some specific measures were about to be adopted on that head. He could not, however, so fully agree with him as to his idea of raising the supply by means of voluntary contributions. He was not sanguine enough to think it could be done; however, it may be considered as an auxilliary to the bill; and by the operation of one of its clauses, he doubted not but a considerable sum of money would be obtained in that way. He had also to contend against the honourable gentleman with respect to the state of our military defence, and to insist, that a strong and powerful military establishment was in sound and experienced policy to be considered as a means of obtaining an honourable peace. This last point indeed had been already debated, and recognized by Parliament without a dissentient voice. Much stress had been laid by the honourable gentleman on

the conduct of Ministers with respect to the Bank. That question too, had already been amply discussed last session; and subsequent events had proved how little founded were the conjectures of gentlemen opposite, as to any ill effect arising from those measures. The conduct of Ministers had the approbation of the monied men in the city, of those who most frequently accommodated Government with loans. Would any gentleman say, that if the restriction was taken off, a loan could be had on better terms? that indeed would be some reason for such a step; but by all he could collect, it would be the reverse. The best-informed monied men were decidedly in favour of the present measure.

Mr. Dundas then adverted generally to the conduct of the opposition in seceding from their parliamentary duties; and on this he commented with great ability. Passing from this subject to that more immediately before the House, he observed, that one of the principal objections which seemed to be offered against the bill was, that it was entrusting large sums of money to those who lavishly squandered what had passed through their hands before. This clearly was no argument against the measure, whatever it might be against the men who proposed it: And here he entered into a general vindication of the conduct of Ministers; and in this part of his speech he made several allusions to the language held by gentlemen on the side of opposition. Some gentlemen on that side of the question seemed zealously to wish for the appointment of a right honourable gentleman to the head of affairs; and they also seemed to be warmly attached to the cause of radical reform; but were they assured that even that right honourable gentleman was prepared to carry all his plans of reform into effect? A noble friend of his, in the early part of the evening, had so ably expatiated on those points, and on the necessity of some explanations, that it was unnecessary to comment farther upon that head. Another question also arose. Were gentlemen assured that the public were heartily disposed to receive that right honourable gentleman as Minister? There had been of late many rumours of ministerial removals—changes were said to have been in contemplation—a great body of Members were said to have been desirous of them, and a noble lord was talked of as a proper head of administration. Now what would the adherents of the right honourable gentleman say to this; that at the very moment when they held out their champion as the only person capable of retrieving the affairs of the nation, the great body of members alluded to, who had attempted to effect a change of Ministry, had actually excluded the right honourable gentleman from

any share in their proposed Administration.* - He was happy, however, to hear, that the right honourable gentleman's expressions re-

* It may not be improper to observe that the right honourable Secretary, in this part of his speech appears to allude to an interesting letter which had recently appeared in the publick prints, from the Earl of Moira to Colonel M'Mahon, without, we apprehend, the noble Earl's privity, and of which the following is a copy :

COPY OF A LETTER FROM EARL MOIRA TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL
M'MAHON.

My dear Colonel,

Darrington, June 15, 1797.

The information which you have given to me of the reports circulating with regard to the late political negotiations, is in one respect material. It confirms a suspicion which had occurred to me that it was an object to have me thought disposed towards such a coalition:—And the Oracle, which I had not seen before you transmitted it, exceedingly strengthened the supposition. If I have left room for those erroneous statements by not proclaiming to all the world the arrangements that were in view, it did not proceed from my not having taken a precise and defined line ; still less did it arise from any notion of advantage in *concealment* ; for the gentlemen with whom I conferred had not any purpose which they wished to disguise ; and I strongly urged them not to give any appearance of intrigue to the business by any affectation of *secrecy*. Indeed, I know that some of them declared their intentions very openly to the *persons most concerned, the Ministers* ; which, perhaps, has facilitated the attempt of throwing a colour of collusion on the plan. My sole reason for not talking more openly on what was in contemplation was, that I had declined being a principal mover in the business, and that I thought it would have been an air of vanity if I proclaimed the flattering recurrence of so many respectable characters to me. It was before Easter that some Members of the House of Commons, *not those who used to meet at Sir John Sinclair's*, sent to ask for an opportunity of conversing with me on political topics. When we met, they said that a considerable number of the independent Members, who had hitherto voted with Administration, saw with excessive alarm the difficulties into which the country had been plunged, and which could not but increase rapidly, unless an adequate remedy were immediately applied. They added, that they had reflected on the nature of that remedy, and were convinced that a change of Ministry must be the first step towards it ; in consequence of which they had communed together, and had determined to fix their confidence upon me. They then requested that I would endeavour, on the assurance of their support, to form an administration on the principles of excluding persons who had on either side made themselves obnoxious to the public. As I saw the dangers of the country in the same light that they did, and believed that nothing could dispel them but the calling forth the general confidence of the nation, I could not dissent from the theory of their plan : The execution of it, however, I deemed impracticable ; I stated to them the impossibility of their overpowering the adherents of both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox : On which account I strenuously recommended that they should attempt to form with Mr. Fox's party an alliance that might be satisfactory to themselves and to the country ; by discussing, and, when accepted, reducing to strict engagement, the extent of measures which Mr. Fox when brought into office by them would propose. The gentlemen said, that many of their friends had taken so

specting radical reform had been commented on in his presence, as it afforded him a regular opportunity of fully explaining them.

strong a part against Mr. Fox, and others had such a prejudice against him, that they had not any hope of bringing my proposition to bear with them. I repeated my reasoning as earnestly as possible, and prevailed upon those gentlemen to say they would recommend the suggestion to the consideration of their comrades. I pressed the counsel upon many of them individually afterwards; and I went out of town. Public matters growing more gloomy in their aspect every day, I received letters from some of those gentlemen containing such remonstrances on my absence, that I returned directly to London. The persons with whom I had before conferred, came to me as soon as they heard I was arrived. They told me the repugnance of their party to Mr. Fox was invincible; but that a sense of the extreme peril to which the state was exposed, had become so general, as to make it clear, that a majority of the House of Commons would be for a new Administration; and they produced a *very long list, indeed, of Members*, containing men of the greatest weight in the country, who wished that I should stand at their head. I explained to the gentlemen that to make myself the chief of a party would no more suit me than it would become them to enroll themselves under me—that though I must be flattered very highly as being thought by such personages equal to the guidance of affairs in so formidable a crisis, the situation to which they destined me was most ineligible for me—that I would, notwithstanding, not shrink from it, if my acceptance of it would be regarded by his Majesty as an act of duty, and by the public as an act of zeal—that to ensure such a construction, I must not enter into any management or intrigue; but that the business must be done by their open and manly declaration of what they thought necessary for the public interest in such an exigency. I suspect that Mr. Fox obtained information of the sentiments of these gentlemen, and thence, *with that elevated disinterestedness, and honest anxiety for the national welfare, which guides all his actions*, determined by the sacrifice of his own pretensions to remove every obstacle from an arrangement which he thought might be productive of good to the country. This step did indeed appear to forward the views of the independent Members: For it seemed to call upon Ministers to shew an equal degree of public spirit, and to retire from stations which they could no longer fill with benefit to the empire. *It was understood that they felt it so:* And on that supposition the independent Members made a more pointed application to me. Hitherto, nobody has been designated for any particular office but Sir William Pulteney. The gentlemen had said that he was the person whom they should be most gratified in seeing Chancellor of the Exchequer: And I had professed to them and to him that there was not any person with whom I could act more confidently. From what I have mentioned, however, you will see that it was not in the contemplation of my friends to have an Administration formed by a junction with the majority of the present Cabinet. One person, indeed, had observed to me, that, if Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville were displaced, the remainder of the Cabinet would suit my purposes as well as any men that I could find: But I directly met that suggestion, by a declaration, that nothing could induce me to go into office upon terms of that nature. The introduction of Lord Thurlow, Sir William Pulteney, and myself into that Cabinet, could not *assure the Public* of a CHANGE OF SYSTEM: And it was necessary that in the very outset, the confidence of the Public should attach itself to our principles; I would therefore have nothing equivocal. Without meaning

An honourable gentleman had dwelt on the circumstance of the creations of Peers—on a charge of sending money out of the coun-

to proscribe individuals, there are certain points with which one must not palter. *I cannot ever sit in a Cabinet with the Duke of Portland. He appears to me to have done more injury to the Constitution, and to the estimation of the higher ranks in this country, than any man on the political stage.* By his union with Mr. Pitt, he has given it to be understood by the people, that either all the constitutional changes which he and his friends for so many years urged against Mr. Pitt were groundless, or that being solid, there was no difficulty in waving them *when a convenient partition of power and emoluments was proposed.* In either case the people must infer that the constitutional principle which can be so played with, is unimportant; and that Parliamentary professions are no security. Were I to connect myself with the Duke of Portland, I must incur the imputation of similar laxity; and I must thereby forfeit any claim to a confidence, without which I could not be of any use; when nothing but the hope of being of use could make me for a moment listen to a proposal for undertaking office. *My wish was to procure for all the great many of those who had been acting in concert with Mr. Fox:* And it was obvious that the step which he had taken was generously intended to leave them at liberty to join as unconnected individuals in a new Administration. In this my friends, of whom not one aimed at office, entirely concurred, saying, that if I continued responsible to them for measures, I might take what men I chose. Those measures had been readily adjusted between us: for when I detailed to those gentlemen the plan on which alone I would undertake the management of affairs, we found that our sentiments agreed completely. I had stated that I must decline coming in, unless His Majesty should graciously consent to these three conditions:—*An endeavour to procure immediate Peace—the tranquillization of Ireland by a just and lenient system of Government—and a full disclosure to the Nation as to the extent of our financial difficulties,* in order to justify the call for those heavy contributions that would be requisite to re-establish credit. Of my friends, I demanded this condition: That no removals should be made in the Household, Post-Office, Mint, or any other department not immediately connected with Ministerial function. To this they most readily assented. My view was, *to profess that I would not form to myself a party;* and that, as I had merely from the critical situation of public affairs consented to undertake a business foreign to the line of life which I had proposed to myself, I should consider it a fortunate release whensoever His Majesty or Parliament should think some other person fitter for the station. With the measures by which the change of Administration was to be brought about, I was to have no concern. The sentiment of the independent Members was indeed submitted through me, as some channel was necessary for the transmission of their joint opinions. But in this I took no farther part. In pursuance of my system I declined remaining in London; lest from constant communications, the matter should degenerate into political intrigue. I have given you this long detail that you may be empowered to contradict any misstatement that you hear: *And you are perfectly welcome to shew this letter to any respectable man of any party;* as there was not a point throughout the business, which I, or any of those with whom I conferred, *need wish to conceal.* Not a single man of those who assured me of their support ever hinted at a private object, much less suggested any thing like a condition. You say that Mr. Sheridan has been traduced as wishing to abandon Mr. Fox, and to pro-

try—a supposed violation of the Appropriation act. But he would ask, why the honourable gentleman and his friends had absented

mote a new Administration. I had accidentally a conversation with that gentleman at the House of Lords. I remonstrated strongly with him against a principle which I heard Mr. Fox's friends intended to lay down, namely, that they would support a new Administration, but that not any of them would take part in it. I solemnly declare upon my honour, that I could not shake Mr. Sheridan's assertion of the propriety of that determination. He said that he and Mr. Fox's other friends, as well as Mr. Fox himself, would give the most energetic support to such an Administration as was in contemplation; but that their acceptance of office would appear an acquiescence under the injustice of the interdict supposed to be fixed upon Mr. Fox. I did not, and never can, admit the fairness of that argument. But I gained nothing upon Mr. Sheridan; to whose uprightness in that respect I can therefore bear the most decisive testimony. Indeed, I am ashamed of offering testimony where suspicion ought not to be conceived. I consider the whole of this political negotiation as completely extinct; and feeling my escape from a hazardous and unpleasant situation, I enjoy the consciousness of not having shrunk in an unmanly manner from any responsibility in a case where it was thought I might be useful to the Community.

Adieu, my dear Sir. Believe me faithfully yours,

Colonel M^r Mahon.

(Signed)

MOIRA.*

* The foregoing letter not having been intended for the Public, is not so full and explicit as might have been wished. That the negotiation originated with the Ministers themselves there is now no doubt. The situation of affairs was, at that time, such as to fill them with just apprehension for their political situation. Lord Duncan had not then destroyed the naval power of the Dutch; and they judged that the French Directory would not seriously enter into any negotiation for peace with the Government of this country while the present Ministers continued in the Administration of it. A scheme was therefore formed (it is said by the Lord C———r) by which, though a nominal change would take place in two or three of the principal departments, most of those persons who held very lucrative appointments, would be suffered to continue in office. To effect this, and at the same time exclude Mr. Fox and his party from the new arrangement, a meeting was called at Sir W. P——y's, chiefly of those Members whom Mr. Secretary D——— had brought into Parliament, and a few of the independent and unconnected part of the House.—It was there proposed that Mr. Pitt should retire loaded with honours, and that an application should be made to the King to call to his service what was termed the *neutral body*;—men, who, though they disapproved the war, had not distinguished themselves by an unqualified and active opposition. To this end, the persons recommended, were the Duke of N———d, for the Treasury, Sir W. P. for the Exchequer, Lord Th———w for the Presidency of the Council, and the Earl of M——a for Secretary of State, and War-Minister. The plan was approved, and it is said that a letter was written by the Royal Hand to the noble Duke; but his Grace pleading ill health, Lord M——a and Sir W. P. were desired to prepare a new arrangement for the Royal consideration, at the head of which Lord M. was himself to stand.—The salvation of Ireland, the state of the finances, and the restoration of peace, were objects of such importance as to induce the noble Lord to consent to this measure; but possessing too much firmness

themselves from Parliament? He would ask, where was a violation of the Appropriation act to be complained of but in that House? Where was the charge of illegally sending money out of the country, but in that House? Would he deny that the nomination to the peerage constitutionally vested in the crown? The honourable gentleman should have brought forward those topics in Parliament; they never experienced any reluctance in that House to discuss them. With respect to the general conduct of the war, he would assert, that at no former period did glory so uniformly attach to the British arms as during the present. No charge on the score of ill success was to be attributed to Ministers. The West-Indian operations were loudly inveighed against by gentlemen; but of this he would observe, that while they were in contemplation, and the preparations for them were no secret, gentlemen did not advance a single objection. The plan of operations in that quarter was approved of by the West-India proprietors; they knew that offensive operations, at that time, were the best means of preserving our own islands. Recurring again to the particular subject of discussion, he contended, that the measure was as politic as it was necessary; and the propriety of strengthening the hands of Government against the aggression and arrogance of France, was very ably enforced in a pamphlet which had recently fallen into his hands. It proved, he observed, how little France was to be trusted. It was written in America, where the relative situation of the two countries was of late much discussed. The tract was written by a Mr. Harper, as an address to his constituents.* He strongly and successfully recom-

and integrity to suit the purposes of those by whom the scheme was originally fabricated, the project fell to the ground. He had probably no great wish or intention to make very extensive changes, but insisted on having a majority in the Cabinet; and even, it is said, suggested the grand idea of *proposing to Mr. Fox to undertake the negotiation of peace, by going Ambassador to Paris*. It is not known that Mr. Fox would have acceded; but the proposition was more than sufficient to defeat all the noble Lord's good intentions.—His Royal Master, the next time his Lordship attended the Levee, very graciously advised him *to go into the country for the restoration of his health*;—and his Ministers now gravely affect to know nothing of the negotiation!—

EDITOR.

* “Should any ask, what are the sacrifices we must incur by a war, and what are our means of becoming formidable to France? I would answer that, as to sacrifices, the greatest we can make is that of our rights and independence; that war is an evil always to be avoided, but infinitely less than national degradation, and submission to the will of a foreign power; that every possible loss of property and lives, may be repaired by time and industry, if we preserve our honour and our government; but that these,

mended the necessity of taking strong and vigorous measures to preserve the independence of the country. It went to lay down plans how that country could become formidable to France ; and observes, that in the event of war, the loss of property and lives may be repaired by time and industry, so the honour of the country was preserved ; but that once forfeited, it was never to be regained.

Mr. TIERNEY said he rose to make a few observations on some of the uncandid statements, in the latter part of the right honourable gentleman's speech ; and it was to Ministers themselves that he could trace those misrepresentations concerning his right honourable friend. Well, indeed, might they be alarmed, when they found that a large body of Members in that House had formed a design of removing them from their situations, and that an ill opinion had been universally entertained of their measures. Therefore it became necessary to blacken the character of that man who was the most likely to be placed at the head of those who should succeed them. The same alarming expressions which lately fell from his right honourable friend had formerly been used to as great an extent by a right honourable gentleman opposite him, (Mr. Pitt), and also by the late Lord Camelford. He would leave it to his right honourable friend to explain what he meant by that alarming expression, and proceed to state to the House in what manner he himself understood it. By a radical reform, then, he meant that kind of reform out of which must grow the means of destroying all the abuses and corruptions which deformed the Constitution of this country. He meant, by a radical reform, to give to every inhabitant householder of Great Britain the right of voting for a Member of Parliament, and that new Parliaments should be more frequent than they were at present. He meant to take away from private individuals the power of nominating Members of Parliament. This was an object which he had long pursued ; and if any thing was wanting to strengthen his zeal on that occasion, it was the conduct uniformly pursued by His Majesty's present Administration. There was another reform, without which it will be impossible for the House of Commons ever to preserve its independence, and that was the putting a stop to the unlimited creation of Peers. Among the various abuses of this kind that at present existed, he would mention one which was more glaring than the rest. A gentleman, certainly of amiable manners, high character and respectability,

once lost, can never be restored—In fine, that a nation which weighs its purse against its rights, never fails, in the end, to lose both the one and the other."

did lately obtain a Peerage ; but although he possessed every quality which might enable him to fill that rank with honour, he was not in that walk in which he might be supposed to have an opportunity of being entitled to such an honour. He had not merited a Peerage either by his services in the army or the navy, nor by any eminent display of ability at the bar. But the services which he performed for Government were, those of having spent 70,000*l.* for four seats in the House of Commons, which were then filled by the Minister's friends, and three of these were gentlemen who held offices under Government—all of whom this new Peer had nominated to their seats. If it was necessary, he could prove the fact at the bar of that House. After such an instance of corruption, let any gentleman answer him, and say, was it too much to ask for a radical reform ? The right honourable gentleman spoke with exultation about the prophecies concerning the Bank not being fulfilled ; but he would ask him, what was it that gave credit to bank notes, but the association of monied men in the city, who had agreed to take them instead of cash, and who had it also in their power to destroy the same, by refusing them. But if ever a panic should seize on the country, it would be seen what value was attached to bank notes. It was also a breach of national faith to pay to the stockholder his dividend in paper. With respect to the necessity of the present bill, it ought to appear that the advantages arising from it would be greater than the injury that would ensue to the country from the depreciation of the funds in case of the whole of the supplies being raised by a loan. He was sure that Mr. Pitt could with ease procure a loan of twenty millions. But because the person who held stock since the year 1792, lost by the depreciation of the funds about half his property, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in tenderness to him, must also take away 1-10th of his income ; whereas it would be less injurious to him to take a certain portion of his stock. It was singular that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should all at once abandon the funding system, at a time when its continuance was so necessary to the preservation of his own country ; after having so lately as eight months ago invited the empire to have a loan funded here ; and having funded another loan for Ireland. If ever there was a war, the expence of which ought to be borne by posterity, it was the present ; which was said to be for the preservation of that which was to be enjoyed by future generations. It was impossible to prevent the bill itself from having a partial and unjust operation. The ratio was so capricious and uncertain, that the circumstance of a man having a silver watch, or not having one, might make a difference of 50*l.* in the tax he was to pay to Government.

And it was still more unjust by not going above a certain rank, so that the burden on such a man as the Marquis of Buckingham, would be trifling when compared with his immense income. And no man could have a greater interest in the preservation of good order, religion, laws, and liberty, than such persons as he; and the royal family still more than any, although they paid no tax at all. Another instance of injustice in the bill was, that if from the evasions and roguery of some persons, it should fail in its effect, then the deficiency was to be made up by those who acted honestly and fairly. A minor could not pay his due proportion; and men's families were to be taxed after their death, which was a species of cruelty that would be severely felt by many genteel families. His objections against all the clauses and amendments were equally strong, because they went against the principle of the bill itself. He saw no reason why physicians' carriages should be exempted. In short, there was no way of making the tax equal, but by laying a per centage on people's incomes. There was no point of view, however, in which the bill appeared more alarming than in the effect it was likely to have in abridging all the other sources of the revenue. Retrenchments in articles of consumption and luxury would every day begin to take place, when men should be driven to it by the pressure of the bill. There were many appendages which gentlemen could do without, but which, from pride, and a desire of making that appearance in the world, without which they might be pointed at as persons of an inferior condition, they were not able to lay aside. But the moment that pride was destroyed—the moment that gentlemen were driven to seclusion and economy—that moment the source of revenue was gone. It would press peculiarly hard, as an honourable gentleman had observed the other night, upon Magistrates of limited income, who would now be obliged to quit their family seats, which they had inhabited many years with credit to themselves and the esteem of the neighbourhood, to reside in towns. Did they consider how this would degrade the Magistracy? Nor would clergymen be exempt from the same difficulty. The man of small estate also, who by prudence and economy was able to educate his children in a superior style, and once in eight or nine years indulge himself with a journey to London, would fall a complete sacrifice to this measure: for he would not only be obliged to renounce all his pleasures and amusements, but if he had not ready money by him for the payment to the collector, he must mortgage his estate; and then where would he provide money, unless he availed himself of a clause in the bill, and get it from his tenants? Such men, however, were frequently very proud; but though their

pride was of the highest, it was of the noblest nature, inasmuch as it struggled secretly with difficulties to support a decent appearance, and preserve the respect and esteem of their parishioners. Did the right honourable gentleman then, consider the pangs which he would give to such a man by the operation of this bill? He would not be able to portion off his daughter to any respectable person in the neighbourhood: and though he might swear off, it was the most probable to suppose, that of all things his delicate pride would most revolt from a declaration of the amount of his actual property and income, as he might previously have excited jealousy among some of his parishioners, yet he would find himself driven to such a declaration. Because it did not suit the right honourable gentleman to fund seven millions, [Mr. Tierney computed them only at five millions] so many people were to be subjected to these difficulties; and if a man should get married, and compound with his creditors to pay them annually a tenth part of his income, he would not be able to fulfil his contract. Yet if he paid the collectors in preference, he believed there was no man who would not pronounce him guilty of a gross and deliberate fraud. When His Majesty came to the Throne, he established the independence of the Judges by increasing their salaries, and making their places permanent; but a Puisne Judge, who might not be formed to make a conspicuous character at the bar, else the acceptance of his office might be beneath his profits, although he must possess a good honest character, have a soundness in the law, and a tolerable scope of intellect, would be obliged to go in pomp and parade at the assizes at his own expence, and without any of the exemptions of the assessments, while the Sheriffs, who were commonly men of large fortunes, were excepted. He would now state to the House why he was anxious the Crown should pay a tenth part as well as any other. As far as the influence of the Crown went, its patronage was stronger than ever; and he did not think they should increase the influence of the Crown while they were increasing the wants of the people. He next wished to know how they would adopt an arbitrary taxation. Did they believe any wise or thinking man among the monied interest would not hereafter see the necessity of concealing his property? He would consider his having kept a carriage as a misfortune, since that was taken as a criterion of his wealth, and subjected him to the payment of a tenth of his income. In future, therefore, he would conceal or remit his money to foreign countries, lest it should hereafter subject him to a farther assessment. Among old men who were attached to their old habits, this measure would be considered as an innovation. Many might escape indeed by swearing off, and

as for a carriage, he believed it would be found in many cases to be no true criterion. As for those papers which his honourable friend (Mr. Sheridan) had mentioned respecting the degree of wealth of every housekeeper, if he had seen a collector tampering with his servants like a spy to get information of his income, he believed he should have kicked him out of the house: it might be wrong, but he would have done it. In future, he again repeated, when people saw the country begin to sink into distress and jeopardy, they would conceive it high time to begin to make a concealment of their money. It was so in France; and it was so in every country much involved. These would be the effects of the bill at home; but what would it be on foreign nations? The right honourable gentleman persists in levying the tax. The people have told him they cannot pay it; and whether foreigners would listen most to the eloquence of the right honourable gentleman, or to the plain pathetic tale of the man who was to pay the tax, he should leave the House to consider. The right honourable gentleman had proclaimed, that he did not think it prudent to fund more debt; he came therefore upon the country in the direct form of a requisition. If the Minister was popular, and the people were enthusiastic in his favour, he might possibly raise this contribution if it were voluntary, but not if there were the smallest declaration of income on compulsion. He could not help noticing the thin Houses in which the bill had passed through every stage except the present; there seldom being more than one hundred and ten Members present, and sometimes not more than forty or fifty. This kind of attendance he thought would impress the people with an idea that their representatives were not very anxious for the modifications of the bill, but that they came down on a grand day for their own pleasure and amusement. He made some observations on the general unanimity of the people against the principles of the bill, notwithstanding what had been asserted the preceding evening by a noble Lord, that many places had approved it. The city of Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, had both objected to the general principle of the bill; and the outlying parishes in the county of Middlesex had come to their resolutions since the modifications of the bill. The House might if they pleased vote for the third reading, and if so, he hoped there would be a great substantial majority. For if it were supported by merchants only, and a few country gentlemen, he conceived no measure would be more mischievous. But if it did pass, let the right honourable gentleman take the consequence. Good God! he could not mean to disstrain. He would suppose there would be sometimes four or five in one particular street who would not be able to

pay, and therefore let the right honourable gentleman answer for all the mischief that might ensue. He knew from his own collectors, that one half of the people who were assessed last year, were not able to pay the last three quarters. He knew also, that if any man paid the collector, and owed a considerable debt to another person at the same time, a foreigner would say, that it looked very much like a suspicious transaction. He now reviewed the state of the markets, observing that there were three millions and a half of Exchequer bills last year outstanding, some of which would become due on the 5th of April, 1798, and all the rest on the 5th of July following. Having disposed of this, the right honourable gentleman would want twenty-five millions more in the course of the year. He availed himself of the distress and difficulty of those unhappy gentlemen the Directors, and the proud Minister was glad to sneak down to the Bank for some of their paper, in exchange of his own, which the public would not take without a heavy discount. The former, however, was likely to remain blank paper for a considerable time; indeed he could not say how long. The bill, he observed, originally consisted only of a few pages, but it was afterwards swelled to fifty-four, and finally no gentleman but introduced a modification.

Mr. WILBERFORCE said he supported the present bill from his conviction of the propriety and the necessity of the measure. He was aware that the bill must be productive of much inconvenience to persons of various descriptions—these were certainly objections to the measure, but they were justified by the necessity of the case; and he believed there were few gentlemen in that House that would not have nearly as much to complain of on that score, as those classes of persons so frequently alluded to. He deprecated the mode of deciding on the merits of such measures by party principles. In that view, people without doors might think unfavourably of the motives of gentlemen. He approved highly of the plan of raising part of the supplies within the year, and so far supported the principle of the bill. To this end he was willing to concur in any good plan proposed from any quarter; but certainly it would be unwise to reject a matured and practicable plan, for an undigested plan which might be found impracticable. It could not be fairly asserted that the bill was universally disapproved of without doors. He believed the contrary. The plan was principally opposed, not on the ground of evil tendency, or by comparing it with any other plan, but on the ground of alledged profusion on the part of Ministers. It was opposed in order to throw difficulties in the way of Ministers, to embarrass and force them to resign their situations: the subject was matter for serious debate, and not for sallies of pleasantry and epi-

grams. Gentleman at the other side of the House, however, had a pleasant way of saying the strongest things—a way that, at the time, it was not to be distinguished whether they were meant for jest or earnest; but the dangerous part of the argument frequently remained. After the jest had evaporated there was often something said which might be construed into a language recommending measures which would tend to introduce the worst horrors of a neighbouring country. He then alluded to some language held by gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, particularly by an honourable Baronet and a learned gentleman in the course of the debate; this he considered as reprehensible, and constitutionally not calculated for the meridian of that House. He censured their language, not only on account of its strength and tendency, but also for its ambiguity, which he considered as dangerous. One expression, he said, was such as to have an instinctive effect on the Speaker in his chair. This he considered first as delivered by an honourable Baronet; but afterwards being informed it was spoken by a learned gentleman, he expressed his satisfaction thereat, and was glad to hear that an honourable gentleman of fortune and respectability in the country had not used such expressions. Recurring to the bill, he observed, that in the present circumstances of the country, it was necessary that the greatest economy should be used in the expenditure of its produce. Gentlemen may talk of the country being at length undeceived with respect to Ministers. Did they not also imagine that it might be undeceived respecting themselves, when it was warmly contended by them that such and such measures proposed by Ministers would destroy the Constitution, and, at certain intervals, repeat this cry? Yet notwithstanding, when the people beheld the Constitution vigorous and unimpaired, must they not think these assertions to be lightly made by those gentlemen, or else made from particular motives? Their secession from their parliamentary duties threw a considerable light upon their conduct. It appeared to him highly reprehensible that they should retire from their seats at a critical period, and when the collective wisdom of Parliament was necessary for the consideration of affairs. Not only this, but the idea which such a proceeding must impress both on the minds of the people and that House. It was in effect telling them, taking place as it did, immediately after the rejection of a motion for Parliamentary Reform, that that House was not the constitutional organ of the people; that its acts were not to be considered as valid—the consequence of such a step should be considered before it was resolved upon. Whatever principle they acted on, it had the effect he de-

scribed ; it might tend to give people without doors a disgust towards the Parliament, and impair their confidence in it.

There was one objection offered to the bill ; namely, that it did not press enough upon the higher ranks. On this there existed much difference of opinion. It had been his intention to have moved for a higher rate ; but at the time he was precluded from doing it, by the forms of the House, which required its previous consideration in a Committee. However, future opportunities would offer, as a clause in the bill allowed its subsequent amendment in the same session. This regulation was an inducement to him to vote for the bill. He offered this much in his own vindication, as he thought it necessary to state to the House the grounds upon which he supported the measure.

Mr. FOX rose, and spoke in substance as follows :—It gives me pain that I am obliged to rise at so late an hour, and that I shall be under the necessity of trespassing on the time of the House for a considerable while, but, from the very peculiar situation in which I stand, it is unavoidable—charges of the most direct and personal nature have been made against me, and I am sorry I have not heard the whole of them. I understand that in my absence, on former occasions, as well as during the debate of last night, charges and insinuations have been thrown out ; and a very considerable part of the debate this evening has been applied personally to me. The gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Wilberforce) has made a speech which is a little singular in its turn at the commencement, when compared to what followed : he lamented the mischiefs, was alarmed, it seems, to almost a fatal degree, at the probable effect of my introducing into almost every debate in which I happen to take a share, party disputes and personal animosities. How far his speech was calculated to prevent that mischief, is, I presume, a point that needs no argument. Indeed if that speech could be disposed of, as we do sometimes with bills in this House ; that is, if the preamble of it could be postponed, it might, by going into a Committee upon it, be proved to be one of the most extraordinary performances that ever was exhibited in this House. I return, it seems, to shew my animosity against the Minister, not to shew any zeal for the public good. He thinks himself justifiable in arraigning me, as it were upon a bill of indictment for neglect of duty, and being a candidate for office. He is pleased to censure, not Members generally for their conduct, but particular individuals, whom he chuses to suppose are candidates for office. Does he know that I am a candidate for office ? Does he know who are candidates for office ? We arraign the Ministers, it seems, not because their measures are

bad, but because we wish to supplant them. Is he sure of that? He ought to be so before he makes the assertion. Is he sure there is any temptation for it? He ought to be well acquainted with our conduct before he ventures to throw forth such accusations. But who is he, and who are his connections? upon what grounds of justice or of modesty does he assert that he has any knowledge of the motives, or the secret wishes of those into whose company he is never admitted, whose confidence he never possessed? Upon what authority does he make his accusations? Upon what foundation does he rest his unqualified assertions? He is connected with other individuals; and to serve them, as he supposes, rather than touch upon the contents of a bill which he cannot support, he changes the subject of debate from the bill to that of the conduct of individuals, for the purpose of diverting the House from the discussion of the measure which is now before them. He chuses to say we are candidates for office; I do not know whether he is not a candidate: I am sure he cannot know whether I am so or not. He seems to feel quite at his ease in deciding, not merely on the characters of men, but also upon the degree of public confidence they possess. He dares take upon himself to say who has and who has not the confidence of the public; and that with as much ease as if he had certain means of knowing the fact. He asserts, roundly, that the public have a bad opinion of us—Who has commissioned him to say so? From what society, from what company, of which he is a member, has the fact been communicated to him? Is it from his friends on the Treasury bench? When he talks of me in the manner that he does, he ought to be sure that he is borne out by something that has the colour, at least, of truth. I do not like, Sir, to talk of myself, but he has made it a duty which is unpleasant to me, as I hope it is uncommon to all men. I am a Member of a City, in all respects important; in some respect, and particularly from the aspect of this bill, the most important in this kingdom, because the inhabitants of that city are to be more cruelly harassed by the enactments of it than any other class of persons upon whom it will operate. Does he mean to say that the opinion which he has been pleased to deliver concerning me, is the opinion of my constituents? Will he try it by the best test, by the result of a general meeting of my constituents convened, after due notice, for the express purpose of deliberating on the present measure? Will he take it from their parochial meetings? He presumes to say, that there are Members in this House who are arrogant. Sir, I trust it is not my general character to be remarkably arrogant, although I know he intended to direct that insinuation towards me; but I

will say now, since he drives me to it, that I am aware I am sent into this House with more of the affection of my constituents than either himself, or any of those who sit around him; that there is not in this House one man who has more of the affection of his constituents than the Member who has now the honour of addressing you. I refer to those who know me best, and who know me certainly much better than the honourable Member can pretend to do, to vouch for me in this particular. They have done it in the most explicit manner; they are ready to do it again if that should be thought necessary. "The people of this country have an ill opinion of me!" Where has he collected that fact? It has been quite otherwise expressed by those who are, at least, full as capable of judging of the matter as he is, for much of my labour has been employed in their service. Has he found any thing any where which indicates that the public at large are displeased with my conduct? But he speaks the language, or rather the common cant of the Majority of this House, the drift of which, he will pardon me, I think I understand as well as he does. It is a cant which has no connection with the sentiments of the people. Some men in this House say, that Ministers have the full confidence of the people. Were I to follow the examples that are set before me, I might say that the public have a very ill opinion of these same Ministers. Sir, I never intended to be deficient in the duty I owe the Sovereign; but how many times more frequently within the last year than I should have had occasion to attend the Levée have I been called upon by different descriptions of his subjects to present to His Majesty petitions for the removal of his present Ministers, and that too from some of the most important districts in His Majesty's dominions? By these petitions, not the general *confidence*, but the general *diffidence* of the people in the present Ministers has been unequivocally expressed. Let those who doubt this, if, indeed, there be any who doubt it, refer to the transactions of the last Summer over so large a part of His Majesty's dominions. I may be told, I know I may, "that petitions against Ministers are nothing to this House; that it will judge for itself, and it confides still in the Ministers." This is the fashionable language of the day, nor could any thing else be expected after the repeal of the Bill of Rights: hence we see that petitions against any branch of executive authority are regarded as nothing; those that are for any part of it, every thing. But if after the repeal of the Bill of Rights, for the substance of it is repealed; if after all the disadvantages which the people labour under, they will nevertheless express a general opinion against Ministers; I ask, is it not clear that such is a sincere

opinion? If, under all the difficulties that are now thrown in the way of those who meet to deliberate on any public affairs, men will meet, and declare their sentiments to be hostile to those who have so much power to injure them, what would they not do if left, as heretofore, to their own free will? We have now, indeed, a form of Government, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons' House of Parliament, but not a Government, consisting of King, Lords, and the Commons, Representatives of the People of Great Britain. It is a Government in which the power of the People is nothing; and so it is, indeed, the fashion now to admit, for we never hear now of an *actual*, all is a *virtual*, Representation of the People; consequently we find daily, that Members of this House speak and vote in direct opposition to the instructions of their constituents; of which we had a striking instance the other day in the conduct of a worthy Alderman of the city of London, who thought fit to declare, that in voting for the bill now before the House, he was confident he was voting according to the desire of his constituents. Who are his constituents? The Livery of the city of London. What has been the conduct of that Livery? In Common hall assembled they voted an Address to His Majesty to dismiss his present Ministers from his Councils. That worthy Alderman has since continually supported these Ministers in this House. The Court of Common Council unanimously resolve against the principle of this bill. The body of the Livery in Common-hall declare the same sentiments, and all the inhabitants of the different wards in the city concur unanimously in these sentiments—they all instruct their Representatives in Parliament to oppose this bill—the worthy Alderman supports it. This is called the virtual Representation of the People! Such is the conduct, I perceive, of many of the Members of this House at the beginning of a Parliament; quite otherwise it is with most of them at the end of one. What was this but saying to the constituents, that their Member knew better than themselves what their opinions were? What was this but following up the blow that had been already given to the right of petitioning? Not so the case with regard to petitions in the year 1764, when they came in aid of the power of the Crown. Whether the petitions that were then presented were right or wrong, I am not now questioning; it is foreign to the subject; but it appears by the different receptions of them, and those of the present time, that, in this House, petitions in favour of the power of the Crown are to be considered as every thing; those in favour of the Rights of the Subject, nothing. While the majority of this House was *against* the proceedings of the King's Ministers, it was nothing, and the petitions of the People against it

was every thing. When the majority of this House is *for* the King's Ministers, it is every thing; the petitions of the People against them, nothing. I protest I cannot account for this in any other way than that of supposing that there is a settled plan to exalt the Prerogatives of the Crown, and to reduce the Rights of the People to a cypher. Nay; is it not already done? What is the condition of the Prerogative, or rather the influence of the Minister, at this moment? and what is the power of the People? I protest I cannot account for the turn which this debate has taken; I cannot account for the violent invectives that have been urged against me, especially this night, upon any other principle than that to which I have already alluded. Why should the honourable gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Wilberforce) be so violent against me, who have had the good fortune to agree with him in many subjects that were introduced into this House by himself? How, but by supposing that he lends himself as an instrument to the Minister, to do any thing that he thinks will serve his instructor, and therefore he attempts now to divert the attention of the public from the subject of the present bill, to those points which he chuses to state as my political defects. He imputes to me now, an eagerness for office, with just as much justice as, in the year 1784, he lent himself as an instrument to the Minister to say, and to prevail upon the People of this country, and especially those of Yorkshire, to believe, that I was desirous to seize upon all power, and that finally I aimed at sitting upon the Throne. By this sort of conduct he has compelled me to-night to speak of myself as an individual; he has made it necessary also that I should now speak of another individual, and that is himself; and here I will declare, that I do not know a man in this House who is so ready, upon all occasions, to lend himself to Ministers, to profess himself to believe what they profess to believe, to distrust what they say they distrust, or to alledge, for them, what he does not know to be true; or, in short, to lend himself as a tool or instrument to Ministers upon any occasion in which they may call for his assistance. I say I know no man more ready to do all this than the honourable gentleman himself, and that for the most contemptible party purposes. I cannot help making this observation, it is the effect of his unqualified assertions. But he has lent himself to-night a little more to his instructors than upon any former occasion. He insinuated a great deal, or thought he did so, by speaking against the doctrines which led to the worst horrors that were produced in France, which, said he, we all deplore, or all say we deplore. Does he think there is, within these walls, any man who, more sincerely than myself, deplores those horrors? I deplore

these horrors, but the insinuation I do not deplore. He does not himself believe it; he cannot believe it. He lends himself a little too much to make insinuations, for which he knows there is no foundation, merely to lower the personal opinion which the public may have of us; upon that subject I should not have said much, nor, indeed, any thing, if that honourable gentleman had not made it necessary. But an expression fell last night from an honourable and learned gentleman (Doctor Laurence), of whom I shall speak only in terms of respect, having formerly had the honour to be acquainted with him. He spoke of the Parliament in the time of Charles the First. That Parliament, the learned gentleman admitted to have done a great number of good acts, although it afterwards stained its proceedings with an act of the most horrible injustice. Thus it appears that that learned gentleman can speak well of those acts which deserve to be well spoken of, although they were the acts of those who committed afterwards an act of regicide; but that is matter of history, and of which men of all parties can now judge coolly, because their prejudices and passions are not now called into action upon the subject. If that learned gentleman had said this of the Parliament of Charles I. in the reign of Charles II., no doubt but that his sentiments would have been called rebellious, for it would have then been said by the cavaliers that he approved of the death of the king. This would have been all the effect of prejudice, for nobody could suspect that learned gentleman of any such desire as that of accomplishing the death of the king. Such is the difference between matter of history and that which is passing before us.—That very learned gentleman, who could thus praise some of the acts of a regicide parliament, can make no allowance for those who approve of the first principles that were maintained in France; they must be charged with the guilty desire of abetting all the horrors that appeared since in that country, although, in reality, they deplore them as much as that learned gentleman can do. I do not blame that learned gentleman for approving of some of the acts of the Parliament of Charles I., for they laid the foundation of that glorious Revolution which asserted the liberties of England; but I think that the same allowance should be made by him to us with regard to the first principles of the French Revolution; we certainly might approve of them, without approving of the horrors by which it has been followed up.—But when we speak of history, we speak coolly; when we speak of events that are passing before us, we speak of them with the blindness of prejudice.

I now come to complain a little of the conduct of an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Percival) who has made a very inge-

nious speech to night. I did not call him to order, although, perhaps, I might have done so with propriety; for much of his address to the House was irregular, but I abstained from that, as I am desirous to afford, to every Member, considerable latitude of expression in all cases; and I was the more so in this, because he did me the honour to take notice of my public conduct. He applied his argument to what had occurred in a former debate, not upon this question, but another. That is certainly disorderly, but I do not complain of it, because I think, that however useful order in debate may be sometimes, it is necessary it should give way in others. He complained of the ambiguity of my words on a former debate. Why did he not make the complaint earlier? Why take three weeks to make an epigram upon a sentence in my speech? If this would have been blameable in any man, how much more so was it in that learned gentleman, because he adverted to my absence from the House, for he said, "God knows whether I shall see that right honourable gentleman again until the next session."—I think therefore he was bound, on his own principle, to take notice of my words (which it seems have alarmed him so much), immediately after they were spoken, for how did he know he should see me again in this House? He did not arraign the expressions when they were uttered, but now, at the end of three weeks, they recur to his memory with dreadful alarm!—I am now coming to these formidable words which have created this great alarm, but as I have already been accused of being an egotist, I must beg pardon of the House for recurring to any thing I said of myself, and I wish the learned gentleman had noticed them at the time, that I might have had an opportunity of explaining them if they were ambiguous, or correcting them if they were wrong. They were uttered, I remember, in answer to some insinuation, "that I was a candidate for public employment," and, "was ambitious of public honours." I do not pretend to have a very good memory of the precise words of any man, especially of my own, but I think the words I used were these—"That a radical reform both of the representation of the people in Parliament, and of the abuses that have crept into the practice of the Constitution of this country, together with a complete and fundamental change of system of Administration, must take place, and that until it did, I, for one, would take no share in any Administration, or be responsible in any office in His Majesty's Councils." I think these were my words; I am sure they were the substance of what I said. Was there any explanation necessary? I am not very dexterous at any thing, but I ought to be so at explanations, and perhaps the learned

gentleman gives me credit for being so, because he may think it impossible for a man who has been so often misrepresented as I have, not to have acquired some art in making his defence. I must confess it is an art in which I believe the right honourable gentleman opposite to me is my superior, and that if I wished to acquire perfection in that art, I should, although the elder man, become the scholar of that right honourable gentleman. Was there any thing ambiguous in these words---“a radical reform;” or, as the learned gentleman pleased to call it, “a fundamental and total change of the system upon which our affairs have been carried on?” By a change of system I meant, simply and clearly, to state, that the empire should be governed by a system of liberty, instead of a system of restraint. Is the sense obscure, or are the words ambiguous? Whether my opinion is right or wrong, is quite another question. I say, that to increase the power of the Crown, and to abridge the liberties of the people, has been the system of the present Administration. I say that it is a wrong system. I say you should diminish the power of the Crown, and increase the power of the people. I say you should restore them to their just balance according to the true spirit of our Constitution. I say, that it is essential to the happiness of the King and the people. I take it for granted that the words I used are now perfectly understood; and I thought, at the time I used them, that instead of being liable to reproach, they merited quite another fate. What did I mean by a change of system? What! exactly what Lord Chatham meant when he said the same thing---“not merely a removal of Ministers, but a fundamental change of system upon conviction of past error.” I meant what Lord Camelford meant when he declared, and that at a time when we were threatened with an invasion, “I will not vote for a supply to be granted to His Majesty now.” What! was this an encouragement to the French to invade this country? No! no! He meant, and he expressed himself, that he would not vote for a supply, until a pledge was given him, not merely that Ministers should be removed, but that there should be a complete change of system in foreign and domestic Government. This speech was much praised at the time, and has often been stated to be the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was not so. It was the speech of Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford. I believe the present Chancellor of the Exchequer did not speak in that debate, but we had the honour of his countenance, and, I think, the concurrence of his vote; I am sure he did not think Mr. Thomas Pitt a dangerous man on account of that declaration, for one of the first acts of his Administration was to pro-

mote Mr. Thomas Pitt to the dignity of a peerage, at a time when peerages were not made by dozens ; but when a peerage was the reward of some worthy service, or at least bestowed with delicacy, and was an honour to the man who had it. That was the language of Lord Camelford then. That was also my language then, and is my language now. If my opinion is wrong, that is another point, and a fit one for discussion. What danger is there in my saying, of the present Ministers, what I said of former Ministers ? Was it imputed to Lord Camelford, that by resisting the supplies he voted for delivering up this country to the French, the Spaniards, or the Dutch, who were then our enemies as they are now ? Nobody ever imputed any such thing to him. He said by that vote, " I know it will be of service to his Majesty himself, as well as to his subjects, to call upon him to dismiss his present Ministers." But, in truth, I am guilty of plagiarism, and still more guilty of repetition, by the assertion I have made concerning a radical reform. We are all guilty of it on this side of the House, and so is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As to myself, I have not only pleaded my guilt twenty different times, in twenty different speeches, but I have actually recorded my guilt. I should have supposed that what I have repeated so often in this House, year after year, and which is to be found on the Journals of this House, cannot be novel now. As long as I stated the necessity of reforming abuses in general ; while I said there must be " a change of measures," a " radical change of system," there was no alarm taken ; but when I came to specify a " Parliamentary Reform," then every thing I said became dangerous and alarming ; my words became *then* ambiguous and mystical.—Why should that which I have so often insisted upon, be now so dangerous in the repetition ? I had the honour of moving in this house, in the month of May 1796, that which I will now read :

" On a review of so many instances of gross and flagrant misconduct, proceeding from the same pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obstinacy to the same mischievous ends, we deem ourselves bound, in duty to his Majesty and to our constituents, to declare *that we see no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a system radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our present calamities.*"

" Radically and fundamentally different ;" am I not justified by the words of that address, at least excused from any danger of novelty, in what I said concerning radical reform ? There surely must be some reason for all this alarm, for taking this up now as a novel and

alarming doctrine ; why, Sir, it is not difficult to find the cause of all this pretended apprehension of danger from my expression. The Chancellor of the Exchequer finds his popularity is gone, that it is succeeded by public odium. He remembers what success he had at the time of passing the treason and sedition bills ; in calling the public attention to my expressions instead of his own bills, he perverted my meaning, affixed to my words a dangerous tendency, and directed the public mind from the subject, which he knew would not bear close inspection. I am not so destitute of plain common sense, as not to be able to see the drift of his little artifice. The Minister is in a dilemma, his popularity is gone, public odium is coming on, his bill is detested ; he now endeavours to excite an alarm from my expressions, weakly and vainly imagining that by blackening me he can render himself tolerable. I spoke these words plainly, “ that the Constitution should be restored to its just balance, and the power of the people that which they enjoyed in a former part of his Majesty’s reign.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer affected to shew some absurdity in these words : what, said he, “ is all this to be done merely to keep things as they are ? ” To which I answered, “ no ; it is not to keep things as they are, but to restore them to what they were.” I hope the honourable and learned gentleman is now satisfied that I have explained myself sufficiently, and that he will no longer state my words as ambiguous, for that they must now appear to him, as well as every body else, plain and intelligible. I see some stress is laid on the word *radical* ; some may possibly suppose that I mean a reform similar to that which many have thought to be the best, that of *universal suffrage*. Now, having supported the scheme of my honourable friend (Mr. Grey) in this House, and having voted for it, I have by that conduct shewn I do not approve of the plan of universal suffrage, and have shewn the plan of which I do approve. The learned gentleman was pleased to play upon the words, “ radical and fundamental,” and say that they meant to strike at the root—to alter the foundation of our Constitution—No, to strike at the root, to alter the foundation of abuses. To destroy the monarchy—No, to support it, by changing the system that has brought this country to the brink of ruin. There are some gentlemen opposite to me, who have not forgotten the whole of their former politics, and to whom this doctrine is not new. It is not free-masonry, it may be divulged any where and to any person ; it is to do what Mr. Burke, the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, and the right honourable gentleman opposite to me, have declared essential to the interests of their country ; they all declared they thought that

these abuses produced the American war ; and Mr. Burke published his sentiments upon that subject, in a work called " Thoughts on the present Discontents." The whole of our politics at that time were directed, as mine are still, against the root of these evils, and which it is the ambition of my life, and was once the ambition of the lives of others, to oppose. There are many gentlemen on the other side, who cannot think that the events of the year 1784, weaken these observations ; they must know they strengthen them, but they think that the revolution in France has made it necessary to overlook the whole of this system of abuses. They fear what the Latins call *probabilis* ; but they must know that there is such a system ; and they must know, that although they abandon their opposition to it, I shall persevere. Now, what have I done which all the Whigs of England have not constantly and uniformly declared to be absolutely necessary for the safety of the state ? The only addition I have made, is that of calling for a reform in Parliament ; and although it is my opinion now, that it is impossible to correct abuses without parliamentary reform, I confess I once thought otherwise, and that some abuses might be corrected without it.—I may be asked, " why do you, who did not always think it absolutely necessary that there should be a parliamentary reform in order to correct abuses, now hold forth it is absolutely impossible to correct abuses without parliamentary reform ?" To which I answer, " I have no difficulty in saying, that formerly I thought it only useful—that it was likely to do much good, and it was impossible it could produce any evil ; I never thought the propriety of it doubtful ; but there was a time when I did not think it a matter of absolute necessity, that this country, though not so well, yet might stand without it—this was my opinion." The right honourable gentleman opposite to me was of another opinion, for he said in substance, (I do not pretend to quote words accurately) that " without a parliamentary reform, no good administration could render any service to the country, and without parliamentary reform the country could not be saved against a bad administration." I heard that part of his speech with pleasure, although I did not go the full length of it in point of opinion. It was in part a compliment to myself ; it conveyed an idea, that the then administration was, in his opinion, a good one, and I had the honour to hold a share in it ; such was the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at that time. He said that without a parliamentary reform there could be no security for the future, (mark the words,) no security for the future. He looked forward, like our ancestors, and called for security against probable evils—He said that parliamentary reform was the only security

against a repetition of such calamities as were brought upon us by the American war. I am convinced by experience, this House, and this country must be convinced by experience; the right honourable gentleman's administration has convinced us all, that he was then right in his assertion, for we now feel a much greater evil than the American war. But it may be said, that this war is very different from any other war, and therefore it is not just to compare it to any other calamity. No two human events are exactly alike, but in their principle they are exactly the same, and they have produced similar effects. The American war was commenced to crush the principles of rising liberty; the calamities of that war, I am sorry to say, more than the principle of it, rendered it unpopular; it brought Ireland into a state of discontent, which could not be set at rest, without either vigorous measures, or conciliation on the part of Government. What is the origin of this war? An attempt to stifle the genius of pretended liberty; to check, if you please, the progress of false and presumptuous philosophy. A war which was by artifice made popular for a while in this country, and most unfortunately for us all, popular in this House. Here again the calamity and not the principle of the measure, rendered it unpopular. The people became generally discontented. They wished for peace. Ministers opposed their desires. They, very generally, and under great discouragements, petitioned the Throne to change these Ministers—They were not attended to. This has brought on your present most dreadful crisis. In the American war Ireland was appeased by conciliation. Ireland has now been goaded to distraction. Earl Fitzwilliam, with the most virtuous intentions, made to the Irish people promises which he thought he was empowered to fulfil. These promises have been broken by Ministers; the Irish people have been scourged by the iron hand of oppression, and subjected to the horrors of military execution, and are now in a situation too dreadful for the mind to contemplate without dismay or the heart to feel without horror. That country, instead of being part of the strength, is part of the weakness of our empire, as well as its calamity. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that from these features of our situation the right honourable gentleman's predictions are completely verified: "That without reform of Parliament there is no security to this country from being ruined by a bad Administration."

An honourable gentleman who spoke early in this debate thought fit to make an attack on what he called the *secession*. "This too place," says he, "in times of great difficulty and danger." There certainly is great difficulty and danger; but the question is,

whether my attendance in this House can remove that difficulty, or provide against that danger? But as there are many gentlemen in this House who are not partial to my authority in any thing, I will refer them to the authority of others. In the year 1777 the opposition, consisting of the Marquis of Rockingham—(whose name I can never mention but with emotions of esteem and affection; whose worth, like that of most extraordinary men, was not so well valued in his life time as it has since his death, have demonstrated the value of such a man to his country)—Lord John Cavendish, Sir George Saville, and Mr. Burke—I do not mention myself among them---all thought that, (in the middle of the American war, and when great loans were to be raised, and when the country was in great difficulty) they could not do better than to cease attending Parliament, when neither their virtues nor their talents could be useful; and after both had been exerted in vain. I ceased to think with them on the propriety of staying away, and therefore came down to this House before them; but I never blamed them for their conduct: nor is their conduct blamed now. So it seems that what was right and honourable in these persons is factious in me. In my instance I am particularly unfortunate. I can please my adversaries in no way. They say there is mischief in my staying away, and they accuse me of producing mischief by my speeches. They are neither pleased with my presence nor my absence. “What are his motives for staying away?” Upon my word, Sir, I will not flatter the honourable gentleman who spoke last by telling him that he is the cause either of my presence or my absence. But if I was obliged to attend much to him when I am present, he would be the cause of either my absence or my presence---perhaps he can guess which. I cannot state any thing in this House in favour of a parliamentary reform without his telling me I afford encouragement to the French. Why then, Sir, if I paid that respect to his authority, which I dare say he thinks it deserves, I should stay away. “No, I must attend;” but then I must either be silent or speak as he pleases. I shall follow my own judgment while that is not disagreeable to my constituents, and I will not so far flatter the honourable gentleman as to say that I should either serve or please my constituents by following his directions. I apply this observation to several other Members of this House, and among the rest to the honourable member for Lincoln. Is there not something of self at the bottom of all this seeming anxiety for my conduct? I know not whether it is from my depriving them of their opportunities, their glorious, and to some of them, golden opportunities, of gratifying their vanity or their

avarice. When I consider these matters I do not see any great reason for wondering that so many gentlemen should be angry with me for my absence; but to be plain with them, I am not very anxious about pleasing them. The gentleman who spoke last says, "that the people of this country in general are dissatisfied with my absence." I should wish to have a better authority than his before I arrive at that conclusion. The people I represent, who are, without disparagement, fully as good judges of that as the honourable gentleman, have told me otherwise, and I think I can rely on their veracity also as well as upon his. Another honourable gentleman tells us "that we are neglecting our duty while others are performing theirs." By duty, I presume, he means "attending and dividing with the Minister." I made no general allegation that the Members do not attend; the meaning of what I said was, that when they are here they do not always perform their duty. The learned gentleman, whose speech imputed to us party violence, said, "that the public look at us, and will judge of our conduct." I hope they do; and without vanity, I wish they may.

There is nothing that I have a greater desire for than that the people of this country should look at, and carefully examine, our conduct, and the conduct of the House of Commons. I wish them to judge, and to judge candidly, whether this is such a House of Commons, as, that in it, those who think like me, can procure any advantage to the public by their attendance. "But you still keep your seat in Parliament," say they; why yes, I do, Sir, and I have no intention of applying to the right honourable gentleman opposite to me for the Chiltern hundreds in order to vacate that seat—Why? Because I do not think that such a step would be of any service to the people of this country. Am I to despair that even *this* House of Commons may change its sentiments? Is that change impossible?—I hope not. I believe not. Then why should I resign a situation, which, although now useless, may hereafter be useful to my country? "But you stay away because you know you cannot obtain a Parliamentary Reform; you say that Reform is absolutely necessary, and therefore you do not mean to try for a Parliamentary Reform in this House?" To which I answer, I know no other legal way, because I know no other peaceable way of obtaining a Reform, and therefore I shall never try any other way. I confess I am not very sanguine in my expectations of the House of Commons; but I think it may, from circumstances, commence measures which may lead to an entire and radical reform.—"But you do not expect to be able to persuade the House of Commons to commence this work;"—why no, not by my speeches certainly;

and yet I think they may be persuaded—How? By the public. I hope such an opinion will be so expressed as to induce this House to see the wisdom and necessity of the measure; and I am afraid it will never appear to this House to be wise, before it appears to be absolutely necessary. I have done my duty in impressing this opinion upon the House. But why should I, by my attendance from day to day in this House, give countenance to the idea that there is, in this House, a free unbiassed opinion, and that it is not under the influence of the Crown?—I am not of high authority, but that authority, such as it is, I should be sorry to pledge to the doctrine that the branches of the Legislature are not under the controul of the Executive Power. I believe that those, if there are any, who think that the legislative power is not under the control and management of the Crown, know but little of the real condition of this, or the other House of Parliament. I say so, because I think so; then why should I not absent myself from such a Parliament, as I think proper. But they say, “my constituents sent me here; that I am not to follow my own inclination, but should attend for their interests.” I beg to appeal to my constituents, and to none but them, for with their desires I am ready to comply; my attendance this night in this House is an instance of that compliance; but how stands this language with regard to constituents? There are many counties large and populous, the electors of which may call upon their representatives to obey them, and they may do so; but with regard to this House at large, I should be glad to know how many Members there are whose constituents have no influence whatever over them, because, between them there is not so much as the appearance of connection; and even where the case is otherwise, where the connection is supposed to be intimate, how many Members are there in this House who have disobeyed the express directions of their constituents? “But you are speaking on one side only; it is true the King has the prerogative of declaring war and proclaiming peace, which may create some influence; but if a war be improperly declared, or peace improperly delayed, this House has the power of withholding the supplies.” O! mighty well; I know it: but if the Minister can influence the majority and obtain their votes, what then becomes of your famous check upon the Executive Power? By the theory of your Constitution you are free; by its practice you have no freedom to oppose the Crown in any thing of this nature, and your Constitution is now shaken to the very foundation!

Nothing in which my name is included is to pass unnoticed in this debate, and therefore the right honourable Secretary of State

referred to a letter of a very curious kind, written by a noble Lord, for whom I have great personal respect, but I beg leave to say, that I had no concern in, or knowledge of, what passed on the occasion to which it refers more than the right honourable Secretary; nor had I any knowledge of, or concern in, the publication of that letter. I know that an application was made to the noble Lord by some Members of this House, requesting him to call for a change of Administration. I know not who they were: I never was let into that secret; I never wished to know who the parties were; but the publication of that curious letter has made known a fact of a very important nature to this country, viz. "That there are in this House a great number of Members who constantly go on with the Minister, and give him their support, although they disapprove of his measures, and think him and his colleagues utterly unfit for their situations;" and who think therefore that there ought to be a change. But it is said, "that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to go out of power, I should expect to come into his situation, and that therefore what I may say upon the subject is not worth attending to." It is rather hard that I am to be thus silenced. Suppose I was completely disinterested—I know that to a man of the particular taste of the Secretary of State, it is difficult to conceive a disinterested sentiment. But, let him for a moment suppose me to be disinterested. How could I have acted otherwise than I did? Perhaps he thinks that, to be candid, I should have said—"My Lord, take care; I am going to support you only for a while: you will not continue above a session or two; for then I will come into your place: you run into a danger." In reality I gave the noble Lord no advice upon the matter; if I had, it should have been a disinterested piece of advice; if I had told him all I thought, I should have said—"Take care, my Lord; take care, that, while you are forming the Ministry, you are not doing so without solid grounds: unless you have a proper pledge of a Reform, the good which you intend will come to nothing. Take care that you are not venturing into a country where a man of your frankness is not a match for the insidious arts which will be practised against you. Take care you do not go into difficulties which will destroy you; that you are not invited only for the purpose of putting an end to the present war, in order that the system which you stifle for a while may be re-established." And, if I had been called upon to name this successor of the noble Lord, I should have no difficulty in pointing out the present Chancellor of the Exchequer as the man. I had no concern whatever in the matter. I should wish certainly for a change of Administration that might be able to procure peace.

My sincere wish was, never to make any part of any Administration, and I never will, unless I have a pledge for a general Reform of abuses, which must be preceded by a complete dereliction of those assumptions of power that have been made since the right honourable gentleman came into office; in short, until we have a pledge that the Constitution shall be restored, at least to the condition it was in when the Chancellor of the Exchequer came into power; and that there shall be an entire reform of abuses. Until that shall be the desire of the people at large, and the opinion of this House, I will never form a part of any Administration. But I think it is too much to say to me, "Why should you state your terms before your Sovereign has called for your services?" I never stated my terms; I never offered my services; and I have no desire of an offer. But I have long said, what I now say, that I will never accept of any employment but on the conditions that I have stated. But here again let me be properly understood, for although I wish for a Reform of Parliament, I have no idea of obtaining it, but by the organ and through the means of Parliament. The attempt to obtain it in any other way, I never thought of. That I detest the present Administration, that is to say, the present system, is most true; but if I detest them on account of one thing more than another, it is, that their measures have made me think it possible that changes may be made by illegal means, that is, without the intervention of Parliament.

At one time I know that this was impossible; what a dreadful reflection to a feeling constitutional mind, to think of the change of sentiment that has been effected! Some gentlemen say, "that with me every debate degenerates into party spirit; that I am ambitious, and that all my speeches tend to throwing things into confusion." Do they mean to say that I wish for violence and tumult?—Do they think that I am desirous of imitating Buonaparte, of carrying every thing before me by military valour; or, like Barras, to leave troops sitting in or surrounding this House, and suppressing the men or party whom I dread by military violence?—Do they think that any of us have such wishes?—Do they think that the inconveniencies of my life (happily now less than formerly) are such as to make me wish for confusion? That I aim at a time of life to seek a better fortune by the use of arms? I do not think that those who know me will make any of these accusations against me. Aye! Aye! but then comes the order of the day, "disappointment and envy;" what may not these passions goad me to? A learned Civilian, of whom I shall say the less, because I had formerly the means of knowing him intimately, chuses to come forward and caricature me as an envious

and disappointed man. The candour and generosity of this attempt, coming from him, I shall leave to the world. The talents of those artists for caricature I will not question; but looking to themselves, and looking to me, they will perhaps find it difficult to exhibit my figure as the emblem of envy. Not that I defy their genius for misrepresentation; but I really think they might find among themselves figures better adapted to the character. He discovers in me a resemblance to Hanno, the Carthaginian. The allusion naturally brings us back to the history of the period, and makes us think of Hannibal as well as Hanno. If I am Hanno, he must have had in his eye also the Hannibal of the present times. The learned Doctor did not say who the Hannibal was, although it was not difficult to find where he meant the allusion to strike. And certainly there were some points of resemblance between the right honourable gentleman and the character of Hannibal which a Plutarch would describe with energetic truth. We are told in history, if I remember rightly, that Hannibal was the son of Hamilcar, one of the greatest generals and statesmen in the world, and Hannibal was sworn, at nine years of age, by his father, to be the eternal enemy of Rome. Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sworn at that age to be the eternal enemy of the French, I know not. There are some other circumstances which we read in history concerning these two characters not unworthy of recollection at this moment. Not only was Hanno an enemy to Hannibal, but also to the whole Barfine faction, who were supposed to have shared a great deal from the successes of Hannibal in war. It was said of him that in all his zeal for the public good he took particular care of his own family, and that Asdrubal and all his other relatives in Spain and elsewhere, were enriched with the public spoil. The right honourable gentleman may perhaps have some relations who certainly have not had their fortunes ruined by the war. I rather think there are some other points of resemblance between Hannibal and the right honourable gentleman, Hannibal having conducted the war against the Romans with great rage, and every degree of bitterness and cruelty; and after having sworn, as I have said, eternal enmity, thought himself a fit person to negotiate a peace; and indeed from the speech which Livy makes him deliver, Hannibal was as eloquent a man as any that ever made a speech. The figure that he made in the Senate of Carthage upon that occasion was extraordinary. After all the declarations he had made, he felt the singularity of his situation, and he shortly exposed it—" *Ego, Hannibal, peto pacem.*" The Chancellor of the Exchequer has also conducted a war with as much bitterness and rage as that of Hannibal against the Romans.

He also has said it would be disgraceful and ruinous to propose peace, but he also has thought himself a fit person to propose and negotiate a peace; and, like Hannibal, he is a very eloquent man. But when we come to the other features of the character of Hannibal, I am afraid the resemblance between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer will fail. Hannibal was the most skilful and the most successful conductor of a war the world ever saw. Is that the character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Hannibal had a constantly diffident Senate, that counteracted his measures, thwarted his schemes, denied him what he asked, and constantly allowed him but scanty supplies; and yet with all these difficulties and impediments, he performed greater deeds in war than any other General, except Alexander. Is that the case with the Chancellor of the Exchequer?—With a diffident Senate, with scanty supplies, Hannibal contrived to keep up in Italy, for fifteen years together, a powerful confederacy against the Romans, although they were made up of States jealous of each other, the interest of some of whom it was to attack Carthage; yet he kept them together in a confederacy against Rome for fifteen years. Is that the case of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? If, therefore, I am an envious man, let me be envious of the emoluments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; do not say I am envious of his glory, because that would be a bad compliment to the character of my understanding.

It has been said by the Secretary of State, that we, unintentionally, pronounced a panegyric on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his financial skill, by stating the year 1792 as a period of our prosperity; because it must be well remembered that our condition in 1784 was very low in point of finance. I admit the great prosperity of this country in the year 1792, as compared with that of 1784. I go farther, I applaud now, as I have often applauded, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's system with regard to the sinking fund. But I cannot think it a very wonderful thing that this country should flourish in its finance in the course of eight years peace. I should certainly think otherwise, if I agreed with the Secretary of State, who says, that the present lowness of our funds is owing to the increase of our commerce. But why was I an approver of the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1792 in preference to that of 1784? Why! let him ask his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) who sits near him. The system was adopted in 1784 was entirely repugnant to the principles of the Constitution. Whether the calamities that have since befallen our country are the effect of the system adopted in 1784, some may think an important inquiry. I think otherwise; for

system the power of the Crown was prodigiously increased, and much of that power, which till then had been in the hands of the people, was made to depend upon the caprice of that tribe of persons who are constantly about a Court, have none but Court views, and may very properly be denominated a Court Faction. I now complain not of the guilt of this, but of the calamity. Has that system, or has it not, produced that calamity? "But here we come to a distinction: in considering this war, we must consider separately what we ourselves have done, and what our allies have done. Our allies have deserted us; we had no reason to suppose they would." Are we to consider the character of a Statesman as not including in it some faculty of guessing at the views and interests, and consequently the probable conduct, of those with whom he is to enter into alliance? The Chancellor of the Exchequer may say, "I engaged with the King of Prussia; I thought he would have been faithful, but he was faithless." Was he not warned of this? When he interfered in the affairs of Holland, he was desired to look at the state of Flanders; he despised our counsel: the result is before our eyes. "But this was a mere mistake." Yes: it was certainly a mistake; but it was a mistake of which he was forewarned. How stands the case now with regard to Austria? I heard last night for the first time, in this House (and I was almost confounded when I heard it; I had almost thought I had got into some other House), Austria was called our "perfidious Ally" by one of the friends of the Chancellor of the Exchequer! This naturally brings to my recollection the manner in which the Minister has often spoken of the House of Austria. To take the debate on the Austrian loan, for instance, as a sample of the rest: I considered the Austrian loan like a subsidy to Austria. I took the liberty of saying that we should never have our money back: the Chancellor of the Exchequer fell into a rage at this: "What," said he, "treat a *Loan* like a *Subsidy*?—a loan to a Prince who is as punctual to pecuniary payments as renowned for military glory!—Our faithful ally!—It was base to desert him!" How stands the fact? No re-payments was ever made upon this loan to his Imperial Majesty; and in a few weeks the people of this country must pay out of their own pockets the interest of this money, which was advanced to the Emperor, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pleased to have a good opinion of the credit of the Bank of Vienna. "But human nature is liable to mistake." So it is: but are those who mistake almost every thing, fit persons to possess public confidence? "But do not look at the campaign with Austria; behold the brilliancy of our naval victories! Has our navy not acted as it should do?" Certainly it has; and but for its ex-

ertions we should not now be debating in this House. But, as an honourable friend of mine has observed already, what are we to think of that cause which even such exertions cannot serve? Montesquieu, who had a happy method of expressing his opinion, said, that "He conceived God Almighty created the Turks and the Spaniards for no other purpose than to shew to mankind what a great empire is, when inhabited by slaves." What would Montesquieu say, if he lived among us? He would say, "That country must be in a deplorable state, when it is governed by a Minister who cannot advance his cause one step by the brilliant actions of a Howe, a Duncan, a St. Vincent! The man who cannot accomplish his object by such exploits must have something in view that is not attainable by any human power."

The Secretary of State has said something of an huffaring expedition in America; by way of derision, I presume. Have we had much profitable huffaring in this war? I know the English have often acted with glory; and I hope they will continue to do so: but, in compliment to the army that I respect, I had rather be silent than say any thing of the English campaigns in Flanders. But it was stated that we participated in the glory of our allies when they were successful on the Continent; that to our supplies of counsel and of gold, were chiefly to be ascribed the triumphs they had achieved. On this participation in the success of our allies the right honourable gentleman boasted in a memorable quotation:

*Quod Thebæ cecidère, meum est: me credite Lesbon,
Me Teuedon, Chrysenque, et Cyllan Apollinis urbes,
Et Syron cepisse: mea concussa putate
Procubuisse solo Lyrnessia mœnia dextra.*

"The people of England had a merit in this (he said) from the loan they gave; there was not a peasant in this country who did not participate in the joy for the victories of the Austrian arms, because there was not a peasant in this country whose labours did not contribute to produce the loan by which the Austrian arms were supplied. Something of this kind was said of the Prussian arms at one time—that scene is now shifted—now, even Austria is called a perfidious ally. What conclusion do I draw from this? Why, that a man who is compelled to change and to shift from point to point, as the Minister has done in the course of this war, either has no definite object in view, or that, if he has, he never will arrive at it. How are the measures of the Minister defended? Can you say any thing for the Minister? "No; but others would be worse." Why, truly that appears a little extravagant, I think. "But would you not defend this measure rather than invite Buona-

parte to come here? Which do you think the worse of the two, this bill, or the requisition of Buonaparte?" Why, truly, I must confess this is an ingenious way of arguing; a curious question to ask of an Englishman; of the two, certainly a requisition from our own Governors is better than that of a foreign enemy: but what sort of defence do you call that? What is this bill? A requisition; founded upon what—justice or injustice? Upon injustice. What is a requisition founded upon injustice? A robbery. There is no criterion by which this plunder upon the people is to be made. Some have called it a tax upon expenditure, and some a tax upon income; it is neither the one nor the other. Indeed I have never heard any one of its advocates explain satisfactorily what it is. Quite sure I am, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to lay a tax upon income, without great injustice; and in this case, that injustice is of the most horrible kind. The case put by an honourable friend of mine, is a very fit one, to shew the inequality of the measure. Suppose one person has 1000l. in the Short Annuities, another 1000l. in the Long Annuities; the income will be the same to both, but the property is very unequal, consequently the ability to pay is much greater in the one than in the other, so much as six to one, or thereabouts; and yet if this is to be regulated by income, the charge will be exactly the same on both. Income is a thing which cannot in its nature be ascertained; and consequently this measure must be defective in that particular, as well as in every other view in which it can be considered. Gentlemen have said, that "we ought to give up a part of our property to preserve the remainder." The justness of that proposition I never attempted to deny, when taken in its fair sense; that is to say, that, by giving a part, the remainder is secured; but when a part is given to a measure that has in its very essence a tendency to render the remainder insecure, there is an end of the justness of the proposition. Such is the nature of the measure now before the House; by assenting to this bill you will lay down a principle that the Minister may seize what part and what proportion he pleases of the property of the people of this country, upon the same pretext as he is pleased to make use of now, namely, that it is done for the public good.

I never, until last night, heard any thing like a specific proposition for taxing property in the funds—I have no doubt of the purity of the motives of the learned gentleman (Mr. Simeon) who made that proposition; but I cannot help expressing a hope that no direct tax of that kind will ever take place in this country. There is one way in which the funds may be made to feel the effects of taxation, and that is a fair way, for it is indirect in its effect.

Such, indeed, is always the case, when any addition is made to our funded debt; that addition must, in the nature of things, have some effect upon the value of that which was funded before. This effect, however, touches nothing but the marketable price of the capital; it has nothing to do with the dividends. That sort of effect it is just it should have; because Government faith is only pledged for the punctual payment of the interest of your funded debt; the capital, each individual must make what he can of in the market.

This bill is an unjust measure from the beginning to the end, but that which is the most glaring injustice is the clause which gives to the bill a retrospective effect. That makes it, what no bill ever should be, viz. an *ex post facto* law. By this you tax a man next year, because he kept a carriage last year. From the circumstance of a man having kept a carriage last year, you presume he will have a certain income the next, and therefore you tax him at a certain rate; nothing can be more inconclusive, or more unjust than this. Some gentlemen, indeed, admit that this bill is unjust, which they affect to lament, but they say that money must be had, and a great deal must be raised within the year, and therefore they will vote for this bill for want of knowing how to find out a better measure for the public service: the Member for Lincoln has said, that although there is a great inequality in this bill, and consequently much injustice, yet he must vote for it, since he knew of no better plan. When a measure is proposed to be agreed upon by this House, to take from the people that which must in many cases be taken unjustly, if taken at all, what should that be called but a robbery? for it certainly is so. This bill is unjust in many cases; it is acknowledged to be so. Are your public affairs in that state in which it is indispensably necessary that your Legislature should enact injustice?—Why, Sir, this bill is so monstrous, and the objections to it are so many, that the difficulty is, where to begin with them, or how to compress them into something like a tolerable compass. I met a gentleman to-day, whose case is only one out of a thousand others that are at hand, perhaps some of them harder, or will be so under this bill. That gentleman has, for some time, kept a four-wheeled little carriage, drawn by a single horse. He asked me at what time it was necessary for him to prove he discontinued the use of it, in order to be exempted from the duties of this bill upon that single article? I told him I understood the day to be the 10th of October last. He said he had laid it down before that time, and wished to have sold it, but could not meet with a purchaser. I believe there are many Members in this House to whom that is no wonder. The

gentleman then told me, that one day, after the 10th of October, having occasion to go as far as Fulham, and it being a rainy day, he took his little carriage, there being a head, or cover to it, and went in it, in preference to riding on horseback, and to save the expence of a hackney coach. Thus by this one journey to Fulham in a rainy day, he has used this famous four-wheeled carriage, and must therefore pay for that ride 32l. a year for an indefinite period. I say an indefinite period, for there is no time for the operation of this bill, it must be continued until a certain sum of money be raised by it. Now I ask, is this any thing like justice? I wish to know, whether there was any thing adopted in France, that in point of principle, is worse than this? The extent of the injustice is another thing; the principle is the same whether the injury be large or small; by the way, this injury is not very contemptible in size. The next point that presents itself to my mind, thus cursorily running over the bill, (for I do not profess to be minute, that would be endless); the next point, I say, is the case of a person who is entitled to a small fortune upon the death of his parent. It is a case of a most abominable oppression; a hardship never heard of in this country until this bill made its appearance. Let us suppose the case of a son whose father had lived in a profuse way the year before his death, and whose expenditure was much beyond the proportion of his income. The son must pay for it; for the scale of assessment is not to be formed by what the estate of the son can afford, but by what the extravagance of the father has squandered. Thus a man is made to pay, not according to his ability, but according to his misfortune; not that misfortune which is brought on by his own fault either, but that misfortune which is brought upon him by the fault of another. Does this apply to the rich heir? No, he is protected by the provisions of the bill; but it is thus the poor one is exposed to the most inhuman cruelty. But in answer to this it is said that the relief afforded under the *declaration of property*, is an answer to all these objections. Are you aware of all the difficulties that will attend the declaration of income? I own that, speaking in the abstract, I do not see why gentlemen of fortune should have any difficulty in declaring what their incomes are; but I know they have that difficulty; they do possess that nicety. I know that many gentlemen in the country, who in the early part of their lives, in consequence of some dissipations had improvidently granted annuities, which they would profit highly by paying off, even although they mortgaged their estates for that purpose, but who nevertheless continue to pay such annuities rather than mortgage their estates, because that has a tendency to disclose their real income. I am not

defending that practice ; I am not saying it is a wise one. I rather think it is a weakness, or perhaps a silliness ; but I am stating it as a fact, to shew the disinclination men have to disclose their circumstances ; and is it not cruel to attack their delicacy, or if gentlemen like it better, their prejudices, in the way proposed by this bill, and then to call such a measure relief ? Again—let us suppose two gentlemen, next door neighbours, each of the income of one thousand a year, the one of them living in his own house, the other giving 200*l.* a year rent for the one he occupies ; suppose the two houses to be equally assessed, these two persons will pay exactly the same sum by this bill, although, in point of fact, the income of the one is a complete thousand a year and the other only eight hundred, for this bill does not allow the rent to be deducted out of the income. Do you call that justice ? I will put another case ; it is my own, and in my favour by this bill, but unjustly in my favour. I rented a house in London for a while ; I afterwards bought it. I borrowed the money to pay for it ; for which money I now pay the yearly interest of 100*l.* that 100*l.* a year which I pay as interest for borrowed money, may be deducted out of my income under the provision of this bill, whereas had I continued to pay the same sum in rent, and not purchased the house, I should not have been entitled to make the deduction. Do you see any justice in that case ? The truth of the matter is, that this bill is filled with most monstrous inequalities, and the most gross injustice in every branch of it ; and it reminds me of what is stated by Doctor Adam Smith, in his celebrated book on the Wealth of Nations. That author complains of the inequality with which small taxes fall on different classes of the community. What would he say if he were living, and should look at the inequalities of this bill ? But the truth of the matter is, that the authors of this measure have already shewn a contempt for the liberty of the subject, and they very consistently follow up their plan with a contempt for their property. But it seems “ the State requires great supplies ;” I grant it. But let me ask if the necessity is such as to require great injustice ? By this bill there will be cases in which one man will pay triple the sum which another pays, and yet both their incomes will be the same. In defending this bill you are forced to go to France for argument. You say, “ I want money ; money I must have, I care not how.”—This bill will fall with great weight upon the poor ; and will fall unequally even upon them. It will fall with tremendous weight upon the middle class, but it will fall unequally upon the middle class, some of which it must inevitably crush. It will fall with considerable weight upon the rich ; so that there is not one

class in the whole society upon which this bill will fall with justice. It has but one species of equality, and upon that perhaps you may defend it, the equality of its injustice, for to all it is certainly unjust.

Some gentlemen in this House have affected a great deal of contempt for the opinion of shopkeepers, as to the effect which this bill will have upon gentlemen. "What can a shopkeeper know of a gentleman?"—Why yes, he can, and must know a good deal of many gentlemen, before he can be a successful shopkeeper. I ask every gentleman in this House, whether at a particular season of the year he does not allot a certain part of his income for the payment of his tradesmen? when this bill comes to be carried into effect, may not many gentlemen say to a tradesman, and say truly, nay, must not many say, "I have been compelled to give away my money to pay the new assessment, you must wait until I have another opportunity of paying you." Perhaps some gentlemen may say as a learned gentleman has decently said, imitating the language of Henry the VIII. upon a well-known occasion.—"You are brutes, and do not know these things." Tradesmen are no such brutes as not to know that if gentlemen have no money they cannot pay their bills. They know it already; many gentlemen have given them pretty clear information upon that subject. But we may be told that if a gentleman does not pay his tradesman, the law is open; that the law is equal to all:—true, the law is equal to all; but that law cannot be enforced without expence, and is it equally convenient to all to defray the expence, which is a preliminary to the enforcement of that law? But it seems "we who oppose this bill have shifted our ground: at one time we complained that this Bill would affect, in a direct manner, all persons in trade, but since the modifications of the bill, that argument is done away." To which I answer, look at the resolutions of the different meetings that have been held all over this metropolis. They all state that no modification can render this bill free from objection, by which they clearly shew that they object to the principle of the bill.

Some gentlemen have had the firmness to say, "that this bill is now a popular bill." But the Noble Lord (Lord Hawkesbury) last night very fairly excepted the metropolis, by which he meant certainly the whole town and the out-parishes. I will, for a moment, be extravagant enough to suppose, merely for the sake of the argument, that this bill is not disliked in any other part of the kingdom; the inhabitants of the metropolis will pay nearly *one fourth* of the whole. Is it not a dreadful thing that they who have to a man protested against it, many of whom have solemnly declared it will

be their ruin, should be commanded to comply with such a measure? What is the language of a money bill? "We give voluntarily: Who gives voluntarily; all the people of the metropolis? No! do they not state it will ruin them? Will this bill keep their affection towards Government? Is it to be supposed that they will want to be addressed by a few words which were delivered last night by an honourable Baronet (Sir Francis Burdett), to make them compare this to measures which the French have adopted? They are driven to make these comparisons by this House: and that is what I believe the honourable Baronet meant by what he said. Every one will not judge freely, but I hope most will. Is it not a lamentable thing that this House should pass a bill against which the whole metropolis protests, and from which nearly one fourth of the whole impost is to be collected? Then comes again the common-place answer: "you encourage the enemy by your observations." This is the old and stale argument constantly made use of against me during the American war. "You are a friend to a French invasion." Sir, I have some experience in these false accusations of "encouraging the enemy," and so on. It is the fashion now to say to any man who does not join in reverence to the Minister, "you are the friend of the French." "There are a number of disaffected people in this country who wish to see things thrown into confusion." Whether the Directory of France believe this or not, I neither know nor care. I know where they have learnt it. They have learnt it from the late books of Mr. Burke, and the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and those officious, charitable friends of his, who confound in one common mass of guilty friendship for the French, all those who oppose the Minister. This idea Mr. Burke inculcated strongly in his late pamphlet. He states, "that all reformers in this country are men of French principles." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all his assistants, aid and abet the publication of that slander; and if the Directory are foolish enough to believe it, all I can say is, I know to whom they owe the favour.

Does the Chancellor of the Exchequer think that this tax can be levied? When does he think the operation of it is to cease? There is no stated period for its continuance, it is to be in force until it shall have produced seven millions in the first instance, and eight millions in the second; the whole sum to be raised being fifteen millions. Why then the bill, although called a temporary measure, is not to be for one, two, or three years, but is to continue until it shall have produced fifteen millions. Upon my honour, Sir, it is quite impossible to preserve patience; here again I am

called upon to pay too much in proportion, as my neighbour shall happen to pay too little. If I pay my share for two years, and my neighbour does not pay for one, I must pay again, so that I pay for three years instead of two; that will be the general effect of it. You who can pay, must continue to pay. After you have paid for yourself, you must then pay for your neighbour, if through inability or dishonesty he has not paid for himself; so that you may go on, year after year, for four, five, or six, or more years, paying money for others as well as yourself.—“But this is the exigency of the time.” Why, yes, Sir, it is that sort of exigency or vengeance which puts to flight all notions of justice, of equity, of honour, or of honesty; and for what? For the support of this war. What is the nature of this war? What is the object of it? I can conceive that Hannibal might have said to the Carthaginians—“Grant me but such and such supplies, and I will put an end to this war. I will take the city of Rome, and I will bring you peace.” But is any thing of that kind the case here? We are told that this is a war not only defensive in principle, but also in operations. Will you expect, therefore, that Lord Hawkebury should go to Paris as Hannibal did to Rome? But to be serious—Do you expect that your armies, or even your fleet, can bring your affairs to a crisis which may terminate the contest? The right honourable Secretary of State says, “that if the French should invade us, the struggle would be a very short one.” I hope that if that event should happen, the struggle would be a short one; but I hope also the enemy will not come. The threat that they will come, however, brings to my mind what was said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer four years ago. I remember how, in a beautiful display of eloquence, he said “the French were not on the brink, but in the gulph of bankruptcy.” They now say we are in that situation. I hope they are as much mistaken with regard to our resources as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has proved himself to be with regard to theirs.

I say, I hope for peace, and I say there is no rational hope for peace without a removal of Ministers. They say they have done all they can to obtain peace, and they refer to the opinion which this House expressed upon the subject of the last negotiation. Not having attended when that negotiation was discussed, I will grant that in their last negotiation they were sincere. But now they triumph and say, “whatever you thought of the war at first, now you should join in the prosecution of it, for now you have no other remedy.” Will the people of this country be satisfied with this declaration? Will they not rather say, “we should have Ministers who were

not only sincerely desirous *last summer* to obtain peace, but who were *always* desirous to obtain it; who are *now* desirous to obtain it." Will they not say, "we know that this contest might have been put an end to three years ago? Nothing stood in the way of that blessing but the perverse disposition of His Majesty's present Ministers." Indeed the honourable gentleman, who spoke last, whatever reason may have changed his mind since, was of that opinion some time ago. He thought we should propose some terms of peace; he made a motion to that effect, in which I had the honour to join with him. Did he not think then that Ministers had neglected their duty in not attempting to negotiate? I know not, nor am I solicitous to know, what he thinks now. I am of opinion, and so I believe are the people of this country in general, that Ministers neglected an opportunity which they fairly had to obtain peace. This House thought there was a fair opportunity for that purpose when the honourable gentleman's motion was made. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, perceiving this, indulged the House by allowing it to express a wish for peace, but, by an artful trick, prevailed upon the House to adopt certain words in their resolutions, by which it was left to the King's Ministers to judge "whether France was in a situation capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other powers?" Will any man say he believes that France was not at that very moment capable of maintaining peace with any power with which it should conclude a treaty? Does any man doubt that the French were then as capable of maintaining peace as any power in this world? Was it not then apparent to all Europe? I am not bound to form a comparative opinion between the power of France to maintain peace at that time and at this; but if I was bound, I should say that they were more so at that period than they are at this moment, or were last summer, when our Ministers attempted to negotiate with them: therefore upon their own principle, Ministers have neglected an opportunity to obtain peace. Why then am I compelled to lay down my carriage? Why am I compelled to discharge my servants? Why am I compelled to turn away my labourers? Why am I to deprive my wife and family of their comforts? Why are the manufacturers and artisans of this country starving? Why are the middle class of society to be reduced to poverty? Because the French attacked us in 1792, and sent away Lord Malmesbury in 1797? No! but because the King's Ministers did not chuse to say in 1795 that the French were capable of maintaining peace and amity with other powers. So that all your happiness or comfort, and for ought I know, your existence, is made to depend upon the opinion of the

King's Ministers, and that too when such opinion was contrary to that of all the rest of Europe. For this are we to be assailed and mulct, and robbed and plundered, more than any nation, not in a state of Revolution, ever was upon earth.

We are all agreed that great exertions are necessary, but differ about the means. My opinion is most clear that great exertions must now be made; my opinion is as clear that such exertions cannot be made while those Ministers, who have so abused their power, continue to possess it; and on account of whose negligence arises the very question which is now before you. But it seems we should now be unanimous; and gentlemen on the side say, that "my speeches are not calculated to produce unanimity." The best return to that is, "are yours so?" "You wish us to come to you. We say you should come over to us?" "What! the majority come over to the minority?" "Yes, the majority come over to the minority." There are many gentlemen in this House who have sat upon juries. I ask them, whether, when a jury is divided in opinion, and the case cannot be settled without a compromise, whether those who are of the severe opinion do not constantly give way to those of the milder disposition? When the question therefore is, whether you shall agree to a measure that is directly hostile to the Constitution, that calls upon the people to pay what they have distinctly told you they cannot pay, I say, that the majority should come over to the minority. You cannot expect the confidence of the people upon your present system; it has already led to too many misfortunes. I say the mass of the people of England are against you; but were it possible to obtain it, would you be contented with the unanimity of the people of *Great Britain*? I say you should have the unanimity and affection of the whole of the British empire. Look at *Ireland*. After the fatal consequences that have ensued upon your breaking the promises which you authorized Lord Fitzwilliam to make, do you conceive that you will have unanimity there without Parliamentary Reform and the emancipation of the Catholics? After the inhuman dragooning and horrible executions, the recital of which makes the blood run cold; after so much military cruelty, not in one, but almost every part of the country; is it possible for this Administration to procure unanimity in that country? I will do them the justice to say, they do not themselves expect it; they trust there to the force of a military government. In this war it is said, and truly, we have more acknowledged superiority than ever we had, even at sea: and yet such is the general disaffection in *Ireland*, and such is the cause for general disaffection in *England*, that the force for the internal defence of both, is four times

as great as when you had all France, Spain and Holland against you ; and when they were powers independent of each other, not, as now they are, under the nod of the French Republic. Now you are forced to have large armies, not only against foreign nations, but also against your domestic enemies, as you call them, both in England and in Ireland, but most particularly in Ireland. In this country we are told there are many disaffected persons, and so on ; and it was brought as a charge against me, that I said I thought there was no plot against the Government of this country proved to exist. I thought in the year 1792 that the number of persons who were disaffected to the form of our Government was not large. I thought, with Mr. Justice Eyre, “ that they were almost without numbers, without money, and even without zeal ;” but I do not think now, however, that because there is silence, therefore there is safety ; “ but you predicted that Lord Fitzwilliam’s zeal would produce mischief ; nothing, for a long time after that, happened in Ireland, and therefore your prediction was wrong ; Lord Fitzwilliam’s recall produced nothing.” Were not the seeds of disaffection and revolt sown by that recall ? Have you not encouraged them to shoot up ? Have you not nurtured them in their growth ? Do you not now see the produce ? Do you not expect soon to be called upon to reap the harvest ? My opinion is, that those who were for a Republic in preference to a Monarchy, or who wished to reduce the Monarchy to a cypher, were few at first. I believe they are not yet formidable in numbers : but that they are increased in such a proportion, that if they were at first so numerous as they were said to be, they would now be a dreadful body, is what I cannot hesitate to say. Are you now proceeding in a way to reduce their number ? Do you expect to make men love the Monarchy of this country by confusion, confiscation and military cruelty ? When men reason, or think they reason, upon any subject, you must treat even their prejudices with tenderness. You are now a divided and discontented people. What is your remedy ? A change of system. A Ministry that shall give confidence to the French, not that confidence which *they* wish, but the confidence which *we* wish, a confidence that we have a Ministry capable of commanding the unanimous affections of the people of Great Britain, and the people of Ireland. This can be obtained only by an entire change of system, by a correction of abuses, by a Parliamentary Reform, and above all, by allowing the people their just balance in your political scale—that is the way to unite their affections, and to make the whole mass of them as it were one man, fixed and determined on his object, and that object his country’s glory. That is the way to display the real beau-

ties of our Constitution ; the true old British Constitution. Shew the people that their Constitution is not paper and packthread ; but that it is capable of procuring for them real, solid blessings ; not a Constitution that permits confiscation, proscription, plunder and military execution ; not a Constitution under which those only can go on with the war who are hated and condemned by the people ; not a Constitution under which the multitude are pressed almost to death, while others smile and bear no part of the burden—I see here the impropriety of not having an example from the highest authority to encourage us to bear our burdens. A learned gentleman alluded to the case of the people of Rome when they were oppressed. They said to their rulers, “ you may beat us with stripes, but you cannot take from us that which we have not”—what did the people of high rank in Rome do ? They made the greatest sacrifices they could to shew the people they were willing to bear their share of the burdens ; they did not leave themselves any gold or silver, except for the sake of distinction, viz. a gold fringe for the Patrician youth, and earrings and necklaces for the Roman matrons. I ask for no such sacrifices, I only ask that those who have the highest prerogatives, privileges and immunities, should not be wholly exempted from these burdens, and stand aloof from the scene of action. I only ask that some sacrifices should be made ; to what extent I should leave to the good sense and honourable feelings of others.

But it is said that this bill will give no additional influence to the Crown. I do not mean to insinuate that Ministers intend it should ; on the contrary, I acquit them of any such intention ; but that it will have that effect is most clear, and it is unavoidable. It will add more to the influence of the Crown than any other measure that has been adopted in the course of the present war. I think I know what I am saying upon this subject, having had a great deal of experience upon it in the course of so many repeated canvasses for the suffrages of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster. If the case should be, as I am afraid it will, that when the contribution is due, hardly any man can pay it, what are you to do ? Would you cast every defaulter into prison, or distrain upon his goods ? No, there will be some indulgence. That must be, in the nature of the thing, discretionary, and thus every man must be, more or less, under the power of the tax collector ; that collector must, from the nature of his office, be connected with Government. Those who canvass at elections will find a vast number of men who have very decided opinions against Administration, but who are afraid of doing any thing that may disoblige those who have influence with the Executive Power. I do not say that this is the de-

fire of Ministers. I do not think it is : but I do say that this will be the inevitable consequence of it ; for a prodigious number of men will be aware that they must either vote for a Court candidate, against their conscience, or be ruined. What, then, is the result of all this ? Why, that the Crown will have, by this bill, an immense power, in addition to that enormous influence which it already has in this House, and which has been the source of all your evils ; and which has made you a mockery of the public voice—I say, put an end to all these unseemly appearances. Recur to your good old English Constitution. Make the Crown what it ought to be ; what the Constitution intended it to be, the guardian of the rights and liberties of the subjects ; not the object of their jealousy and alarm, such as I have no hesitation in pronouncing it now to be. I ask you to examine with attention the history of this country, and to reflect upon it ; you will see that all its calamities have been chiefly owing to that system which tends to increase the influence of the Crown, and to encroach upon the rights of the people ; a system that must end either in slavery or revolt. But when we examine the course of this war, and the train of evils which it has already brought upon us ; when we see the contemptible ignorance of the greater part, the indifference of others, of those who generally compose what is called the Court party, concerning the Rights and Liberties of the People, and of the means to procure them happiness, when we see what description of persons they are, naturally, from their ignorance and folly, led to protect and encourage ; when we see that it is a part of their system to excuse from all burden those who ought to be the most ready to bear it ; we are naturally led, I think, to call for a radical and fundamental change of system, as well as of the Ministers who have acted under it, and who have brought you to your present most calamitous condition. I wish this country to manifest its strength to the world at large, and most emphatically to the enemy. I know that cannot be done without large supplies ; but all our supplies must be *voluntary* ; in that has consisted the very essence of our country's glory, in that has consisted the difference between us and other nations, and has so often exalted us above them all, in faith, in credit, in honour, in every thing that constitutes the greatness of a people. It is in that, too, has consisted the difference between the measures adopted in this and other wars, and which reveals the mystery of your present distress. What is the remedy ? A radical reform, a total change of system ; but above all, a Parliament that shall be known, felt, and acknowledged, to speak the voice of the People. I remember how beautifully this point was illustrated by Mr. Burke in his celebrated

speech for conciliation with the colonies, the substance of which was, (speaking of the cases of Wales and Chester), That the march of the human mind was slow; that it was not, until after two hundred years, discovered, that by an eternal law, Providence had decreed vexation to violence, and poverty to rapine; that our ancestors did, however, at length open their eyes to the ill husbandry of injustice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the least be endured, and that laws made against a whole nation were not the most effectual methods for securing its obedience. Accordingly, in the twenty-seventh year of Henry the Eighth, the course was entirely altered; with a preamble, stating the entire and perfect rights of the Crown of England, it gave to the Welsh all the rights and privileges of English subjects. A political order was established; the military power gave way to the civil; the marches were turned into counties. But that a nation should have a right to English liberties, and yet no share at all in the fundamental security of these liberties, the grant of their own property, seemed a thing so incongruous, that eight years after, that is, in the thirty-fifth of that reign, a complete, and not ill-proportioned, representation by counties and boroughs was bestowed upon Wales by act of Parliament. From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults subsided, obedience was restored; peace, order, and civilization, followed in the train of liberty. When the day-star of the English Constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without.

Simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit
Defluit faxis agitatus humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes:
Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit.

This is saying, that it is a divine principle which God and Nature have planted in the human character; so that it is there, and there only, can be true security for social blessings, where there is a true Representation of the People. By this he has said more in favour of a Representative Government, (I do not mean a Representative Government in the sense which some invidious persons are ready to impute to me, but a true Representation of the People in this House,) than is contained in some whole volumes that have been written upon the subject. You know what has passed in Ireland upon the subject of a corrupt Parliament. It is good for us to have a magnifying glass through which such an object may be viewed, because it enables us to see its deformity the more distinctly. Mr.

Grattan stated plainly, "that Peerages were sold in Ireland to those who sent Members into the House of Commons to vote for Government." Was that denied? Not a word of it; something of that kind was stated by my honourable friend (Mr. Tierney), not very ambiguously either, applying to the specific case of a certain Peer lately created. Was that denied this night? No notice taken of it. Will you then persist in passing a bill which the whole metropolis, called upon to pay one-fourth of it, unanimously disapprove? Yes, I believe you will, in utter defiance of the public voice. Am I then unreasonable in my declaration, that I will not attend this House, when I am so confident I cannot do good? The best thing I can do is to draw the attention of the people to the House of Commons; let them see what passes here, who they are who sit and act here; then let them decide whether they are represented here or not. I do not wish to have any share in directing their anger, much less to inflame their passions, although it is said that much artifice is employed for that purpose. There was a division here some time ago, and there were two hundred and odd against fifteen. I do not mean to detract from the abilities of that minority, especially those of my honourable friends who spoke to-night, but they will forgive me, if I say, that the public abhorrence of this bill is not the effect of their eloquence. It is owing to the intrinsic iniquity of the bill itself, which is most evident from the fact that almost all the resolutions of all the parishes were entered into before any thing, or before much, had been said in Parliament against it. I know we are in a situation to which the wisdom of our Ministers is not adequate. I will go farther, and say, that the wisdom of no man, or body of men, is equal to it; nor ever will be so upon your present plan of politics. We must have the advice of the people collected and expressed freely and liberally. Our basis must be made much broader than it is at present. We must give to the people their due share in the Government, we must let them know and feel that they are fighting for their own rights and for their own sovereignty, against foreign nations, and fighting for that liberty which no foreign nation can give. You can do nothing by saying in this House, "this or that is the opinion of the people," but you should have that opinion from themselves freely expressed, by a true, *substantial*, as well as a *virtual* representation of the people. Not by universal suffrage, in my opinion, but upon a scale short of that, but, with that limitation, as large as it is otherwise possible. These are the only means to shew the real strength of this country. By these means you will neither have nor want so many mercenary troops as you have at present, but you

will possess a much more important force to assert and protect your freedom.

Mr. Chancellor PITT, in a speech of considerable length, replied to the arguments that had been made in the course of the debate. He said he should not trouble the House long with the observations he had to offer. He should have thought it unnecessary to argue the subject again, if he had not found that the principle on which the expediency of the measure was maintained, was admitted in words, but denied in substance. The first point of inquiry was, whether this was an occasion in which the country was bound to make a great and unusual exertion to defeat the attempts and render abortive the menaces of the enemy. This seemed to be admitted by some gentlemen who thought proper to oppose the bill, and was not denied by any. Notwithstanding which admission, it was now maintained for the first time, though the subject had been six weeks under discussion, that the bill should be suspended till the House had insured the dismissal of His Majesty's Ministers, and a *radical Reform* to an unexplained and indefinite extent. The charges against the present Administration, he said, related to subjects already discussed and decided by the House, or to matters that existed long ago, and no ways connected with the present question; and he could not but think the measure, as a necessary means of defence, would be as indispensable, should any change of that nature take place, as if it did not. All the arguments therefore directed to that object he thought greatly misapplied. Although the right honourable gentleman had taken credit to himself for great humility in disclaiming any part in such projected change, he thought his resolution would, in such case, be overborne by the importunity of his friends; who would, doubtless, make it the boast and glory of their lives, that they had been the means of vanquishing his scruples, and restoring him to a station to which, in their opinion, his talents entitled him. He, however, so much differed from them on this point, that if he had no other motive to continue in office, he should think it an indispensable duty so to do for the benefit of the country, if he thereby was the means of keeping that right honourable gentleman out of power, who declared he only would come into it on the conditions of a radical Reform of Parliament, and a total change of measures, without specifying to what extent that Reform and that change were intended to be carried. He then examined the particulars of the conditions referred to by Mr. Fox, and showed that they were at least very similar in appearance to all those objects sought for by the avowed enemies of the Constitution. As to the probability of a new Administration obtaining peace, he saw not how those who had

been continually maintaining the justice of the enemy's course, and the deficiency of our resources, were likely to procure moderate terms in treaty, or to inspire the enemy with much dread as to the continuance of the war. He maintained that individual Members of Parliament, as well as Ministers, had a public duty, and were liable to a certain degree of responsibility. He meant not to inquire into the motives by which the conduct of certain gentlemen alluded to formerly might be influenced. If this point was subject to any general rule, it was that a Member of Parliament could hardly be guilty of a greater breach of trust than by deserting his post in the hour of danger, and particularly so, if, in so doing, he meant to cast an odium, and bring into contempt, the body of which he was made a Member, for very different purposes.

Mr. FOX, Mr. SHERIDAN, and Dr. LAURENCE, said each a few words in explanation; after which the question was put on Mr. Sheridan's motion.

Ayes, 75—Noes, 202—Majority, 127.

On the question, that the bill be now read a third time,

Ayes, 196—Noes, 71—Majority, 125.

*A LIST of the MAJORITY on the THIRD READING of the
ASSESSED-TAX BILL.*

Abbot, C.
Adair, James
Adams, James
Addington, J. H.
Adean, J. Whorwood
Ainslie, Sir R.
Allardyce, Al.
Andrews, M. P.
Annesley, F.
Arden, Right Hon. Sir R. P.
Arden, Lord
Ashley, Hon. C.
Atkinson, C.
Balfour, General
Baker, W.
Baldwin, W.
Belgrave, Viscount
Bernard, Scrope
Bingham, Lord
Bloxam, M.
Bootle, E. W.
Boughton, Sir C. W. R.
Boyd, W.
Bragge, C.

Bramston, T. B.
Brodie, Alexander
Broderick, Hon. W.
Brome, Viscount
Browne, I. H.
Bucknall, T. S. D.
Burdon, Rowland
Burrow, Edward
Burton, Francis
Burton, N. C.
Cartwright, W. R.
Calvert, John, junior
Calvert, John
Campbell, Rt. Hon. Lord Frederick
Canning, G.
Carew, R. Pole
Carter, Thomas
Carysfort, Earl of
Churchill, Horatio
Chute, William
Clifden, Viscount
Clive, William
Cornwallis, Hon. W.
Crickett, C. A.

Currie, W.
 Curtis, W.
 Damer, Hon. Lionel
 Darell, Sir Lionel
 Dawkins, James
 De Lancey, General
 Devaynes, William
 Dickens, Francis
 Dolben, Sir William
 Douglas, Sir G.
 Douglas, Right Hon. Sylvester
 Drummond, Wm.
 Duncomb, C. junior
 Dundas, Charles
 Dundas, Right Hon. H.
 Dundas, Robert
 Dundas, William
 Egerton, General
 Eliot, Hon. John
 Ellis, Charles Rose
 Ellis, George
 Ellifon, Richard
 Everett, Thomas
 Euston, Earl of
 Fane, Hon. H.
 Fane, Hon. T.
 Fane, Francis
 Fordyce, John
 Fergusson, James
 Fraser, Simon, junior
 Frederick, Sir John
 Fullarton, Colonel
 Gardner, Sir Alan
 Garforth, J. B.
 Garthshore, W.
 Geary, Sir W.
 Glyn, Sir R. Carr
 Gower Sutherland, Earl
 Gower, Lord G. L.
 Grant, Wm.
 Grenville, Hon. T.
 Greville, Hon. R. F.
 Grosvenor, T.
 Hammond, Sir A. S.
 Hardinge, George
 Hawkebury, Lord
 Headley, Lord
 Hinchinbrook, Viscount
 Hobart, Hon. H.
 Hope, Hon. A.
 Huntingfield, Lord
 Huskisson, Wm.
 Jolliffe, Wm.

Jones, T.
 Inchiquin, Earl of
 Johnson, Sir Wm.
 Knatchbull, Sir E.
 Lavington, Lord
 Laurence, French
 Laurie, Sir R.
 Lefevre, C. Shaw
 Lewis, M. G.
 Long, C.
 Lowther, John
 Lubbock, John
 Lushington, William
 Lloyd, John
 Macdonald, Lord
 McDowall, W.
 Mackreth, Sir R.
 Manners, Robert
 Manning, Wm.
 Mellish, Wm.
 Metcalfe, Thos. Theo.
 Meeke, W.
 Millintoun, Viscount
 Milton, Viscount
 Mitford, Sir John
 Mitford, Wm.
 Morgan, Sir Charles
 Morland, Wm.
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Nepean, Evan
 Nesbitt, John
 Onslow, Hon. T.
 Penn, R.
 Petrie, John
 Petrie, Wm.
 Peters, Henry
 Pierrepoint, Hon. E.
 Pitt, Right Hon. W.
 Pocock, G.
 Preston, R.
 Pulteney, Sir James
 Pulteney, Sir William
 Pybus, C. S.
 Roberts, Abm.
 Richards, Richard
 Ross, Sir Charles
 Rose, George
 Rose, W. Stewart
 Rose, G. H.
 Ryder, Right Hon. D.
 Ryder, Hon. R.
 Satterthwaite, J. C.
 Scott, Sir John

Scott, Sir Wm.
 Scott, David
 Sewell, Robert
 Seymour, Lord G.
 Seymour, Lord H.
 Singleton, Mark
 Sloane, Hans
 Sitwell, Sitwell
 Smith, S.
 Smith, Charles
 Smith, J.
 Smyth, J.
 Somerset, Lord C. H.
 Spalding, John
 Spencer, Lord C.
 Steele, Right Hon. T.
 Stephens, Sir P.
 Steward, G. T.
 Stuart, Hon. C.
 Strachey, H.
 Strutt, J. H.
 Sutton, T. M.
 Sutton, G.

Thelluffon, C.
 Thornton, S.
 Thornton, R.
 Thynne, Lord J.
 Titchfield, Marquis of
 Taitt, W.
 Townshend, Hon. J. T.
 Turner, Sir G. P.
 Vansittart, G.
 Vansittart, N.
 Villiers, Right Hon. J. C.
 Villiers, Hon. G.
 Wallace, T.
 Wallop, Hon. C.
 Whitmore, J.
 Wilberforce, W.
 Wildman, J.
 Windham, Right Hon. William
 Wodehouse, J.
 Wood, G.
 Wynne, C. W. W.
 Wyndham, H. P.
 Yorke, Charles

TELLERS

Honourable Spencer Percival

John Sargent.

*LIST of the MINORITY on the THIRD READING of the
 ASSESSED-TAX BILL.*

Anson, Thomas
 Aitley, Jacob
 Aubrey, Sir John
 Barclay, Geo.
 Barlow, Hugh
 Beauchamp, Charles
 Biddulph, Rob.
 Bouverie, Hon. E. (Northampton)
 Brogden, James
 Bunbury, Sir T. C.
 Burch, J. R.
 Burdett, Sir F.
 Byng, George
 Cavendish, Lord G. H.
 Clayton, Sir R.
 Coke, E.
 Colhoun, Wm.
 Combe, H. C.
 Copley, Sir L.
 Courtenay, J.
 Denison, W. J. senior

Dickenson, Wm.
 Edwards, Bryan
 Fitzpatrick, Right Hon. General
 Fletcher, Sir H.
 Foley, Hon. A.
 Folkes, Sir M. B.
 Fox, Right Hon. C. J.
 Green, James
 Hare, James
 Hobhouse, Benjamin
 Howard, Henry
 Hufsey, Wm.
 Jeffereys, N.
 Jervoise, J. C.
 Knight, R. P.
 Langton, W. G.
 Lemon, John
 Mainwaring, W.
 Milner, Sir Wm.
 Nicholls, J.
 North, Dudley

Northey, Wm.
 Norton, Hon. General
 Peirse, Henry
 Plumer, W.
 Rawdon, Hon. John
 Rawdon, Hon. George
 Richardson, J.
 Russell, Lord Wm.
 Russell, Lord J.
 Scudamore, John
 Sheridan, R. B.
 Shuckburgh, Evelyn, Sir G. W.
 Shum, George
 Spencer, Lord Robert
 Stanley, Lord
 St. John, Hon. St. Andrew

Sturt, Charles
 Tarleton, General
 Taylor, W.
 Thompson, Thomas
 Tierney, George
 Townshend, Lord John
 Tufton, Hon. Henry
 Tyrwhitt, Thomas
 Vane, Sir F. F.
 Walpole, Hon. G.
 Walwyn, James
 Western, C. C.
 Wigley, Edm.
 Wilson, R.
 Winnington, Sir Edward

TELLERS

Jekyll, Joseph

Smith, Wm.

Friday, January 5.

Mr. TIERNEY rose, agreeable to his notice, to move for a Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Chancellor PITT asked, whether it was the honourable gentleman's intention to bring forward the motion, of which he had given an intimation on a former night? If so, he hoped the House would consider that this day was appropriated to the farther consideration of the bill which was discussed and read a third time yesterday. And as the motion of the honourable gentleman could in no sort be made a part of the bill, the House would agree with him that the Committee of Ways and Means should at least be postponed; he therefore opposed the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he thought he had been already sufficiently explicit. He would now state, beyond the possibility of being misunderstood, that the object of his motion was to repeal all laws which exempted the Royal Family from paying taxes, and for this purpose the present moment was of all others the most proper. For it was expedient that when this bill went forth into the world, it should carry along with it the prospect of an universal participation in the difficulties and burdens it would occasion, and for this reason he would persist in it. He said it would produce no delay, for its tendency was obvious, and it spoke home to men's hearts. As this was a time of misconstruction and misrepresentation, he thought that few observations should be made, and that a silent vote would be most prudent and decorous; and he hoped the right honourable

gentlemen would be of the same opinion, and leave the matter to the unbiassed judgement of the House.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS said, the honourable gentleman's disclosure made resistance to the Speaker's leaving the chair more necessary. When the clauses alluded to were introduced into tax bills, it was not for the value of the sum, but as a mark of respect to the Sovereign, and in that point of view it ought not to be discontinued; for any other reasons they had no documents before them; if there were any, they might be taken into consideration on a future day; and if the motion were acceded to, it could not be incorporated in the present bill.

Mr. TIERNEY said, he did not mean it should be incorporated in the present bill; he meant it merely to speak to the World that the Royal Family partook in the burdens of the People; and whether that voice was conveyed in one form or another was of little importance; at a time a new mode of taxation was adopted, he must express his surprize that his motion should be objected to as a deviation from form.

Mr. WILBERFORCE objected to the measure as insidious; to his knowledge in remote parts of the country inflammatory papers were circulated, and he saw something congenial to them in the object of the present motion; he pronounced an eulogium on the Monarchy, and pointed out the propriety of preserving its splendour and dignity.

Mr. SMITH supported the motion; he said it would render the bill more palatable, and would have that effect; he agreed with Mr. Wilberforce that the Monarchy ought to be supported in dignity; but in times like the present, a sacrifice of splendour might tend to its stability.

Mr. POLE CAREW thought this a strange motion for a man to bring forward, who had so lately supported the necessity of splendour in the sitting judges. The subject had in fact been already decided, for in 1791 there was an inquiry into the state of the Civil List, and an addition made to it.

Mr. MARTIN spoke a few words.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, that as all taxes before were on consumption, the Royal Family contributed by their consumption; but this was a quite new kind of taxation; he was for maintaining the splendour of the Crown, but was for the motion.

The House divided; for Mr. Tierney's motion, 9: against it, 67. Majority, 58.

Among several clauses that were added as riders to the bill,

It was agreed that persons assessed to the new rates should be

permitted from the 5th to the 25th of April next, to appeal against the amount of the old assessment.

An indemnity was introduced in favour of royal and other hospitals, &c.

To prevent evasions in the exemptions, it is not to extend to such houses as had not been used in lodgings and furnished houses, or offered to be let for those purposes for twelve months before this act.

Persons not living in cities, or the suburbs thereof, or market towns, and not assessed to more than 25*l.* to coaches, horses, and servants, to pay for no more than forty windows, whatever number they may consist of; tax carts, employed only for the purposes of trade, exempted.

The abatement in favour of persons having more than five children is extended to all the classes.

Mr. LLOYD gave notice, that after the holidays he should move for a reduction in the fees of the Tellers of the Exchequer and other sinecures.

Several amendments were then made in the body of the bill, after which the bill was passed, and the House adjourned till Thursday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, January 9.

Since we last noticed the meeting of the House of Lords (December 1,) no debate occurred till this day; when

Lord GRENVILLE moved the order of the day for the second reading of the assessed-tax bill, and for summoning the House thereupon; which being read, his Lordship rose and stated, that he should preface a motion for committing the bill with a very few words, conceiving that in the first instance it was unnecessary to take up their Lordships' time. In this view, he would refer to their Address of the 15th of November last to His Majesty; and in order to bring it more perfectly to the recollection of their Lordships, he moved that the said Address be then read by the Clerk, which is as follows:

“ Under such circumstances, we feel the duty which we owe, in this great crisis, to God and to our Country; animated by the

“ same sentiments which your Majesty has been pleased to declare to
“ your people and to the world ; attached to your Majesty by prin-
“ ciple, duty, and gratitude, and sensible that it is only from cou-
“ rage and firmness that we can look either for present safety or
“ permanent peace ; we are determined to defend, with unshaken
“ resolution, your Majesty’s Throne, the lives and properties of our
“ Fellow-subjects, the Government and Constitution of our Country,
“ and the honour and independence of the British Empire. We
“ know that great exertions are necessary ; we are prepared to
“ make them : and, placing our firm reliance on that Divine Pro-
“ tection which has always hitherto been extended to us, we will
“ support your Majesty to the utmost, and stand or fall with our re-
“ ligion, laws, and liberties.”

The Address being read, his Lordship again rose, and observed, that the Address contained the genuine and unanimous sense of both Houses of Parliament upon the state of affairs at this eventful crisis ; they had there given their solemn pledge to support His Majesty against the enemy, and prosecute the war against the arrogance and ambitious views of France, to an honourable and secure peace. In that Address was acknowledged the foundation of the measure now pending in their Lordships’ House. It had been deemed necessary, in order successfully to counteract the exertions of the enemy, to raise a certain portion of the supplies within the year—this necessary determination produced the present measure. By the operations of the bill, the poorer classes of society were entirely exempt, the middling ranks were touched upon as lightly as possible ; the great weight of the burden fell, therefore, as in justice and propriety it should, upon the higher and richer orders of society. In this view of the subject, he must think, that no serious or weighty objection could lie against the bill ; it was not therefore his intention at that period to take up their Lordships’ time any farther ; but, reserving himself for the refutation, at a future part of the debate, of what might be objected to the measure, he moved, That the bill be committed.

Lord CARRINGTON said, that he felt himself, from many considerations, indispensably called upon to trouble their Lordships on that occasion. The necessity of making a vigorous effort, by raising a large sum within the year, to prevent too heavy an addition to the funded debt, was generally admitted by those best informed on the subject ; and any plan, effectual to that purpose, would receive his hearty support ; but his own opinion was, that this plan did not go far enough. The criterion of assessed taxes was not an adequate test of expenditure, much less was expenditure an adequate

test of clear income. In consequence of this defect in the principle, the bill, in its passage through the other House of Parliament, had received every modification, which the most persevering industry and scrupulous consideration could furnish, to relieve those amongst the lower ranks, who would have been too much affected by its operation. But then, on the other hand, to make the produce fully adequate to the exigency, the burden was of necessity increased on the higher orders beyond the sum which it might, in many cases, be convenient for them to pay, without a considerable reduction of their expenditure. All this, his Lordship conceived, might have been avoided, if, instead of raising the money in this indirect, circuitous and unequal manner, every individual had been called upon to contribute in direct proportion to his income, but the higher classes a larger proportion than the lower. He conceived that one-twentieth of real income would produce a larger contribution than one-tenth in the manner proposed by the bill. The only material objection which he had heard stated to such a plan, was, that it would occasion a public disclosure of the income of individuals. His Lordship said, that he had ideas of a way to prevent this inconvenience; but as the plan was not before the House, he would not enter minutely into the subject. But he would only observe, that if this disclosure of income was an objection, it was also an objection, though not, perhaps, in the same degree to the present bill; for certainly something very like a disclosure of income might be necessary by the operation of this bill, in cases even where it might be the least desirable. His Lordship owned, that much of the inequality in this bill might be corrected, if it were admitted that the principles on which it was founded imposed on the public the duty of rendering it effectual, by affording, in the shape of voluntary contribution, a tenth part of their income in every case where the tax did not sufficiently reach them. His Lordship then adverted to the situation of the country, and said, that at no time since the subversion of Europe by the Barbarians of the North had Providence permitted the infliction of such evils on social life, as had been produced by the French Revolution. Great Britain had hitherto been preserved; but how long she might enjoy the envied and happy freedom which she at present possessed, was uncertain. Her inveterate enemy was now collecting on the coast a formidable force, with the avowed intentions of destroying her. These presumptuous hopes were evidently founded on our intestine divisions. His Lordship had no doubt, but that if the experiment should be made, it would completely fail. He would venture to pronounce, that, violent as the spirit of party now appeared to be, the moment of

the enemy's landing in this country, would be the moment of perfect union. With one heart and one mind we should go forth to meet them, and should prove to the world the irresistible energy of a high-spirited and gallant nation contending for its religion, laws, and liberties. If this rash project should meet with the fate he had ventured to predict, then we might really expect, on the part of the enemy, a disposition to peace on just and honourable terms. But should these expectations fail, he hoped that, in another session, this bill might be repealed, and more vigorous efforts might be made to meet the emergencies of the war, on the plan he had presumed to mention. His Lordship said, that having thus delivered his sentiments on this question, he could not sit down without troubling their Lordships with a few words on another subject, extremely important to himself, and not wholly uninteresting to their Lordships. His Lordship said, that he had been the object of an atrocious calumny, which, relying on his general character, he could have been well contented to have passed by, while it was confined to loose hints and insinuations in the public prints; but after it had been more directly pointed in another place, he thought it necessary to give it a solemn contradiction in this. It had been insinuated, at least, if not asserted, that the honour which he now had of being able to address their Lordships in that place, was obtained by rank and foul corruption, viz. by the prostitution of parliamentary interest to that purpose. He would appeal to their Lordships, with many of whom, the most considerable for virtue and talents he had the honour and happiness of living in almost daily habits of intimacy and confidence during the twenty years he had sat in the other House of Parliament, whether they had observed any thing in his character during their long acquaintance with him, which would make it possible for them to believe him capable of condescending to so base a traffic. His Lordship then declared upon his honour, as a gentleman, a name which he said he considered as paramount to every other, that he never had, at any time, in place, or under any circumstances, directly or indirectly, to or with any person whomsoever, bargained, promised, agreed, or even hinted, at the application or disposal of parliamentary interest for the purpose of obtaining a seat in that House. His Lordship regretted that the forms of the House did not permit him to state every thing which passed on the occasion of His Majesty's most gracious intention of placing him where he then was, but said, he should be most happy to mention all the particulars to any noble Lord who might condescend to be informed of them. He should be equally ready to give the same information to any person not in that House, who may be

desirous of knowing the truth. His Lordship said, he had now a right to expect, that in no place whatever any gentleman, be he who he might, should venture to state a similar charge; at least, if he did, his Lordship hoped, that in justice he himself should receive previous notice of it. His Lordship concluded with saying, that his gracious Sovereign had been pleased to confer upon him a most distinguished mark of his royal favour; he assured the House, that it should not be sullied in his keeping, but that, by the blessing of God, he would transmit it untarnished to his posterity.

Lord HOLLAND rose, and, in his maiden speech, said, the Address of both Houses of Parliament, stated by the noble Secretary of State to have been voted unanimously, and part of which had been read to their Lordships, appeared to him to be a mere statement of the exigencies of the times, under the circumstances of the country; but did not warrant any such measure as that which was now before them. I am ready, said his Lordship, to dispute with the noble Secretary, that under the Administration of which he forms a considerable part, for the last five years the condition of this country has grown worse and worse, for that is too plain a proposition to be debated, either here or any where else. If it were enough for a Member of Parliament to see that the exigency of his country was great, that its distress was general, and that he was to be excused from examining the system that produced the calamity, that it was no part of his duty to inquire how money had been already applied, or what probability there was of its being duly used in future; then, perhaps, I might agree with the noble Secretary, in the truth of the preamble of the bill which is now before you; but even then I should find it my duty to oppose the enactments, because I do not think that they agree with the preamble.

When you are called upon to vote for a measure that has for its object the raising so large a sum of money as is here proposed to be raised, and must necessarily lay upon the people a much heavier burden than any they have ever yet felt, it is necessary you should inquire whether those to whom millions upon millions of the money of the people have been entrusted, and who have hitherto heaped upon them in return for it distress upon distress, are about to change their system. They should hold out to you some hopes that these great additional and tremendous sacrifices which the public are now called upon to make, will be employed in a manner very different from those millions which have hitherto been used with so little effect. That our situation is now an alarming and a dreadful one, is a proposition which I believe I shall not hear denied. I shall hear, no doubt, that such situation has been brought upon us by ex-

traordinary misfortunes. Certainly they are extraordinary misfortunes ; but to whose fault are they chiefly owing ? Was it not the duty of Ministers not to have plunged us into a war, without considering what these misfortunes were likely to be ? But having entered into the war, Ministers affect to be surprized at the exertions of the enemy. Is that wonderful, my Lords ? Have not sentiments been uttered in this House, and in other places, the natural effect of which is to unite all those who have any value for the liberties of mankind ? When therefore we hear of our present situation being such as requires great exertions, I wish the argument to have a retrospective effect, that you may see the causes of your present calamity, otherwise you will have no chance of avoiding future ruin. But I would ask how it is possible for any rational being to expect that the people will approve of the measure which is now before you ? Can you expect that they will go hand in hand with you in pursuing that mode which a confiding Parliament has, with uniform reliance upon Ministers, adopted from time to time, when you know, that in no one instance has that Ministry answered the expectation of the public ? I certainly do think this country ought not to grant any more money without a proper pledge, not only that Ministers are to be changed, but that the present system is to be changed also. I think that change of system comprehends a true representation of the people in Parliament—an entire and radical reform of abuses. You can never rationally hope for the cordial co-operation of the people without making them importantly interested in the Constitution ; at least allow them all the power they had at the commencement of the present contest. This is the only way to procure a safe and an honourable peace. I know it is a very common argument in favour of Administration to say, “ No Ministers were ever in such a situation as the present are, and therefore great allowances are due to them. Why will you therefore endeavour to stop the supplies ? that can only tend to strengthen or encourage the enemy.” I know that such an argument is frivolous in itself. I know that a change of Ministers, and also of system, at least a pledge for it from the highest authority, may be procured in a few hours. It need not detain your proceedings so long as if you waited for a noble Duke who happened to have missed his robes, and you could not go on with some ceremony in the House without him. No man can justly say I am recommending confusion ; the thing I want may easily be done, if your Lordships set seriously about it. You should withhold the supplies until you have a pledge for a change of Ministers and of system ; a change that would unite the hands and hearts of the people of Ireland : that generous country, my Lords,

is very ungenerously treated. I do not say that you should stop the supplies until perfect tranquillity be restored there ; I only say you should stop the supplies until you have a pledge for a change of Ministers and a change of system ; that will naturally lead to the punishment of some guilty men. Until you have that pledge, I conceive that the more you vote, the more you add fuel to the fire which is consuming you, and burdens to the loads that are already bearing you down. This measure, if you adopt it, will ruin your character with the country at large. I hear unanimity often recommended ; and it is much to be desired ; but it never can be procured until the rights of the people are restored to them. These rights were very much infringed upon by certain bills which have prohibited public meetings in a particular manner. Until they are repealed the people cannot express, or feel properly, the stake they have in the country. Voting bills of this nature is the way to produce animosity instead of unanimity ; to make men hate instead of loving Government ; to make the people desperate ; to invite instead of deterring the enemy from invasion. I see no probable chance of peace while our affairs are under the direction of the present Ministers. I confess, that when I first looked on this bill I thought it was quite impossible it should ever pass. I considered it as a mere threat, intended to frighten us into some other measure, for it is the great object of Administration to create a facility for raising money. They complain of the facility with which debts have been heaped upon us by the funding system, merely, as I thought, the better to prepare us to add more upon that plan, by frightening us with the present bill. It is otherwise inconceivable to me how they, who have added two hundred millions to our debt, should have complained of the facility of the funding system. If this bill had been introduced at the beginning of the war, it would have told you what you were to expect, and I am sure you would have revolted at it ; but now Ministers know, indeed they tell you, " That you are in a situation from which you cannot recede, and therefore we shall bleed you as we please." Open resistance would have been the effect of such a measure as this, had it been introduced at the commencement of the war ; but that was not the way in which the war was commenced. It was then stated that this war was not likely to be of long continuance, nor an expensive contest ; and with a fatal readiness we entered into it. We were at one time told that twenty-five millions would be sufficient, and within half a year half as much more were called for. I only state these facts to shew you what reliance ought to be placed in the promises of the Minister. Ministers affect to be alarmed lest the French should come upon our

coast—God avert the calamity. But will this bill prevent them? Ministers have constantly raised the hopes of the people, and have as constantly disappointed them. They went to war to prevent the opening of the Scheldt. Have they succeeded? They then said a great deal about protecting our allies. Have they protected any? None of these things are done, although upwards of two hundred millions have been expended; and the Constitution of the country in many parts done away. If you would have the vigorous co-operation of the people, restore to them the Constitution, and give to them a Ministry in which they can confide; nothing else can retrieve you. They will not assist a Ministry that is appointed by Court intrigue; they will not confide in those who are falsely called the Representatives of the People; many of whom they know to be nominated by the Members of this House, and therefore it is impossible that they should speak the voice of the people. I will go farther, my Lords; I say it is not enough that they should speak the voice of the people; it should be known, felt, and acknowledged that they do so; until these things are so, and until you have a Ministry in which the people can confide, you never can have any prospect of success in any war in which you may be engaged, and above all, no hope for the restoration of the liberties of the people. I confess, I do not understand with what view or intention this bill is brought forward. I should really think it was to foment discord; I cannot call it a tax. I do not hesitate to declare it is worse in point of principle than any of the plans of Roberespierre; it certainly does not go to the same extent, but it is worse, I say, in principle, for Roberespierre only charged the people for what they had, but this bill makes a charge on us for what we have had, without any regard to what we have. It is telling a man "I will make you pay according to what you have paid; I will rely upon it that you are rich, because you have spent your money in such a manner as is most likely to have made you poor." Taking this as a tax upon income, every man must object to it, because that must be a tax, in most cases, upon industry. The statement of this income, in cases of appeal, is made subject to the examination of Commissioners. What security is there that what a man swears to, in this particular, shall be true? It should be remembered that men have in general a great repugnance to declare what their income is, and there are some to whom that declaration would be actual destruction. It is saying to a man, "If you have any objection to my killing you, I will give you leave to kill yourself."

As to the general idea, that this is not a tax that will fall upon the poor, I take that to be an impossibility; for you can never in-

vent a tax that will fall upon many persons, and that will produce much money, without its falling ultimately upon the lower classes of society. You cannot raise seven or eight millions of money upon any part of the community, within the year, without driving the mass of the people to great distress. I observe that all those who at present pay fifty pounds a year to the assessed taxes are to be assessed to five times the amount; that is, in all three hundred pounds a year upon this one duty. How many do your Lordships think may fail in this class? How many of them do you think may swear off for taxing them above a tenth of their income? And here give me leave to remind your Lordships of the saying of Dean Swift, "that two and two do not make four at the Custom-house." These are my objections to the measure which is now before you. Perhaps I owe you an apology for detaining you so long.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, that the noble Lord who had just sat down had introduced topics that were not strictly connected with the question before the House, and some of them such as their Lordships had not power to determine; such he took to be the case with regard to a Reform in the lower House of Parliament. He did not think that the House of Commons would think their Lordships kept within the province which the Constitution allotted to them if they entered on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. The two Houses of Parliament having already pledged themselves to the support of a war against an enemy that has left us no alternative but vigorous resistance, the first question which the present measure suggests was, whether it was eligible to raise a part of the supplies within the year? It had been objected by the noble Lord who spoke last that the plan was novel; but granting that it were novel, it might in the present circumstances of the country be wise and prudent. It was not novel, however, for the ancient subsidy and the public supplies for a great number of years, were raised within the year, by taking a certain proportion of property, either income or capital. The taxes which had been raised since the Revolution could not have been laid, and have been so productive as they are, unless this country had improved in wealth, and become a great, rich, and commercial nation. Immediately after the Revolution it would be remembered that the land-tax was imposed. It could be demonstrated from the acts and public proceedings of those times, that it was intended that the impost then laid on land was not intended to be confined to land, but was to be extended to every species of property. Powers were then given to Commissioners to examine into the fortunes of individuals. Such was the feeling of Parliament at a time when the principles of Liberty were well

understood. In point of policy, perhaps, such a measure might not be wholly justifiable ; but such had been the sentiments of our ancestors in moments of difficulty inferior to the present. It so happened, indeed, that the tax did at length fall upon land, though the intention was to extend it to other species of property. For his own part, he thought a tax on capital bad, because it tended to check the sources of industry. A tax upon expenditure, then, was the only one which he considered as eligible. At the period to which he had alluded, Committees of the House of Commons had been appointed to consider the practicability of taxing capital, but were not able to surmount the difficulties with which it was attended. Since the Revolution the mode of raising money had been by loans, provided for by indirect taxes on expenditure. The length to which the funding system had been carried, however, and the circumstances of the present moment, might render it expedient to limit its application. A great deal of clamour had been made against this measure ; but it appeared to him, that it was confined chiefly to the metropolis ; but, as far as he had seen, there were very few places out of Middlesex that had come to any resolutions expressing disapprobation of it. Bath, Southampton, Guilford in Surry, and Warwick, were the only ones he recollected ; while all the great manufacturing towns, and all Scotland without exception, had expressed no dissatisfaction whatever. He had seen a letter from a merchant in Glasgow, in which the sentiment of that part of the country on the subject was well expressed. It stated, that " they considered the money to be raised as a premium of insurance for the safety of the rest of their property." As to the extent of the burden, was it any thing like the burden imposed in King William's time ? At that period four shillings in the pound was imposed on land, and was intended to be extended to other property, while now the demand was limited to a tenth part of income. Taxes had increased since the Revolution, indeed ; but the wealth and resources of individuals and the public had increased in a still greater degree. It was considered as a vexatious and oppressive circumstance, that in case relief was required, men would be obliged to swear, not what was the amount of their income, but what it did not exceed ; yet, after the Revolution, such were the means by which the amount of the burden imposed was proportioned to the amount of property. Nor would the money so raised impoverish the country, as if it were to be sent out of the country, or sunk in the sea. It would support the army and navy, and all the branches of manufactures connected with these services. The effect of the measure might be, to cause retrenchment in matters of luxury, and

to fall upon milliners and coachmakers perhaps, but it would animate and encourage more useful manufactures, and support more valuable industry. The objects for which we had to contend were of the first magnitude, and it became the House to spare no exertions to defend the country from hostile attacks, and to protect the sources from which our prosperity flowed. With respect to the war, he should ever contend that its origin was just and necessary. On the proper occasion he was ready to argue this question, and perhaps proofs might be brought forward, which yet were not generally known. The success of this country by sea had been distinguished and unexampled; and if on the Continent it was not so fortunate, it was owing to those powers who did not seem sufficiently to weigh the danger in which they were placed. All must now agree, however, that the designs of the enemy, sufficiently understood from the beginning of the Revolution, were now openly hostile to the prosperity and happy institutions of the country. For these we had now to contend; and certainly it was not an opposition which any friend to the country could oppose, which went to impede the operations of Government in the essential measure of public defence. Having the honour of a seat in this House, and some property to defend, he did think that every man should in such a crisis be ready to make some sacrifices, and give a part of his property as a premium of insurance for the safety of the remainder.

Lord AUCKLAND said, that the subject of the war had been so often debated, that he should think it insulting to the House to detain them in proving its justice and necessity. There was one circumstance which came peculiarly within his knowledge, however, which it was no longer necessary to conceal, that would furnish additional proofs of this. Before the breaking out of the war, when he had been engaged in discussions in order to prevent it, and when every thing on the part of this country was to be done for that purpose, after it was fixed that he should meet General Dumourier on the subject, he received information by a confidential officer from the General, that war had been declared against this country. With regard to the advantage we had derived from the war, it was evident that it was impossible we could exist as a nation, when so great a people had been changed by the system of terror, into a people of military freebooters. It was expected that, either from lassitude, or from the want of means to support their designs, the cause of this danger would be removed. Some indication of a change of sentiment on the part of the enemy, and of a return to moderation, had appeared, but the hopes thus raised, were disappointed. But, because the effects which were expected to arise from the enemy's

want of ability to continue the contest, had not yet taken place, it did not follow that they were false. Such effects were then probable, and if they have not yet happened, the avowed distresses of the enemy leave them still more probable than before. While such was the distressed and embarrassed state of the enemy, this country was possessed of all the sources of wealth unimpaired, and money actually flowed into the country faster than the merchants were able to receive it. The menaces which the enemy threw out against this country would have been much more serious had they possessed their financial resources, their commerce, in the same situation in which they were previous to the war. In the circumstances in which we are now placed, can any man deny that we are called upon to make great exertions? Can any man deny that unless we are willing to fall prostrate at the feet of the enemy, unless we are willing to resign the superiority we enjoy, we must make temporary sacrifices to defend the prosperity and the happiness we enjoy? With regard to the measure before the House, various descriptions of it were given by different persons, and every man had some particular description which he applied to it. For his own part he considered it as a contribution on the visible criterion of expenditure. He should have had no objection to an equal contribution on the whole of property. The particular measure now in question, would no doubt be subject to great inequalities; but the question was, whether or not those who would be called upon to pay with most inequality, paid more than a reasonable proportion of what they possessed as an insurance for the remainder. Some might pay less than was reasonable, but he hoped that many would not avail themselves of the opportunity; that many would voluntarily come forward and contribute their full proportion to the public defence. The hopes of the enemy were placed in the destruction of the funding system, and it was wise, therefore, to shew them that we possessed other resources which relieved us from the necessity of carrying the funding system too far, and enabled us to assist its credit when it might be necessary to resort to it.

The Duke of BEDFORD said, he rose under some embarrassment, as he had understood that it was intended to move the second reading of the bill. Having gone out of the House for a short time, however, he found that the bill had been read a second time, and the question put for going into the Committee. As he had come down to state his objection to the bill, he wished it to be understood that his opposition to the bill did not arise from a persuasion that it was unnecessary to go into the Committee, that the measure was so perfect as to require no modification, but on the

contrary, that he was completely hostile to its principle. Though he had no right to complain of what had taken place in his absence, he could not help being surprized that such a measure could be offered without some explanation by those who proposed it, or that the House should allow the bill to be read a second time without any discussion. The bill too, consisting of fifty pages, had but yesterday been laid before the House, and now their Lordships were called upon to come to a decision after so short a period for reflexion. Having had so short a period to examine it with attention, he could not pretend to understand it completely, and if he committed any mistakes he hoped for their indulgence. On the bill, as it stood when it came out of the Committee of the House of Commons, he was prepared to argue; but with the whole of the provisions, as they might since have been modified, he was not perfectly acquainted. Considering that the mode of raising the supplies within the year had been laid aside, he could not have imagined that the Minister would bring so novel a measure forward without any argument in its support. He was obliged therefore to guess at the arguments by which it might be defended, instead of answering those which had been advanced. He trusted that some better reason would have been given for the House agreeing to a particular measure of finance, than the address which the noble Secretary had read. Did the noble Lord imagine that a general pledge of support obliged the House to acquiesce in any plan for raising the supplies? Must their Lordships renounce all pretension to exercise the power of deliberation on the means by which the supply was to be raised, because they might have recognized the necessity of exertion? One Minister indeed said, that every man had a different description for the measure; and he might have added, that almost every man varied in the description which he had formed for himself. One noble Lord said it was a tax on expenditure—another said it was a contribution on property. Could any thing be more dissimilar than the terms of these descriptions, or convey more opposite ideas of the objects to which they apply? The first question which occurs is, Whether it be expedient to raise a part of the supplies within the year? Next, Whether it was expedient at the present moment? and then, Whether the bill before the House was the best mode by which such a plan could be carried into effect? Perhaps it might, at the commencement of a war, to make the people reflect upon the value of the objects for which they embarked in war, and the expence at which they must be purchased. But was it expedient now, at a time when the public funds were so reduced, when by the laws which prohibited individuals to lend to individuals beyond a certain rate of interest,

Government had a monopoly of money, and when others had no means of procuring it, was this a time to call upon men for contributions which they could not raise? When land must be sold at a loss, and mortgaging was out of the question; when those who had money in the funds could not sell out without enormous loss, was this a time to make demands which individuals had no means to answer? Whatever description, amidst so many opposite ones, might be applied to the bill, if the sum which it imposed could easily be got, its amount, in proportion to the whole of a man's income, might not be so severely felt. If, for instance, he himself, or any individual, were assessed at one thousand pounds, and could easily borrow that sum at 5 per cent. he would be obliged to retrench in his expenditure no more at once than fifty pounds a year. If, however, he could not borrow the money, he would be obliged at once to diminish his expenditure, and make retrenchment, to the full amount of the one thousand pounds. But nothing could be more inadequate than the assessed taxes as a criterion of income through expenditure. The fact was, that whatever discussion might be applied to the bill, Government was determined to take so much money out of the pockets of the people; and provided the money was obtained, they were not solicitous by what means. The effect of the measure, however, would be to occasion a general reduction of expenditure, and consequently a great defalcation of the public revenue. Suppose that a person now contributes to the assessed taxes a sixtieth part of his income, the Quintuple assessment becomes a tenth part of the whole. Was not there an obvious danger that this sudden and heavy demand would occasion a retrenchment fatal to consumption and to the taxes dependant upon it? It was not milliners or coachmakers alone, of whom the noble Lord spoke with so little regret, but perhaps one hundred thousand persons in the metropolis, supported by such manufactures, that would suffer. What would be the consequence to the revenue by the sudden retrenchment which this measure rendered necessary? The old taxes were about seventeen millions: if then a tenth part of the income of the country is required by this bill, the reduction of a tenth part of this income will on these seventeen millions create a defalcation of 1,740,000*l*. But it was said that Government received the money, and it would be employed in supporting other branches of useful manufactures. But would not such a sudden increase occasion a very great reduction of expenditure; and was it not seen that the old taxes were most affected by the new burdens that were imposed? Again, was this a proper time to call upon the people for so great an additional sum, when it was proved by the evidence of the

collectors of the revenue, that the present taxes could not be obtained without the greatest difficulty? At no period had this country ever paid more in one year than twenty millions; but, when the whole of the burdens of the new taxes and of the present sum were included, the sum to be raised in one year would be found to be thirty millions. Did their Lordships consider what must be the consequences of raising one-third more upon the people of this country than they ever yet paid in one year? Were they aware of the retrenchments that would be necessary, and the decay of revenue that would ensue? When they considered these things they ought to pause. They might be led to believe that it was impossible at once to draw so large a sum from the people without permanent injury to the public. The unpopularity of the measure was treated with much indifference. It was said to be confined to the metropolis. Supposing, however, it were chiefly confined to the metropolis; ought not the opinion of those who would pay one-fourth of the whole to have considerable weight with their Lordships? But many other places besides the metropolis, the city of York, &c. had expressed their disapprobation of the principle of the measure. The manufacturing towns were not so immediately affected by the measure; and as for Scotland, he believed that no great share of the burden would now fall upon that country. The noble Earl (Liverpool) spoke of the approbation of the measure expressed in a letter from Glasgow. When his Lordship was at the pains to point out what was serious and what ironical in that letter, the House would have been obliged to him had he pointed out what was ironical and what was serious in his own speech. Surely it was impossible that he could intend many of the observations contained in his speech to be seriously understood. With regard to stopping the supplies, it was clear that his noble friend (Lord Holland) meant that he was not willing to agree any farther to supplies till some pledge was given that they would be employed more to the advantage of the country than they had hitherto been [Lord Grenville cried "Hear! hear!"] He was glad to find that the noble Secretary now heard. Had the noble Earl heard a little better before, he would not have said so much about the ruin that would ensue from refusing supplies upon the supposition that his noble friend had said what he never did say. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument (and no otherwise could he admit) that it was expedient to raise this sum within the year, was the present bill such as to carry such a plan into effect with least injustice and oppression? The bill, however, was obviously unjust, and no situation, he conceived, ought to induce this House to sanction injustice. Income was of various kinds, and yet

expenditure was all subjected to the same standard of contribution. The cases of injustice were extremely numerous. The people of industry were taxed with the same severity as income from capital. Was it just to drive men, not merely to retrench luxuries, but to abridge what habit had rendered necessities, to pay this impost? The rich might be obliged to give up the former, but the middling classes would as certainly be obliged to give up the latter. One principal ground on which the measure was defended, was the ultimate saving it would occasion to posterity. He had heard a person in another place argue, that to raise fifteen millions in this way instead of funding, would be an ultimate saving of thirty millions. If such an assertion had been made by a school-boy, he would have been sent back to his arithmetic, and nobody could have listened to the argument for a moment. If it could be proved, on the contrary, that nothing could be gained by the measure, as he conceived it could, one great argument in its favour would be removed. Suppose then that the sum raised by this bill would be sixteen millions in little more than two years, his share of it would in that period be 10,000*l*. This 10,000*l* was one sixteen hundredth part of the whole. What permanent charge would this sixteen millions occasion? 1,500,000*l*. it was said, though he believed it would be less. A loan might be obtained, from the best information he had received, at about forty-five, or, say forty-four, at nine per cent.; this made a permanent charge of 1,380,000*l*. Of this, his annual proportion at 1000*l*. would be 840*l*. The question then is, whether it would be better to charge his income with this sum of 840*l*. for forty-five years, or to buy it off, and by purchasing in the long annuities there would be a gain of six pounds; so that the permanent burden to be incurred from raising this sixteen millions by loan and funding would be less than that imposed upon the individuals who contribute to the present plan. In this manner, unless this calculation was proved to be erroneous, it was clear that nothing could be gained by this measure.

But it was to intimidate the enemy. How could any man conceive that a measure so unpopular, that would be carried into effect with so much vexation and oppression, could produce that unanimity by which the enemy could be intimidated? It was said to be calculated to relieve the stockholder, but he could not see what title the stockholder had to claim such relief. The country had already contributed sufficiently to the relief of the stockholder, and it was fair that he should take his share in the public burden. If he could hope that any thing he had to offer could produce any effect in the Committee, he should reserve what he had to say on the

provisions of the bill. As this was not the case, he should now make a few observations on this head. With respect to the declaration of income, all writers on political affairs and public liberty admitted that disclosure was both impolitic and oppressive. Even the framers of the bill themselves admitted this. It would not be of advantage to the rich, it could only be used by those to whom the effect of disclosure would be most prejudicial. It afforded a choice between ruin and submission—ruin to credit by disclosure, and ruin by contribution beyond ability. It was insulting to say that a single horse was kept for pleasure. A horse was indispensable to traders in the country, yet they were now to be subjected to the triple assessment, notwithstanding the great expence such persons had sustained by the Provisional Cavalry Act. The injustice of making men pay for past expenditure was too glaringly unjust to stand in need of any farther illustration.

Their Lordships were now about to give their sanction to a measure which abandoned the old system of finance and established one entirely new. They were not able to judge of the consequences it would produce. Unpopular to a degree it was admitted to be; that it would not be a permanent saving he thought he had shewn. Such a measure might have intimidated the enemy, if it had not been passed by a Parliament that had acquiesced in all the measures of the Minister, but when they saw it carried against the voice of the people by a compliant majority, what conclusion could they draw but that the funding system was exhausted? This he was convinced was not the case. The difficulty attending great loans was the difficulty of providing the interest, but how could those insist upon this when they were ready to impose so large a sum upon the country in one year? The measure would be as oppressive in its operation as it was unjust in its principle. To reject the measure would not be to refuse supplies, it would only oblige the Minister to resort to some mode of raising money less objectionable in its nature, and less oppressive to the public.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said a few words in explanation.

The Earl of KINNOUL professed himself happy at hearing what had fallen from a noble Duke (Bedford) at the close of his speech, namely, that he did not wish to make the present a party question. But much as he hoped that nothing of a party spirit should be introduced in it, he feared the contrary was the case, especially when he recollected certain passages of the eloquent speech of another nobleman (Holland), where he insisted on the diffidence and distrust with which the conduct of the present Administration should be viewed, and which should be carried to the length of refusing

them the supplies. Sorry he was that party zeal should thus be involved with the principle of the bill, which it was his wish should be discussed solely on its own bottom, to stand or to fall on its merits or demerits. What was it that is required by the noble Lord (Holland) previous to his permitting the supplies to be granted? Nothing less than a radical reform in parliamentary representation, and a fundamental change of system. But was the noble Lord and the House prepared to give this pledge for reform and change of system, without giving a question so momentous even a moment's consideration? A question in which the wisest men in the nation discovered the greatest danger and difficulties. Or was it in the present state of the country that it was proper to come forward with such a pledge? Or was it when we attended to the relative situation of this country and of France, that such speculative opinions were to be agitated and indulged in? As to the measure now before their Lordships, he was free to confess, that its operation, like that of all taxes, must fall heavy on the country; but it must be generally agreed, that, when we attend to the present dispositions and declarations of France respecting this nation, it is wise, and politic, and necessary, to make a great and unusual exertion—to call forth that exertion was the object of the present bill, and he saw no other measure by which such exertion could be more efficaciously produced. He would not now enter at large into any discussion respecting the war; he would simply persist in pronouncing that it was just and necessary in its origin, and that its farther prosecution was unavoidable. This has been acknowledged by the unanimous address of both Houses of Parliament to the Throne, by which all parties had pledged themselves to abide. This unanimous address had the most powerful effect on the enemy, and the hostile spirit of that enemy was still more clearly than ever manifested in what had been declared this night to the House by a noble and distinguished Lord (Auckland). The same spirit as strongly displayed itself in the progress of the late negotiation, and while that spirit continues to actuate their conduct, can we think of peace, unless at the same time we can prepare ourselves to deliver up the country to the mercy of the French Directory, and prostrate it at their feet? When such was the alternative to which we were driven, he was surprized to hear of any opposition in the House, especially as the noble Lords, who were in the habit of opposing Ministers, had pledged themselves to concur in a vigorous prosecution of the war, should the enemy persist in refusing to accept of moderate and equitable terms of peace. Such terms they had rejected; yet still those noble Lords persevered in their opposition. A noble Duke had said, that we might still resort to the

funding system, in order to raise the supplies. But whether this might or might not be done, was at the present moment a matter of very delicate discussion—not that he would insinuate that this system was exhausted, but that prudence and sound policy admonished us not to have recourse to it under the present circumstances of the country. As to the best criterion of income, he could not see there was any more perfect than that of expenditure; the most objectionable operation of the bill had been duly attended to, and obviated in the other House of Parliament, and he was glad to see that it had been made to fall so lightly on the lower classes of the community, as it greatly tended to make it satisfactory to the public mind. The bill was said to be unpopular; but all tax bills must be unpopular; and it was much to the honour of the right honourable gentleman who proposed it that he was not deterred by the dread of unpopularity from performing any great and important duty, on the performance of which he was sure the country would judge impartially, and favourably decide. The noble Lord next contended, that what the French called our tyranny over the seas should be held as our chief pride and consolation; it was the just dominion which our industry and our courage had acquired, and it should particularly raise our hopes and our spirits when we looked to the comparative situation of our commerce with that of the enemy. This comparison should alone animate us to make the great exertion that is now deemed so necessary, and by which alone we can purchase security to ourselves and our posterity; and after these sacrifices and sufferings, the blessings of a safe and honourable peace. In that view the measure should have his most cordial support.

Lord THURLOW said, that it was by no means his intention to follow the noble Lord who spoke last, and to canvass the arguments he had adduced respecting the origin of the war, its subsequent progress, or the successes or miscarriages with which the conduct of it had been attended. This, surely, was a subject that had already been fully and satisfactorily discussed. Neither could it now be matter of discussion or of doubt whether, in the perilous posture of affairs, great and extraordinary exertions were or were not to be made; for that it was necessary to urge all our united strength and endeavours, was a proposition to which he believed the House and the Country unanimously acceded. Did the noble Lord who spoke last more accurately attend to the usual mode of parliamentary proceedings, he would not have contended that the unanimous Address of both Houses of Parliament that had been carried to the Throne was the strongest proof that the justice and necessity of the war was acknowledged, and that it should be farther prosecuted with all the

spirit and energy which the resources of the country enabled it to exert. Though on these assertions the Address alluded to might seem to secure the acquiescence of the House, yet in the after stages of any business regarding the conduct and progress of the war, it was perfectly competent for any Member of Parliament to debate and scrutinize every subsequent measure of that nature with full as much freedom as if no such unanimous Address had previously been agreed to. The noble Lord had no need of resorting to such an argument to prove the necessity of continuing the war; much more urgent and stronger proofs were contained in the papers on their Lordships' table, respecting the rupture of the late negotiation. These papers proved the conduct of France on that occasion to be grossly insulting, and absurd in the extreme. They even seemed to shrink from the proposal or examination of any terms whatsoever, lest from their equitable and favourable nature they might be compelled to accept them. It is their language and their conduct in this important transaction that, above all, proves the necessity of a farther prosecution of the war, and of our adopting, to that effect, the most vigorous means of defence.

As to the principle and general operation of the bill now under their Lordships' consideration, he was not averse to avow that, as far as it was an endeavour to raise within the year a considerable portion of the supplies, it was in his mind a wise and politic measure, provided it did not grind the people too severely. The operation of the bill had been strongly objected to by some noble Lords, as tending, in many instances, to be extremely partial. He could not deny but that, in many instances, it might operate very unequally; but it should not be forgotten by their Lordships, that in a large and comprehensive scheme of taxation, it was impossible to ascertain with mathematical precision what portion each individual should pay. All schemes of taxation should most undoubtedly proceed on the principle of an equal assessment on property, in payment of that protection which Government afforded to that property: the great question, therefore, was, Whether the best criterion had been adopted, in order to discover and appreciate the amount of property, so as to avoid its producing inequality of burdens? When he considered this part of the subject, it by no means occurred to him, neither did he conceive that it would occur to their Lordships, that income was a fair measure of property, especially the income of professional men, and of persons embarked in trade; for the income of such persons must always be exceedingly variable; they may be often obliged to change this year the mode of living they pursued the last year; as at one time their trade and profits might be flou-

rising and high, and at another time sink almost to nothing. Their income could not therefore be, in any respect, a fair criterion of property. Even if it could be considered as such, still the assessed taxes should not be selected as a proper measure of expenditure, especially with regard to persons in business, who, from the nature of their calling, paid a considerable sum to the assessed taxes, merely for the instruments of their trade, and in order to keep up the appearance in life, which was so necessary to secure the esteem and consideration of the world. But this was not the objection which principally weighed upon his mind, or which he wished more especially to press on the attention of their Lordships. For admitting, for the sake of argument, that expenditure was the criterion of income, and that the assessed taxes were a fair measure of expenditure, still he was at a loss to account upon what principle it was that the expenditure of the last year should be considered as the exclusive criterion upon which a fair and adequate judgement was to be formed of the expenditure of future years. If expenditure was to be viewed as the general criterion, then the expenditure of every year should be the criterion of its income. This was his opinion on the subject, and at this late hour he would only presume to put and repeat the question—Why, if expenditure was to be the measure of income, it was not to be applied to the expenditure of the future, as well as the past?

Lord GRENVILLE said, he was sorry to be obliged, contrary to his expectation, to rise and make a few observations in addition to those with which he had prefaced his motion, and in answer to the objections which had been thrown out against the bill by the noble Lords who opposed the measure. And first, he observed that the noble Duke had entirely mistaken him when he supposed that he had asserted that the Address to the King on the meeting of Parliament was a pledge for this particular mode of supply; he had in fact said no such thing, nor did he think it, but the Address to which he alluded as bearing in it a pledge of that kind, was that which was voted some time after the meeting of Parliament. The circumstances of the negotiation made the basis of that Address; and on maturely weighing and examining them, the House of Lords and the House of Commons did solemnly pledge themselves to act upon the full spirit and terms of that Address. It was the unanimous assertion of Parliament. In opening his motion for the second reading of the bill he thought that he could not take better or more substantial grounds than that Address; and in stating it he had only paid the tribute of respect that was due to Parliament. Having such unquestionable authority for his warrant, the question

was—Whether any more was necessary to the support of the measure? If it were, he had already stated it; for it was not true, as the noble Duke had said, that he had grounded his motion simply on the Address; for he had, on the contrary, distinctly stated, and he would now repeat it, that the Commons acting on that principle, had, for raising a supply, laid a contribution, not, as had been said, on the lower orders, but in a very light degree on the middle classes, and in a gradually rising proportion on the higher orders, resting at last with much the greatest weight on the first classes of society. Standing as the measure did, upon such grounds as those, it had not been at all incumbent upon him to say a word more in defence of it, till some objections were stated against the decision of the Commons, whose duty it peculiarly was to attend to business of finance, and whose means of judging of the expediency of a tax, and of the detail of a tax bill, were much greater and more complete than their Lordships could possibly have before them. In discussing the bill, it was somewhat extraordinary that the noble Duke and the learned Lord (Thurlow) were at odds, the former disputing that which the latter agreed did not admit of a double; namely, that some measure of this kind was absolutely necessary to meet the bold hostility, the insidious designs, and the presumptuous pretensions of the enemy. This was not the statement of an individual, who could be said to be interested in the fate of the question; but the noble and learned Lord's authority, opposed to that of the noble Duke and of the noble Lord who opened the opposition of the night. It was therefore to be taken for granted that great exertion ought to be made either in the funding way or in this mode; but it so happened that funding was a part of this measure, which comprised both modes; one great advantage of which was, that it held out to the enemy the futility of his only hope, and shewed him that this country had within it not only the means, but the spirit and determination to use them; that they could not only have recourse, if requisite, to the funding system, but that they could also have recourse to a system which had not been applied to in any period of our history, or in the best times; and he recommended it to those noble Lords who opposed the bill, to consider if there were any among them so unprejudiced as to reflect upon it coolly, that there was nothing which could be more favourable to this country, or more likely to check the presumption of the French, than that they should see that the pressure, from which they derived their hopes of ruining this country, was not felt; and that the country, after near two months deliberate investigation, had adopted the plan,

and that therefore it could not be considered as a measure of precipitation.

The noble Duke had made a calculation that included his own case, and had said that it would be a measure of better policy to raise the sum wanted by a permanent annuity; but surely their Lordships must be aware that Parliament, in doing so, would throw the burden as much upon the poor as upon the rich. This mode of taxing the poor to alleviate the burdens of the opulent might perhaps suit the feelings and convenience of the noble Duke, but Parliament, in their wisdom, would speak a better language, and say that they would rather burden persons of the same class of the noble Duke than let any part of it light upon the indigent. As to the objection that had been made to the measure, on the supposition that it would create a defalcation in the revenue, it was not more applicable to this than any other mode of taxation, for he would venture to assert that it was impossible to increase the taxes in any way without producing some effect upon the revenue. And he put to their Lordships this question, to which he wished for an answer—“Whether, if this plan did succeed, the country would not stand in a prouder situation than if so much money were raised by loan at the price that must now be given for it?”

The noble and learned Lord had concurred in the opinion, that the sum ought to be raised within the year, but had disapproved of the mode of raising it, as the criterion which had been taken would make the distribution of the burden unequal; but certainly the noble and learned Lord knew as well as any one the impossibility of attaining perfect theoretic equality. No system of taxation ever did approximate equality. The land tax, for example, was never said or thought by any body to bear equally on all; but yet it had never been objected to, or thrown out upon that account. Would the noble Duke say that the land-tax bill ought not to pass because it did not bear equally upon every body? He challenged any noble Lord to point out to him a single tax that did bear equally. There was not one; no, not so much as one: for there was no article whatsoever that was equal in necessity, or equally used by all. And should that be made an objection now, which never was held an objection before; or did their Lordships hope to get over a difficulty now that never had been got over before? Equality in taxation was to the full as visionary as any other kind of equality. He allowed it was true, as had been stated, that the Assessed Taxes were no certain criterion of income, nor income of property. If then neither a tax founded on income or on assessments would do, what

would their Lordships say of a direct tax upon property? How was that property to be ascertained? Suppose it were possible to get an accurate account of property, did their Lordships reflect upon the various ways in which it might be placed, and the incessant fluctuations that would baffle every attempt to apply the laws of taxation to it? How then could it best be got at? By expenditure only; and if this was a tax on expenditure, with certain salutary modifications and checks, it could not be maintained to be an objection, that it cannot easily be comprised in a simple logical definition.

The noble Lord had asked why the criterion was taken according to the expenditure in 1797, and not in 1798; to this he would answer, because in 1797 every man laid his plan of expenditure without any view to taxation, and it was therefore the proper test of ability; whereas, in 1798, the expenditure would be regulated not according to the ability of each person, but to his disposition to contribute to the exigencies of the State. Another objection which had been stated was, that the tax was not voluntary; but he asked their Lordships, whether they had ever heard such a principle maintained, or ever suggested, as that no tax should be laid that was not voluntary? indeed, such a principle would be so much at variance with practice, that it could not subsist; for no case could be supposed, or did exist, in which a tax could be voluntary. And as to the objections which had been made on the subject of calling for a disclosure of property, it was one which would apply at least in as great a degree to any of the modes proposed by the noble Lords. Every objection which had been stated, applied as strongly to the funding system as to this: their Lordships would see, that borrowing this money, would tend to create a farther lowering of the funds, and would to all intents and purposes be forcing upon the holders of stock a heavy loss by the strong hand of compulsion. Three objections had been made to this, every one of which applied to every other plan, but the funding, more than to this; and two of them applied to the funding plan in a greater degree than to this. The objection which had been made on account of the dealer of small capital vanished, because such a dealer would not come within the provisions of the act. The small farmer, too, was entirely exempted, and the large farmer was to pay no more than twice the amount he now paid, and the intermediate farmers paid only in proportion.

The noble Duke and the noble Lord, he said, had clashed most violently in their opinions—the former had declared it to be his opinion that the subject should not be taken up as a party question; while the latter had insisted that it should be considered as a mode

of pushing Ministers from office by stopping the supplies, and had, in order to fix criminality on Ministers, stated certain declarations, supposed to be made by them respecting the object of the war. While he congratulated the House upon the accession to his seat of a young nobleman who promised so fairly to be an ornament to it, he could not help saying, that he should rather expected to have heard a statement of those declarations from some Lord who had been in the House at the time they were supposed to have been made. He did not much wonder that the idea of Ministers having plunged the country into war, asserted so frequently as it had been, and reiterated daily in the public prints, should have made a deep impression upon the noble Lord, endowed, as he seemed to be, with all the warmth of youthful imagination: but how far that charge was true was now put beyond the reach of contest by the American Declarations. If any man still entertained a doubt upon the subject, let him read a pamphlet written by Mr. Hopper, an American, wherein he will find how the French had fallen upon this and upon every other country. He knew no subject which more fully shewed the principles of France than her conduct to America. In the professions of France to America, in the partiality of America to France, and in the return made for that partiality, it might be seen that France uniformly acted on the same principle there as in Europe. He said, that not a single day passed over which did not open some fresh proof of the long lurking mischievous designs of France; but in the book of Mr. Hopper a fact is stated which, if all the rest of the conduct of France could be done away, would be conclusive:—viz. That long before the war, measures were taken by France to excite America to hostility against England. And his Lordship declared, that there was not a day in which the course of his business did not open to him some new proof of the wicked designs of France. It was not more than twenty-four hours ago he had stumbled upon some letters (possibly they might yet be produced) which contained irresistible proof, from persons of official capacity, to the above effect; some from a noble Lord then on the Continent (Lord Auckland) were among the number. But he assured the noble Lord that he was most egregiously mistaken, if he supposed Ministers had ever stated that the object of the war was the opening of the Scheldt, or the support of their Allies merely; on the contrary, it was, that the enemy had, by various attacks on our Allies, induced the necessity of our taking up arms, and would perhaps have driven us to the necessity of declaring war, if he had not anticipated the point, by attacking us, and interfering in the internal policy of this country.

The noble Baron (Holland), he observed, had advised the House to suspend the progress of the bill ; and the noble Duke fell in with an explanation, advising to suspend it until a pledge was given to the House and the Country of a radical Reform ; that is to say, a Reform of Parliament, and of supposed abuses in this country ; and a Reform of Parliament, a dereliction of the system of coercion, and a grant of their just rights to the People of Ireland ; a proposal of no less magnitude than that, with the enemy at our gates, we were to suspend all supplies and stop all means of resistance, until a reform, or a pledge of reform, was granted. If indeed the House withheld supplies till then, reform would come, accompanied by the arms of the enemy, who has said plainly that he relies upon our divisions in England, and intends to come, in order to produce a reform, that is to say, a revolution in this country. The noble and youthful Lord, he said, had a warm imagination ; but he wished to know what pledge he meant ; who was it that could take upon him to pledge the Parliament of England to abandon their principles, and give up the country a prey to France ? But if any men were found so desperate as to offer a pledge for this Parliament, who in that House could venture to pledge the Parliament of Ireland to subvert the government of that country, to break it off from England, and to destroy individual security of life and property in that country ? But besides all this, he intreated their Lordships to consider what extravagant impropriety it would be in them to agree with either the noble Duke or the noble Lord. The House of Commons, the Constitutional guardians of the People's purse, has said to the King, " We will give you a supply to enable you to resist the enemy ; " but the Lords say, " No ; you shall not get it till you give a pledge to overthrow the Government. " He exhorted the noble Lords to consider the question maturely ; and he asked them, whether all who wished for reform were agreed as to the mode of it ? He believed not ; he would not injure the noble Lord so far as to suppose that he for one meant the same kind of reform proposed by the Corresponding Society ; perhaps it did not occur to the noble Lord, that it was necessary to determine what was meant by radical reform before he pledged himself for it.

He said, he trusted that the Lords and the Parliament had a pledge among themselves of a very opposite nature, namely, that they would maintain the Constitution unimpaired and inviolate—he trusted that the Sovereign was resolved to preserve it also, and that the people at large were not less resolved than either, and that they would never forget one leading truth—that to change the system of representation would be nothing short of revolution. If Parlia-

ment could so far betray their constituents and the country as to agree to a transfer of the rights of election from those who now possess them to the people, did any man think it would stop there, or at all short of pulling down the Constitution, which has been established for ages, to set up the crude, visionary theories of modern reformers in its stead? Would they not be told, as they were told in France, "You have done nothing—you call this reform, but nothing is—
"reform that falls short of universal suffrage." The partizans of which said universal suffrage were infinitely more numerous than those of moderate reform; and so far from their Lordships pledging themselves to a radical reform, he hoped they would pass this bill, and grant the supplies, if for no other reason, at least as a means of stopping the progress of a radical reform.

Lord THURLOW, in explanation, said, that he had explicitly declared his sentiments, that great and vigorous exertions were necessary to meet the important crisis of the present day, and he would be proud to support every proper and wise measure of defence; but he continued to think, that though heavy taxes must be laid on the exigency, it was by no means clear that the present measure was either wise or prudent. A plan unequal, and that in its essence and character departed from the essential qualities of a just measure of taxation, was not the way of procuring an adequate defence. He had heard no sufficient answer to his objection, that it was unfair to take the measure of expenditure in 1797 for our ability to contribute in 1798—and he could not admit the argument of the noble Lord, that because men might alter their establishments in spite or in evasion, the tax must be so taken. Those who formed their establishments after the year 1797, would of course form them in the view of this assessment, and there was obvious inequality on the face of it. Another argument, that of the decrease of the other taxes, had not been answered. It had been said, that the expenditure of seven millions to be raised by the tax would serve to keep up the permanent revenue. This was a most delusive idea. According to this, if thirty millions were to be raised instead of seven, the revenue would be a gainer in its effects on consumption; but the fact was known to be otherwise. Was it all to be expended in the country, was it all to be expended in that course which fortified and promoted industry? He must continue to think, therefore, that it was an unadvised measure.

Lord HOLLAND, in a short but very strong and pointed speech of reply, animadverted on the arguments of the noble Secretary of State. At so late an hour, he said, he would not detain their Lordships, but he must take notice of some expressions of the noble Secretary, which had been rather personally addressed to him.

In regard to his declaration about the present exigency of our affairs, and the necessity of vigorous exertions, no person felt more sincerely, nor had expressed more warmly his conviction, than he had done, of the necessity of such exertions. It was his feeling on this subject that had given rise to the observations that he had ventured to make on a measure which, so far from being a measure of strength, was a measure of weakness; so far from holding forth the promise of vigour, was as delusive in point of real resource, as it was grinding in its operation. He had said that he would give his cheerful assent to a well-digested plan of taxation that should be voluntary, the only genuine source of supply; and that he proposed to suspend this feeble, as well as unjust measure, in order that they might have time to devise a more equal and more effectual means of raising the sum necessary to the occasions of the year, as well as of making the supply effectual to its purpose when raised. All the latter part of the noble Lord's speech had been directed particularly against what he had advanced with respect to a pledge, and was indeed an attack made upon him for that expression. It would have been well if the noble Lord had been pleased to state correctly the expression to which he had been given so loud and so lofty an answer. He hardly thought it possible that words so simple could have been so misinterpreted, or misunderstood. In the pledge that he was desirous of obtaining he had used no ambiguous, and no undefined terms. He had stated correctly what he wanted — namely, the dismissal of His Majesty's present Ministers, as a preliminary to the appointment of men in whom the nation could have just confidence for the restoration of their rights, and for a system of Administration founded upon Parliamentary Reform. This expression was sufficiently clear and intelligible, one would think, to every noble Lord; it was not new language in this country; yet out of this the noble Lord had made a vehement appeal to their Lordships on the fundamental change that was to be made on the vital system of the British Government. And, as if this were not enough, he had called in the alarm also of meddling with the Parliament of Ireland! In the moment of the discontents of that kingdom, was the Parliament of Ireland to be called upon to unsay all that they had said, and to concede Parliamentary Reform after declaring that it would be fatal to the Government of that country? Now what was the fact with respect to the Parliament of Ireland on this subject? All their Lordships knew that after having kicked over their bar the petitions of the people praying for Catholic emancipation, the petitioners had gone to the foot of the Throne with their representations, not to His Majesty's Ministers; and the consequence of their petitions was,

an instruction sent out to grant the relief which was prayed for. Accordingly the self-same Parliament that had rejected the petitions with so much scorn, this jealous Parliament, did resolve that a Reform in the representation of the people would be a wise and salutary measure. Lord Holland said, he was sensible that the discussion of Parliamentary Reform, much less any allusion to Ireland, was not strictly in order this night, but the noble Lord had made it necessary for him to say so much. The noble Secretary had drawn forth a dreadful charge against him, that he wanted to change the fundamental basis of the British Constitution, as if he had reviled it, and said it was not a good and a happy Constitution for a rational people to live under. Now, he certainly had not said one word against the Constitution. It was a generous maxim, and which he should always pursue—" *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* ;" he would never speak ill of the dead. The sort of argument that the noble Lord had used reminded him of some humorous verses by one of our best poets (Prior):

" Thus Harlequin extoll'd his horse,
 " Fit for the road, the race, the course :
 " One fault he had,—a fault indeed !
 " And what was that—*the horse was dead.*"

So of the genuine Constitution of England :—it had every excellent quality that could endear it to a rational or a free people ; but alas it was no longer in existence. What he wanted, and he had expressed himself in clear language, was to revive that Constitution in its purity, and the means was not by any innovating course, but by restoring to the people a just representation in Parliament. In doing this, he had no hesitation in saying that the species of reform which had been accurately described in another place met with his perfect concurrence.

The Duke of BEDFORD congratulated Ministers on their full possession of their antient talents for misrepresentation. When his young and noble friend had seen as much of them as he had done, he would not be astonished at their success in the art. He could not avoid remarking how they cheered the House with their usual invectives against the French Government at the very moment when they alledged the invective of the French Government against ours as a proof of their deep hostility, and of their determined indisposition to peace. The noble Duke then replied to the answer which had been given to his own reasoning. He had admitted the necessity of great exertions, and so had his noble friend ; and, because they were so inclined, they wished to put the supplies into vigorous hands. He had objected to the present plan, because it would be of

advantage to no person ; and he had expressly contended that more ought to be exacted from the highest ranks. The proportion to be required from the richer orders was not in proportion to that which was taken from those between 30*l.* and 50*l.* a year. Yet the noble Secretary had said, that he was pleading his own cause, because he had said, that raising the supply by a fund was preferable to this. How could the noble Lord justify this insinuation ? The proportions would be equal the one way or the other ; and if the assessment was fairly made, as he contended it ought to be on the higher orders, without any particular allusion, he might be permitted to say, that his share of the burden would be found among the highest.

Lord GRENVILLE assured the noble Duke, that he had mistaken his argument. He meant only to shew, that to bring the supply within the year necessarily fell heavier in proportion on the higher orders than a tax of a permanent nature.

The House divided—Contents 50, Proxies 23—73. Non-Contents 6. Majority 67.

The Duke of BEDFORD said, as the House had determined to raise this sum by this means, the next step, in his mind, was, to consider into whose hands the supply had been given. He thought that, consistent with national safety, the defence of the country ought not to be trusted to His Majesty's present Ministers. He thought a day ought not to be lost in moving for an address to the King to dismiss them from his Councils for ever : but the thin attendance of Lords on this day convinced him that he could not immediately look for an attendance equal to the importance of the discussion. He would therefore move that their Lordships be summoned for that day fortnight, to consider of an address for the removal of His Majesty's Ministers.

Lord GRENVILLE said, that he could not dictate to the noble Duke what day to chuse for a motion ; but on that day Parliament would not be sitting. He must therefore give his negative to the motion.

The Duke of BEDFORD said, that in an exigency of such importance, Parliament, in his mind, would neglect their duty if they agreed to adjourn. He must therefore persist in his motion, which was put and negatived.

The Peers who divided against the assessed-tax bill were,

Duke of BEDFORD,
Earl of BESSBOROUGH,
Earl of PETERBOROUGH,

Earl of OXFORD,
Lord HOLLAND,
Lord KING.

Wednesday, January 10.

The bill for increasing the assessed taxes was reported.

PROTEST.

The question was put, that this bill be committed. It was carried in the affirmative.

DISSENTIENT,

Because, We conceive that in the present circumstances no grant of money by Parliament, can alone be sufficient to extricate the country from its alarming and critical situation.

When the exigencies of the State are such, as to demand large supplies from the people, our duty is not confined to the bare consideration of the necessity of the case, or the mode of levying the money.—We are not, from the pressure of circumstances, and the approach of danger, hastily to concur in laying additional burthens on our fellow-subjects, without insuring to the public a wise application of the money so raised, and without due precautions for directing the efforts of the people to their only legitimate object, the benefit of the community. A neglect of this, the most important of all parliamentary duties, must produce, and in our opinions, it has already produced, consequences the most fatal to the dignity of the Nation, the stability of the Government, and the interests of the People. In the unconditional compliance with the demands of the Executive Government again proposed as the remedy, we perceive the real and fatal source of the evil.—Year after year His Majesty's Ministers have grounded their application to Parliament upon the urgency of the occasion, and the extraordinary exigencies of the State. To satisfy their demands, to enable them to encounter the dangers, and remove the difficulties in which we were involved, every article of luxury or convenience have been taxed, the resources of the country has been exhausted, and sums unparalleled in history, have been entrusted to their disposal; yet, year after year the occasion has become more urgent, the exigencies more pressing, the difficulties more alarming, and the dangers more immediate. The security of the nation has been shaken in the same proportion as the prosperity of the country has been impaired, external danger has kept pace with internal distress, and the exertions which have impoverished the people, and shaken our credit, have purchased nothing but the loss of national honour, the defection of allies, and the failure of every great object of the war.

If the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland, aided by grants, lavished beyond the example of the most improvident times, assisted by the most powerful monarchs of Europe, has proved insufficient in the hands of Ministers to secure the blessings of peace, or even to avert the present awful circumstances of the country, it seems inconsistent with reason to expect that the painful efforts of an empire, whose means are exhausted by taxation, whose spirits are damped by failure, and whose affections are in part alienated by oppression, can, without a single ally, under the direction of the same men, resist with effect, a powerful and exasperated enemy, elated with success, strengthened by conquest, and

supported by the united powers of Holland and of Spain. In this situation of affairs, to persevere in the system which has produced it, to confide in the Ministers who, with the aid of so many millions, have been unable to avert it, evinces, in our opinion, a total disregard of the common maxims of prudence, a wanton rejection of the lessons of experience, and a determined neglect of the most important of our parliamentary duties. Under the persuasion, therefore, that the dangers with which we are now threatened, are the result of force, directed to objects at once impracticable and foreign to the interests of this country; that they are the necessary consequences of a misapplication of the public money, and the natural fruits of the incapacity and profusion of those to whom it has been improvidently entrusted, we deemed it our duty not to sanction any grant to the Executive Government until a pledge was given to the House, by the removal of His Majesty's Ministers, of a complete alteration in his councils. We held it neither just to impose, nor reasonable to require any additional sacrifices from our fellow-subjects, until some prospect was held out to the people of a reform of that House which had granted, and a censure of those Ministers who had lavished sums so enormous, without any benefit resulting to the community. We thought that while His Majesty's affairs were conducted by those who originally engaged in this calamitous contest, and who can neither carry on war or negotiation with honour, advantage, or success, no grant of money by Parliament, no sacrifices on the part of the people, could afford a reasonable hope that the blessings of peace would be speedily restored, or permanently secured. We imagined, that until some earnest was given of a radical alteration of the system of terror and coercion in Ireland, of the repeal of the two Bills, the one entitled "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of His Majesty's Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts," and the other entitled "An Act for the more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies," of economy in public expenditure, and diminution of the enormous patronage and influence of the Crown, we were not warranted in expecting that cheerful co-operation of the people, which being at once the indication and result of a reciprocal confidence between the Government and the governed, can only be restored by the restoration of the antient and happy, practice of a Constitution undisfigured by coercive laws—of a Parliament speaking the sense of the People—and a Ministry dependent on the voice of the Parliament.

Because it appears to us that any attempt to raise the supplies within the year, in the present exhausted state of the country, must be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger.

Because were we to allow that the principle of raising the supplies by contribution, instead of loan, was just, wise, and expedient, yet under the present Ministers, it would appear to us attended with the utmost danger, as the real expences of the year have generally exceeded by nearly one half their calculation; and thus any regulations for the equal distribution of the burden which were adopted upon the first calculation, might be rendered ineffectual by subsequent and more extensive demands.

Because if the Bill is intended as a tax upon expenditure, its retrospective operation is arbitrary and cruel in the extreme, and altogether repugnant to the usages of our ancestors, the faith of civilized governments, and the common dictates of humanity and justice. If it is intended as a tax upon income, in our opinion the criterion proposed is objectionable and inadequate; and, above all, as income is of various descriptions,

sometimes arising from permanent and disposable capital, sometimes from precarious or temporary possessions, and sometimes from labour, talents or industry, we deem any attempt to proportion the burthen to the income, in itself unjust, unequal and impolitic. If it is intended as a tax upon property, neither in the original criterion, viz. the Assessed Taxes of 1797, nor in the proposed relief, do we recognize any just principles of taxation, or perceive any fair or adequate method suggested for the impartial distribution of the burthen.

Because the relief proposed to those who may, by the increase of their Assessed Taxes, be liable to pay more than the tenth of their income, requires a disclosure of their pecuniary circumstances, which is contrary to the customs and prejudices of Englishmen, and repugnant to the principles of the Constitution; and which to persons engaged in commerce or trade, must be attended with yet greater inconveniences than the payment of more than the tenth of their income. Furthermore, this regulation appears to us an indirect breach of the faith so often and so sacredly pledged to the stock-holder, for should the whole of the income of any individual claiming this relief consist in a dividend upon stock, a tenth of that income is immediately sacrificed, and the dividend, in violation of the faith of the Parliament and the nation, diminished one-tenth by the intervention of Government.

Because the operation of this Bill is not confined to a definite period of time, but by the most wanton violation of justice, remains in full force till a certain sum is produced; thus exacting from the honest the deficiencies which may have been occasioned by accidental circumstances, by the designs or the distress of individuals, by the favour or the neglect of the collectors.

HOLLAND.
OXFORD.

Thursday, January 11.

The new assessed-tax bill was read a third time, and passed.

The LORD CHANCELLOR gave notice, that he would to-morrow move, that there be laid before the House an account of the amount of the assessed taxes paid by Peers, in order to shew to what extent their Lordships should contribute under the new assessed-tax bill.

Lord CARRINGTON gave notice, that he should to-morrow move that an account of such voluntary contributions as might be made by their Lordships, be laid before the House.

Lord GRENVILLE brought down to the House the following message from His Majesty :

G. R.

His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Lords, that his Majesty has received various advices of preparations made, and measures taken in France, apparently in pursuance of a design openly and repeatedly professed of attempting the invasion of these kingdoms.

His Majesty is firmly persuaded, that by the zeal, courage and exertions of his subjects, struggling for whatever is most dear to them, such an enterprize, if attempted, will terminate in the confusion and ruin of those who may be engaged in it. But His Majesty, in his anxious concern for the safety and welfare of his faithful people, feels it incumbent on him to omit no suitable precaution which may contribute to their defence.

His Majesty, therefore, in pursuance to the act passed for providing for the augmentation of the militia, has thought it right to make this communication to the House of Lords, to the end, that His Majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as he shall think necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.

The message being read,

Lord GRENVILLE moved, That an humble address be presented to His Majesty thanking him for his gracious message, and promising the determination of the House to adopt such efficacious measures as the exigencies of the times required.

This motion was put, and agreed to *nem. diss.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, January 11.

Mr. WILBERFORCE BIRD presented a petition from four thousand watchmakers of Coventry, stating the distress they suffered from the operation of the tax imposed last session upon watches and clocks, and praying for a repeal of that bill.

Mr. MAINWARING presented a petition, signed by eight thousand watchmakers of London, Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, praying a repeal of the above duty.

Mr. Mainwaring afterwards gave notice, that on the 9th of February, immediately after the recess, he should move for a Committee, to whom all petitions from the watchmakers might be referred, and that upon the report of the Committee he should ground a motion for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the said duty.

Mr. SPEAKER observed, that as a similar notice had been given by another Member, both motions could not be made.

Mr. WILBERFORCE BIRD, after a short conversation, ceded to Mr. MAINWARING.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS acquainted the House, that he had a message from His Majesty to this House, signed by His Majesty; and he presented the same to the House; and it was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth, viz.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that His Majesty has received various advices of preparations made, and measures taken, in France, apparently in pursuance of the design, openly and repeatedly professed, of attempting the invasion of these kingdoms.

His Majesty is firmly persuaded that, by the zeal, courage, and exertions of his subjects, struggling for whatever is most dear to them, such an enterprize, if attempted, will terminate in the confusion and ruin of those who may be engaged in it: but His Majesty, in his anxious concern for the safety and welfare of his faithful people, feels it incumbent on him to omit no suitable precaution which may contribute to their defence at so important a conjuncture. His Majesty, therefore, in pursuance of the act, passed in the last session of Parliament, for providing for the augmentation of the militia, has thought it right to make this communication to the House of Commons, to the end that His Majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as he shall think necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.

G. R.

It was then resolved,

That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty our dutiful thanks for graciously communicating to this House, that he had received various advices of preparations made, and measures taken, in France, apparently in pursuance of the design openly and repeatedly professed of attempting the invasion of these kingdoms.

To assure His Majesty, that he may rely on the continued and decided support of this House, in this important conjuncture; and that we are firmly persuaded that the zeal and courage of his faithful subjects, struggling for all that is most dear to them, will be vigorously exerted in repelling every insult, and will, under the blessing of providence, be effectual for disappointing the ambitious and extravagant designs of the enemy, and turning them to the confusion of those who may be engaged in them.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, January 12.

The royal assent was given by commission to the bill for increasing the assessed taxes, the bill for permitting ten thousand of the supplementary militia to enlist in the regulars; and to eight road, inclosure, and naturalization bills.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he had yesterday entertained some thoughts of this day making a motion relative to the sums to be paid by the Members of that House under the new assessment; but as, from the adjournment that was likely to intervene, nothing efficacious could accrue therefrom previous to the time appointed for appeals, he should postpone it for the present: but desired to be understood as not abandoning his intention altogether.

The House was then adjourned to Tuesday, the 13th of February next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, January 12.

Mr. SPEAKER, with several Members, attended the House of Peers, to hear His Majesty's commission read, giving the royal assent to the assessed taxes bill, &c.

Mr. ROSE moved, that the House, at its rising, should adjourn to Thursday the 8th of February next.

Mr. KECK presented a petition from a Committee of the clock and watch makers of the town and county of Leicester, praying a repeal of the act passed last year, imposing a tax on these articles.

Mr. DOUGLAS informed the House, that its address had been presented to His Majesty, and was most graciously received.

Mr. ROSE presented an account of the loans granted to His Majesty, pursuant to two acts of Parliament; also an account, prepared by desire of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, of the expenditures in certain offices since the last session of Parliament; which were laid on the table.

Adjourned to Thursday the 8th of February

An ACCOUNT of the SALARY, ALLOWANCES, FEES, and GRATUITIES, received in the Office of the Teller of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, by the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, for the Years 1794, 1795, and 1796; together with an Account of all DEDUCTIONS paid out of the same, and the NAMES of the Persons to whom such Payments were made.

RECEIVED in the Office of the Tellers of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer by the Mar- quis of BUCKING- HAM.		L. s. d.		L. s. d.		All DEDUCTIONS paid, and the NAMES of the Persons to whom such Payments were made.	
A. 1794 { Salaries and Al- lowances Fees and Gra- tuities Deductions as on the other side	L.					PAYMENTS made. Poors Rates — Land Tax — Duty on Pensions — Christmas Boxes to the Exchequer — Subscription to the Grey- Coat Hospital — Bonfires — 1st Clerk — 2d ditto — 3d ditto — 4th ditto — 5th ditto —	A. 1794 { Collector for the time being Jn. Burford, Esq. — ditto Jof. Smith, Esq. Treasurer for the time being Mr. Jackson W. H. Freemantle, Esq. Rich. Woodward, Esq. Edw. Astle, Esq. Jof. Seeley, Esq. Tho. Bradford, Esq.
		555 12 8		7 12 4			
		10,960 14 4		200 0 0			
		11,416 7 0		200 0 0			
		1,569 19 4		22 17 0			
		9,846 7 8		5 0 0			
				4 10 0			
				400 0 0			
				275 0 0			
				205 0 0			
				140 0 0			
				110 0 0			
				L. 1,569 19 4			

A. 1795		DEDUCTIONS and NAMES the same as in 1794.	
A. 1795 { Salaries and Al- lowances Fees and Gra- tuities	£. s. d.		
	455 12 8		
	16,833 10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Deductions as before	£.		
	17,289 3 3 $\frac{1}{4}$		
	1,569 19 4		
		15,719 3 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	
A. 1796		DEDUCTIONS and NAMES the same as in 1795, save that by a farther Allowance of 6ol. per annum to the four junior Clerks, the Deductions are as follows :	
A. 1796 { Salaries and Al- lowances Fees and Gra- tuities	£. s. d.		
	455 12 8		
	15,886 9 1		
Deductions as on the other side	£.		
	16,342 1 9		
	1,629 19 4		
		14,712 2 5	
			£. 1,629 19 4

December 12th, 1797.

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM,

Senior Teller of the Exchequer.

An ACCOUNT of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of the
BOARD of AGRICULTURE, for the Year 1793.

CHARGE.

	£.	s.	d.
By cash received per King's warrant, in consequence of a vote from the House of Commons	3,000	0	0

DISCHARGE.

By fees for the letters patent constituting the Board of Agriculture	—	—	712	1	0
By Exchequer fees on receipt of the grant of money	—	—	140	2	2
By payments in part of surveys of counties	—	—	866	12	10
By incidental charges	—	—	56	3	11
By official furniture	—	—	41	18	0
By payment of stationary, in part	—	—	17	1	2
By salaries to the Officers of the Board for half a year, at the rate of,					
For the Secretary	£. 400				
the Under Secretary	200				
the First Clerk	150				
the Second Clerk	80				
		} per ann.	415	0	0
By payments in part for printing the surveys and other papers circulated by the Board, and of the engravings accompanying the same			751	0	11
			£. 3,000	0	0

Memorandum :

A copy of the above account was laid before the House in April 1794.

An ACCOUNT of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of the
BOARD of AGRICULTURE, for the Year 1793-4.

CHARGE.

£. s. d.

By cash per King's warrant, in consequence of a vote from the House of Commons	—	3,000	0	0
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DISCHARGE.

By Exchequer fees on receipt of the grant of money	178	5	6
By payments in part of surveys of counties	870	2	0
By payments in part for printing the surveys and other papers circulated by the Board, and of the engravings accompanying the same	1,407	11	6
By salaries to the Officers of the Board for half a year, at the rate of			
For the Secretary	£. 400		
the Under Secretary	200		
the First Clerk	150		
the Second Clerk	80		
		415	0 0
By incidental charges	—	90	12 0
By official furniture	—	29	0 0
By German translations	—	9	9 0
		£. 3,000	0 0

Memorandum :

A copy of the above account was laid before the
House in January 1795.

An ACCOUNT of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of the
BOARD of AGRICULTURE, for the Year 1794-5.

CHARGE.

	£.	s.	d.
By cash per King's warrant, in consequence of a vote from the House of Commons -	3,000	0	0

DISCHARGE.

By Exchequer fees on receipt of the grant of money	159	3	6
By payments of surveys of counties - -	434	8	8
By incidental charges - - -	108	11	0
By official furniture - - -	48	1	6
By salaries to the Officers of the Board for one year, at the rate of			
For the Secretary £. 400	} per ann.	830	0 0
the Under Secretary 200			
the First Clerk 150			
the Second Clerk 80			
By payments in part for printing the surveys and other papers circulated by the Board, and of the engravings accompanying the same -	1,252	10	1
By stationary - - - -	89	12	11
By advertisements - - - -	77	12	4
	£. 3,000	0	0

Memorandum :

A copy of the above account was laid before the
House in February 1796.

An ACCOUNT of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of the
BOARD of AGRICULTURE, for the Year 1795-6.

CHARGE.

	£.	s.	d.
By cash received per King's warrant, in consequence of a vote from the House of Commons	3,000	0	0

DISCHARGE.

By Exchequer fees on receipt of the grant of money	84	6	0
By payments for surveys of counties	30	0	0
By incidental charges	117	10	0
By official furniture	21	2	4
By eighteen months salaries to the Officers of the Board, ending the 4th March 1797, at the rate of			

For the Secretary	£. 400	} per ann.	1,245	0	0
the Under Secretary	200				
the First Clerk	150				
the Second Clerk	80				

By extra allowance to the first Clerk	21	0	0
By payments in part for printing the surveys and other papers circulated by the Board, and of the engravings accompanying the same	1,206	0	6
By stationary	50	5	5
By expences on the corrected reports	56	13	0
By ditto on the general report	112	0	6
By ditto on experiments on mixtures of bread	24	10	3
By ditto attending experiments on manures	31	12	0
	£. 3,000	0	0

JOHN SINCLAIR,
President.

Mr. FRANCIS's constitutional principles and uniform conduct in Parliament are sufficiently known in the present times. The Parliamentary Register contains ample evidence of both. On a particular subject, he has been misrepresented by a person, whose authority is likely to have weight with many, and whose writings will certainly be preserved in libraries. A fugitive answer in a newspaper to a charge so authorized, and so prepared for preservation, though sufficient at the moment, would leave Mr. Francis's reputation unprotected hereafter.

We think that we contribute to the administration of moral justice among men, by recording the following paper; with no observation, but that it was published several months before Mr. Burke's death.

For the MORNING CHRONICLE.

St. James's-square, Feb. 20, 1797.

In the 71st page of a printed Letter from Mr. Burke to the Duke of Portland, without a date, I find the following assertions:

“Some of these gentlemen, who have attacked the House of Commons, lean to a Representation of the People by the head; that is, to *individual* Representation. None of them, that I recollect, except Mr. Fox, directly rejected it. It is remarkable, however, that he only rejected it by simply declaring an opinion: he let all the arguments go against his opinion. All the proceedings and arguments of his reforming friends lead to individual Representation, and to nothing else. It deserves to be attentively observed, that this individual Representation is the *only* plan of their reform which has been explicitly proposed.”

And in page 81, I am named as one of a phalanx, to whom not only these views, proceedings, arguments, and plans of Parliamentary Reform are imputed, but who had thought proper to treat *him* as a deserter, as if he had sworn to live and die in *our* French prin-

ciples. I believe I shall sufficiently clear myself from these imputations by declaring, as I do :—

1st, That, having been a Member of the Society of the Friends of the People, and having had a share in the conduct of their proceedings, I know of an Act, Order, Resolution, Proposition, Motion, or Proceeding of any kind, in that Society, in favour of individual or universal Representation.

2d, That I am morally certain, that, if any motion to that effect had been proposed, it would have been rejected by a very great majority of the whole Society.

3d, That, if it had been possible for such a motion to prevail, I would have quitted the Society and opposed their proceedings.

4th, That in fact a very different principle of Reform, and incompatible with that imputed to us, viz. by extending the right of voting to all householders paying parochial taxes, and stopping there, was unanimously adopted by the Society on the 9th of April, 1794.

5th, That on the 30th May, 1795, the Society unanimously approved of a Plan formed by me on this principle, and recommended it to the consideration of the Public; and that this Plan was published in all the Newspapers.

6th, That I have, on all occasions, resisted and reprobated to the utmost of my power the idea of individual or universal Representation, particularly at a Meeting of the Society on the 8th of March, 1794, at which I expressly treated it as *a dangerous chimera, set up on purpose to delude the lower classes of the People.*

In the House of Commons on the 23d of January, 1795, the following words make part of my answer to the Attorney-General:—

“ With respect to universal Representation, and all the dangers
 “ and all the reproaches attached to it, I must say, that I think the
 “ learned gentleman ought to be careful to distinguish those who
 “ profess to have such a scheme in contemplation, and others who
 “ reject it with a disapprobation as full and entire, though not
 “ perhaps with such extravagant horror, as he does. He ought to
 “ have known that the idea of universal Representation was never
 “ encouraged or countenanced by any Act or Declaration whatever
 “ of our Association. If he knows any thing to the contrary, I
 “ call upon him now—I challenge him to point it out. Of *me*,
 “ in particular, he must have known, and, in candour, he ought to
 “ have acknowledged, that it is not possible for any man to go far-
 “ ther than I have done, to reject, to resist, and to explode every
 “ project of that nature, and every principle and argument set up
 “ to support it; a project, however, so chimerical and so utterly
 “ impracticable, that it is superfluous to load it with charges of
 “ danger and malignity. But, let the doctrine I allude to be ever
 “ so mischievous and ever so dangerous, is it in fact—is it in truth

“ the real object of all the apprehensions and terrors, which are
 “ said to be excited by it?—I do not believe it; I do not believe
 “ that the enemies of Reform are so much terrified by it as they
 “ pretend to be. They know, as well as I do, that it is nothing
 “ but a vision, which can never be substantiated—a mere abstraction,
 “ which can never be realised. No, Sir; whatever they may
 “ pretend, this is not the true ground of their uneasiness. It is the
 “ reasonable, the moderate, the practicable plan which really fills
 “ them with terror and anxiety. That, perhaps, might be accomplished;
 “ the other never can, nor, if it were even to obtain for a
 “ moment, could it possibly subsist; and I am, convinced, that, if
 “ it were possible to drive those persons to an option, they would
 “ prefer the worst to the best; because they would foresee that the
 “ mischiefs inevitable in the execution of such a scheme, or even in
 “ the attempt, would determine every reasonable man in the country
 “ to revert and submit to the present system; that is, to suffer the
 “ Constitution to languish and dissolve in its corruption, or gradually
 “ to perish by decay, rather than to encounter the direct
 “ and positive dangers of a change so violent and extreme, to
 “ which their minds would naturally unite the certainty of instant
 “ destruction.”

In my Speech on the Slave Trade, on the 11th of April, 1796, there is the following passage:—

“ In the lowest situations of life the People know as well as we
 “ do, that wherever personal industry is encouraged, and property
 “ protected, there must be inequalities of possession, and consequently
 “ distinction of ranks. Then come the form and the order,
 “ by which the substance is at once defined and preserved.
 “ Distribution and Limitation prevent confusion, and Government
 “ by orders is the natural result of property protected by Freedom.
 “ Take care that you adhere to it. Where the few possess all,
 “ and the multitude have nothing, there is no Government by orders.
 “ Every thing is an extremity, and nothing in gradation.”

Whether these are French principles or not, I neither know nor care. I assert that they are mine.

PHILIP FRANCIS.



ERRATA.

Page 352, line 9, for *drank*, read *drunk*.

353, line 9 from the bottom, for *menance*, read *menace*.

353, line 2 from the bottom, after the word *Parliament*, add—they have broken faith with the national Creditor, and compelled the Bank of England to commit an act of insolvency.

450, line 24, for *certandum*, read *certatum*.

558, last line, for *favoupe*, read *favourite*.

559, line 14, for *notes*, read *note*.

560, line 10, for *with no more*, read *worth no less*.

561, line 27, for *his*, read *their*.

562, line 4 from the bottom, for *new*, read *old*.

